Michael Fingerle · Rüdiger Wink   *Eds.*

Forced Migration and Resilience

Conceptual Issues and Empirical Results

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Michael Fingerle · Rüdiger Wink
Editors

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Editors
Michael Fingerle
Goethe University Frankfurt
Frankfurt, Germany

Rüdiger Wink
HTWK Leipzig
Leipzig, Sachsen, Germany

Preface

More than 70 million forcibly displaced people were registered by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in 2018.[1] Never before were so many people directly affected by forced displacement. Apart from losing their homes, forced migrants had to face multiple risks of traumatisation before, during and after displacement, and half of the refugee population are children below 18 years. Accordingly, scientific and political discourses primarily focus on post-traumatic stress disorders of forced migrants and potential negative social, economic and political stresses in host countries. Although forced migrants predominantly live in neighbouring developing countries, nationalist and anti-immigration groups in developed countries aim to occupy the public agenda with a focus on fears.

The contributions in this volume turn the lens towards challenges, preconditions and opportunities of resilience processes within the context of forced migration, which means to look at successful coping, adaptation and integration despite all the sometimes catastrophic experiences of displaced people. The papers look at vulnerability and resources on the individual level of migrants as well as on the role of communities and policies in host countries. As a result, hitherto separated scientific discourses in different fields of psychology, social and pedagogical sciences could be included in a common publication. Without ignoring the complexity of necessary mutual supportive attitudes, capabilities, actions and collaborations, these contributions form a conceptual basis for further practical projects facilitating the emergence of resilience processes for forced migrants in host countries.

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[1]All numbers are taken from UNHCR (2019): Forced displacement in 2018. Global trends. Geneva: UNHCR.

The editors wish to thank all contributors to this volume and look forward to the emergence of new interdisciplinary research networks and communities-of-practice in this field.

Leipzig, Germany   Rüdiger Wink

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Forced Migration and Resilience: Introduction

Michael Fingerle and Rüdiger Wink

1 The Context

Forced displacement affects a growing population worldwide. UNHCR (2019) reported that the global population of forcibly displaced people reached a new record level in 2018, when 70.8 million people were registered compared to 43.3 million people in 2009. Figure 1 illustrates the development for the different categories UNHCR uses to include forcibly displaced people.[1] During 2018, 13.6 million people were newly displaced (UNHCR 2019). When focusing only on refugees displaced to countries outside their home country, more than two thirds came from five countries (UNHCR 2019): Syrian Arab Republic (6.7 million), Afghanistan (2.7 million), South Sudan (2.3 million), Myanmar (1.1 million) and Somalia (0.9 million). Most of the refugees remained in neighbouring countries. Consequentially, Turkey, Pakistan, Uganda and Sudan were the four countries with highest numbers of registered refugees in 2018. Figure 2 shows the flow of newly registered refugees and asylum seekers in 2018 illustrating the relatively new

[1]Internally displaced people were forced to migrate to other areas within their home countries, UNHCR refugees are registered under UNHCR mandate, while UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine refugees in the Near East) refer to Palestine refugees and asylum seekers are individuals whose asylum application had not yet been adjudicated (UNHCR 2019).

M. Fingerle
Goethe University Frankfurt/Main, Frankfurt, Germany

R. Wink (✉)
HTWK Leipzig, Leipzig, Sachsen, Germany
e-mail: ruediger.wink@htwk-leipzig.de
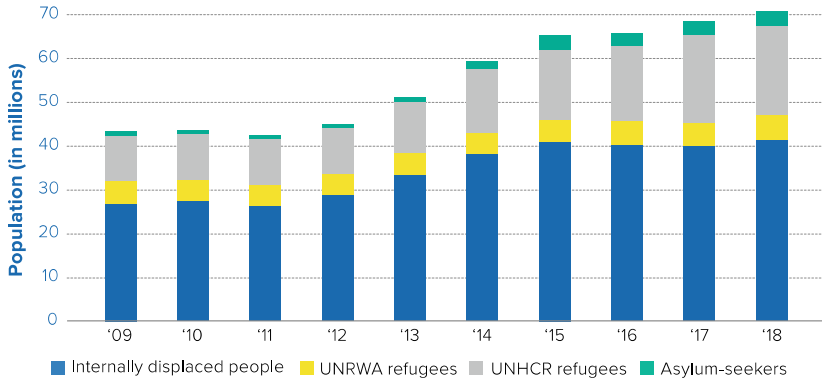
Fig. 1 Global forced displacement 2009–2018 (UNHCR 2019)

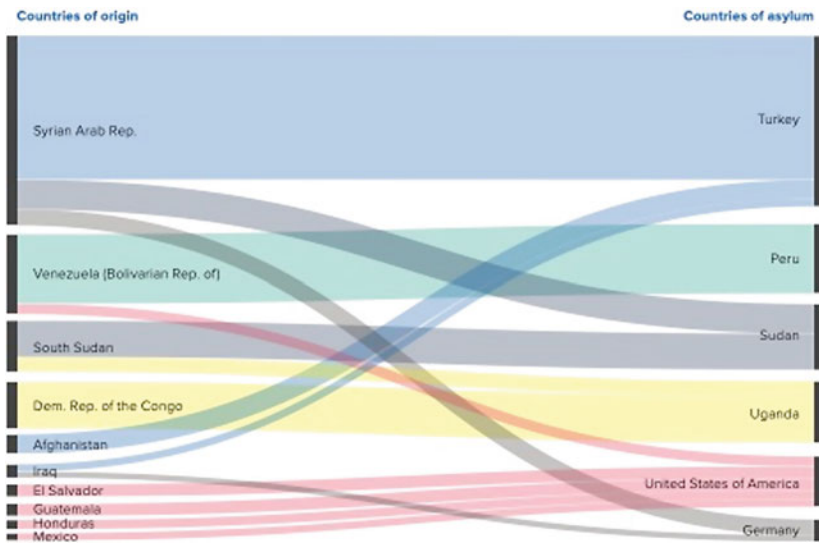**Fig. 2** Key flows of newly registered refugees and asylum seekers in 2018 (UNHCR 2019)

developments from Venezuela and countries in Middle America. Half of the refugee population in 2018 were children below 18 years with a high and only inaccurately registered number of unaccompanied and separated children. Studies reveal that forced migration might become an even bigger issue during the next

years, as typical causes (civil wars, military conflicts, discrimination or natural catastrophes) are fuelled in many different parts of the world (World Economic Forum 2019).

In the short-term, support for forcibly displaced people is focused on humanitarian support to guarantee basic living conditions and medical care. Experiences particularly with refugees in Western industrialised countries, however, revealed the relatively high prevalence of post-traumatic stress disorders (PTSD) among refugees, as they were exposed to different kinds of psychological stressors before, during and after the forced displacement (see for a summary of studies on these stressors Nationale Akademie der Wissenschaften Leopoldina 2018). Additionally, Feltes et al. (2018) describe further sources of traumatic experiences in the country of destination during administrative processes, due to violent attacks from other refugees or anti-immigration groups (see also Krause 2017). There is a huge variation of results on prevalence rates of PTSD among refugees, as studies differ on the time of stay in the host country, the legal status of the refugees, methods of screening and the investigated group of refugees. A study on 20 eligible studies about mental disorders in more than 6700 refugees in seven Western countries revealed that prevalence rates could be about ten times higher than in age-matched general populations in these countries (Fazel et al. 2005). Kaltenbach et al. (2017) used screening test to identify prevalence rates of psychological disorders among refugees in South Germany. They observed 35% of the refugees having symptoms of depression and anxiety disorder, while 13% showing symptoms of PTSD. The relatively low rate of PTSD was explained by the short time of stay in Germany preventing a feeling of relief as a precondition for a prevalence of PTSD. Kury et al. (2018) expect a share of 30–35% of refugees in Germany with symptoms of PTSD, which have to be treated. Alpak et al. (2015) emphasised in their study on Syrian refugees in Turkey that the probability of having PTSD among Syrian refugees dramatically increased for refugees with female gender, diagnosis with psychiatric disorder in the past, a family history with psychiatric disorder and experiences of two or more traumas.

These high risks reach a long-term negative dimension when the relatively high number of children below 18 years among the refugees and the transfer of stress disorders from parents to their offspring are considered (see e.g. Schauer 2016). Transfer of stress disorders include epi-genetic alterations as well as changes of parents' educational behaviour due to stress exposure (Leopoldina 2018; Schauer 2016; Sangalang and Vang 2017; Fazel and Betancourt 2018 with further references as well as Bryant et al. with path analyses along three waves between 2013 and 2016 on the impact of stress disorder on parenting among refugees in Australia). Studies on very long-term effects revealed associations between forced

displacement in World War II and PTSD and somatoform symptoms in aged adults (Freitag et al. 2013). Consequentially, the different causes and forms of vulnerability of forced displaced persons along the course of time from stressors before the displacement until long-term pathways in new countries of destination or after return still have to be researched in more depth (see also Leopoldina 2018).

2　Perspectives of Resilience Research

In contrast to emphasise the negative consequences of forced displacement, research on resilience allows to focus on sources and preconditions to maintain or regain physical and psychological stability or even positively transform living conditions despite the multitude of different stressors (see on differences in defining resilience in the context of forced displacement Southwick et al. 2014, as well as on different directions to define resilience in the context of young refugees Sleijpen et al. 2017). Many different facets characterise the research on resilience in the context of forced displacement. Earlier studies on resilience in the context of forced migration in the 1970ies follow contemporary approaches in psychology. While some studies were more focused on personal traits of refugees as sources for resilience (see e.g. Connor and Davidson 2003; Ziaian et al. 2012), later studies analysed resilience in the context of forced migration as a complex process of interaction between migrants, their families and other social environment, cultural factors and societies in countries of destination (see e.g. Masten 2014; Siriwardhana et al. 2014) without a binary understanding of resilience being present or not (Southwick et al. 2014). Longitudinal and follow-up studies emphasised the understanding of resilience as a complex process with changes of directions and determinants in the course of time (see e.g. Siriwardhana et al. 2015; Comtesse et al. 2019).

These perspectives on resilience of refugees were also recognised by social and political sciences and studies of humanitarian support, as they stimulated important changes for framing processes and discourses in countries of destination. While common stereotypes described refugees as "passive victims" and dependent recipients of support (Ghorashi 2005), the resilience perspective placed emphasis on the potentials of agency when considering strengths, competencies and initiatives of the displaced persons (see in more detail on these changes in discourses and their consequences for strategies and programs of humanitarian support Krause and Schmidt 2018; Pearce and Lee 2018). Krause and Schmidt (2018) mention particularly activities of individual, collective, economic and political empowerment as important elements to promote agency along the process of resilience (see also Betts et al. 2017 on examples of economic resilience, and Rast et al. 2019, on

the influence of reception approaches in the country of destination). Simultaneously, however, the focus on resilience within social and political sciences imply risks of neglecting remaining vulnerabilities, power structures and institutional barriers (see e.g. Stamm and Halberkann 2015; and Krause and Schmidt 2018).

Resilience research in the context of forced displacement does not only deal with resilience processes of displaced persons but also resilience strategies in host countries (see e.g. OECD 2019; Deardorff Miller 2018). International financial organisations primarily focus on financial support and capital transfers to host countries as part of short-term measures to cope with economic and social stressors.[2] Studies in social sciences look at strategies of economic and social adaptation and transformation by refugees as well as poor people in Western host countries beyond interventions by welfare states (Promberger 2017, based on case studies from different country projects). Political studies analyse preconditions to avoid xenophobic processes due to fears of increased conflicts on scarce social and economic resources (Rast et al. 2019 with further references), while economic studies investigate interactions between refugees' efforts, host country labour market policies and the resilience of regional labour markets (Lester and Nguyen 2016). Despite the different disciplinary origins of research and methodology, these approaches provide similar recommendations to concepts of community resilience, which further motivates the objective of this volume to provide contributions on resilience research in the context of forced displacement from different directions.

3 The Papers in This Volume

The contributions to this book follow the multitude of facets in resilience research. In their paper, *Katharina Gerarts and Sabine Andresen* focus on specificities of the vulnerability of refugee children. They invited refugee children in Germany to describe their feelings and experiences before, during and after the displacement. Based on this empirical research, a more precise and differentiated perspective on the complexity of vulnerability and resilience processes of refugee children is provided. In particular, sources and impact of insecurity on the children's vulnerability are emphasised.

Within their paper, *Linda Liebenberg and Emily Pelley* provide an overview to different approaches identifying and explaining resilience resources of refugees.

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[2]A typical example for this approach is the strategy of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which explicitly strives for "building host countries' resilience" by investing in Jordan and Turkey (EBRD 2019).

They particularly emphasise the importance of an understanding of resilience as a culturally and politically embedded process and discuss preconditions in host communities to support the resilience process of refugees, while strengths and resources of escapees and host communities have to be identified as opportunities to enrich displaced persons as well as societies in countries of destination.

Michael Wünsche and Sibylle Fischer extend this perspective on resilience processes of refugees by connecting the context of forced displacement with the concept of community resilience. They analyse the possibilities and challenges to develop and extend social networks as contributions to community resilience and particularly discuss the preconditions and opportunities to consider and activate the intercultural dimension of social networks with members from host communities and escapees.

The paper by *Selma Porobic* addresses the long-term dimension of resilience processes of naturalized Bosnian refugees in diaspora. Within her empirical research, she shows the close relation between the long-term individual resilience of refugees with existential challenges and the religious and spiritual dimensions of personal meta-narratives. Different religious and spiritual interpretations initiate personal processes of emerging self-identity and long-term adaptation processes in their host communities.

In his paper, Henrik Emilsson investigates the potential of the resilience approach in the context of political processes in host countries. Based on the example of Sweden with its long record as a country with a high willingness to particularly invite refugees and asylum seekers and a very large number of Syrian refugees coming to Sweden in 2015, Emilsson looks at rhetorical and programmatic adjustments in the different parliamentary parties to investigate whether the original wide-spread political consensus proved to be resilient against fears of emerging distributional conflicts in the host society.

Finally, the paper by Rüdiger Wink serves as an analysis of the conceptual basics and implications of a resilience research integrating resilience on the individual, community and country level. Complex interactions between micro, meso and macro levels need to be understood and integrated from different disciplinary perspectives, definitions and empirical methods to identify preconditions for mutually supportive feedback loops between the levels.

The papers in this volume illustrate the fast theoretical and empirical development of the resilience research in the context of forced displacement. In contrast to dystopic scenarios of intensified conflict spillovers along the flows of forced displacement, they bring to light the specific potential of escapees and host communities strengthening each other without ignoring the needs to combat causes for

displacement. This should pave the way for new theoretical and practical concepts supporting resilience processes of refugees and host communities.

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Refugee Children and Their Vulnerability. A Qualitative Study

Katharina Gerarts and Sabine Andresen

1 Introduction

Children have a "right to today". Janusz Korczak (1967) made this demand after the First World War, in which many children died or became orphans or refugees. It is still highly appropriate today. Children are the victims of violence and war, of hunger and marginalization, of discrimination and destroyed schools, of expulsion and flight. It is families with children seeking refuge and hoping for a better life that set out for Germany. But too little attention is paid to children, their experiences, their fears and hopes, their potential and their rights, when the focus here in Germany is on meeting the challenges of the major refugee movements of the present day.

For the study, we would like to present in this chapter, we listened to children who had fled with their families a few years before 2015. We made a very conscious decision to focus on accompanied minors who have been displaced, because they go through the standard asylum system with their parents, which is why they often remain "invisible" as regards their own needs and their specific situation. We gave accompanied children who had fled a space where they could tell their stories and asked them to talk about their memories of their countries of origin, their experiences during their journey and on arrival in Germany, and their lives here, their concerns, but also their hopes and desires. The children in our study come

K. Gerarts (✉)
Protestant University Darmstadt, Darmstadt, Germany
e-mail: Katharina.Gerarts@eh-darmstadt.de

S. Andresen
Goethe University Frankfurt/Main, Frankfurt, Germany
e-mail: S.Andresen@em.uni-frankfurt.de

from Afghanistan, Eritrea, Iran, Kosovo, Serbia and Syria. They therefore represent the countries from which people have set out on the always difficult, often life-threatening journey to Germany. Furthermore, they represent the diversity of experiences of flight and arrival.

The conceptual framework, we will work with in this chapter, is that of childhood vulnerability. Here we will focus on security and insecurity as a dimension of social determined vulnerability (Sect. 4). This theoretical section follows reports on the situation in Germany since 2015 with the high number of vulnerable families and children who came as refugees (Sect. 2) and our view of children who have fled (Sect. 3). We then describe the methods of the study (Sect. 5). Finally, in Sect. 6 we will present our findings referring to central dimensions and conclude with respect to vulnerability and resilience.

2   The Global, European and National Situation

The Federal Office for Migration and Refugees' record of asylum applications made in Germany in 2015 shows a 150% rise over the previous year. It must be stressed, however, that due to the great flexibility and dynamism of the phenomenon of mass movement, it is very difficult to cite exact figures about people on the run. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees, UNHCR, points out that the figures change on a daily basis. Getting accurate numbers is, therefore, a challenge. Nevertheless, UNICEF estimates that about a quarter of a million children and adolescents are seeking protection against war, persecution and need in Germany.[1] The UNHCR noted that the worldwide number of people on the run was almost 70 million in the end of 2017. The UN assumes that around half of all people on the run in the world are under 18 years of age, so can be termed children in accordance with the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.[2]

To date, there have been few studies that deal with the experiences of children who have fled. This is also shown by the UNICEF study "In erster Linie Kinder" from Berthold (2014), in which the first empirical findings were published and which drew attention to the specific situation of children. This study forms an important empirical basis and it also refers to the systematically justified need not to reduce the situation of children with experience of flight to this, but to take a broad view of children. This study based on childhood theory follows on from this. Another high-quality study is the dissertation by Franziska Eisenhuth (2015), who

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[1]Cf. https://www.unicef.de/fl%C3%BCchtlingskinder [As of 02.11.2018].

[2]Cf. https://www.uno-fluechtlingshilfe.de/fluechtlinge/zahlen-fakten/ [As of 02.11.2018].

asked about how children position themselves and are positioned by others within the general frame of the Capabilities Approach. The empirical survey for this work was carried out several years ago, in other words long before the current, urgent situation. But Eisenhuth's analytical categories offer further-reaching connecting points for current empirical research approaches that aim to reconstruct the experiences and scope for action of children who have fled. In her results, Eisenhuth clearly demonstrated the limited development and positioning options with which children with uncertain residency status are confronted here in Germany. She reconstructs what children experience as a restriction on participation, consumption, mobility and freedom. She also identifies the contradictory positioning of children and the experiences of being ethnically different. The interpretations that relate to the approach to the interview sequences in which the children interviewed by Eisenhuth discuss their ideas of the future are impressive.

Events in the near future, such as possible deportation, or plans further ahead, such as school-leaving qualifications or a vocational qualification, are very relevant in the interviews and prove that "the right of a child to today" also corresponds with his or her need for future plans. The concept of well-being could be added here because having the ability to choose in the here and now and to be able to relate it to the future, as well as a feeling of security, are central to the degree of well-being. This was shown recently by the findings of the global comparative study "Children's Worlds" (Rees and Main 2015, p.13) on the subjective well-being of children in 15 countries, including such diverse countries as Nepal, Ethiopia, Norway and Israel. Security and choice are of great importance to children between the ages of eight and twelve in practically all countries and in various circles within the countries.

Linking to the results of the UNICEF study, Eisenhuth's dissertation and the international findings from the "Children's Worlds" study, there was a childhood theoretical approach to the subjective experiences of children who have fled and on the autobiographical (literary) processing of experiences of flight. Starting from this and in relation to the conceptual framing of vulnerability and well-being, the following dimensions were developed for the survey and evaluation:

- Memories and losses
- Family and friends (relationships and encounters)
- Education and language
- Security and protection
- Healthcare, social and material provision
- Privacy and self-determination.

These specified dimensions can also be assigned to the general dimensions of child well-being, such as education, health, family and security. All of the dimensions resonated—with varying degrees of importance—in the interviewed children's stories. The children's feelings play a central role in all of them. They help to open the eyes, in particular to the interaction of vulnerability and well-being of children who have fled in Germany.

3   Our View of Children Who Have Fled

It is always the individual stories, experiences, motivations and hopes that play a central role in people's flight. However, by calling people refugees there is a great risk of addressing the issue in a one-sided way. People who have fled always bring resources, strengths and skills with them and recognizing and respecting them contribute to integrity.

People who have fled should not, therefore, be seen purely as victims. This is also reflected in the name: with the word "refugee", a person is reduced to his story, his skills and strengths to the status of a person who has fled. In our study, therefore, we talked about children who have fled, whose perspectives on what they have experienced must be collected and understood. In our opinion, this perspective is necessary to raise people's awareness of their unique lives, hopes and stories in contrast to the perception of a "mass" flight to Europe.

Making national, ethnic or religious affiliation subjects that can be disregarded is something that particularly affects children. They usually have even fewer means of intervention than adults and can barely discuss those individual reasons and, in spite of the recognition of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, they are often deprived of the rights to which they are entitled. This means that the fading out of individual stories affects the next generation to a particular degree. Accompanied children who have fled have hardly been considered in the past; they are subsumed into the whole family that has taken flight, although they are by far the majority of minors who have fled. The UNICEF study "In erster Linie Kinder" [Children First of All] rightly points out that far too little attention and consideration is given to the perspectives of children in asylum procedures.[3] Accompanied and unaccompanied minors who have fled are especially vulnerable because of the social conditions of war, hunger, flight and the unpredictability of routes and channels; they are thus in particularly great need of protection. The challenge here,

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[3]Cf https://www.unicef.de/blob/56282/fa13c2eefcd41dfca5d89d44c72e72e3/fluechtling skinder-in-deutschland-unicef-studie-2014-data.pdf [As of 02.11.2018].

therefore, is to be alert to this subjective perspective of children and to help them to speak about it in their own words.

We believe it is evident that children with experience of displacement should be allowed to talk about it, that they can explain their circumstances and what hopes and dreams they harbour for the future. Children who have fled their homes need space and people who will listen to them. It is about giving them a voice. This can help available resources to be properly established, accessed and supported. This study is therefore based on the World Vision Children's studies that have already examined the subjective well-being of six- to eleven-year-old children in Germany four times. It is the aim of the World Visions Children's studies to give children the chance, within the meaning of Article 12 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, to express their opinion and detail their views. This study is designed to give a very specific group of children the opportunity to make their voices heard, i.e. those children who have fled to Germany from many different countries where war, poverty or other dangers prevail.

The intention of the study is to reduce children's vulnerability and to address resilient factors by giving children the chance to tell their stories and to realize that adults are seriously listen to them. The concept of vulnerability is in some aspect related with the idea that human beings have the potential to be resilient. This leads to the question, what we know within the framework of childhood theory, whether and if yes how empirical studies show resilience of refugee children. Fröhlich-Gildhoff et al. (2007) define resilience as a multifactorial concept. The main factors are positive self-awareness, adequate self-control, self-efficacy, social skills, appropriate stress management and problem-solving skills.

Children are capable to be and act autonomously, but they are dependent on care, love, education and protection as well. It seems to be the main challenge in interacting with children to keep a "good" balance. Resilience addresses a specific idea of "the self". This concept can lead to a shift of responsibility away from social conditions and the power of adults towards a responsibility of children.

4 Theoretical Framework of the Study

For this, the study combines two concepts based on childhood theory, that of the well-being of children on the one hand and the vulnerability of children on the other. Whereas the multi-dimensionally designed concept of well-being, which considers security, education, relationship quality and networks as well as psycho-social health, focuses on the resources of children (World Vision Deutschland 2013; Hillebrandt et al. 2011), the focus on vulnerability assumes that

the life phase of childhood is marked by diverse dependencies and risks of harming the integrity of children.

Consequently, childhood theory is fundamentally about the development of the relationship between children's resources, their abilities to act and make decisions. Hence, it is also about autonomy and their vulnerability because they are particularly dependent on caring and competent adults and appropriate overall conditions. All over the world, probably, children belong to the especially vulnerable groups due to their "place" in the relationship between the generations, but especially in times and areas of crisis as they depend on amenable adults and appropriate social general conditions because they need to be provided and cared for, protected and given education and a voice. This is particularly the case for children fleeing danger and following their flight story.

In this tension between knowledge of the principal resources of children and their reliance and vulnerability, how children organize their world under such extreme conditions of a flight and how they try to make sense of the events must be clarified. How they view the adults who are important to them and what they experience as helpful and supportive to them and their families must be examined. Starting from Korczak's phrase that children have a "right to today", their view of the provision and the facilities in Germany, such as at school, is important. Starting from this framework of childhood theory and aimed at the research interest in the experiences and perceptions of children who have fled, the survey and the methodological design of the interviews described above are based on the following research questions:

- How do the children make sense of the "old" and the "new" world as well as the time of their flight?
- How do they understand the reactions of others, for example their parents? What approaches to understanding are possible for them?
- How do they make sense of their everyday lives and the familiar and the unknown, new routines?
- What ideas do they have of other people's expectations of them and how do they face up to the demands at school, for example?
- What ideas and expectations do children have in respect of Germany as a country of immigration?

During evaluation it became clear that we could not deal with all questions in detail, but that the children's main focuses became obvious in the interviews. This methodological openness is at the heart of the high-quality approach. For example, the interviews show the enormous role that children attach to school: they use their

experience of school in their countries of origin to be able to explain the key reasons for flight from their point of view, whereas school in Germany is an important place of arrival for them. Therefore, it must also be about the reasons for flight suggested by the children and for successful integration from their point of view.

5   Implementation of the Study, Selection of the Children and Interview Methods

The study on children who fled with their relatives to Germany is based on a qualitative methodology. High-quality interviews were conducted with the children and turned into case studies that could be read as portraits of the children over the course of the study. The study makes no claim to be representative, but clearly captures the special features of the individual fates of the children and their view of the experience of flight they have gained, as well as of their hopes and dreams for the future. We decided to interview children between the ages of 10 and 13 because experience from childhood research shows that children of this age find it easier to tell the stories of their lives, have a degree of insight and can look back on their life. In addition to age, the following criteria were important for the choice: The accompanied status of the children, their countries of origin, the family and housing situation, and the residency status or the status of the family's asylum process.

Before the interviews, there was a "getting to know each other" day with the children and the research team. This was supposed to give the children the opportunity to establish their first contact with the researchers and form a basis of trust. These "getting to know each other" days were supported by professional educationalists. Because of the wintry weather, the children were also partly given warm shoes or coats on these days. Due to language barriers, interpreters were also present on the "getting to know each other days". The photos of the children that appear in the brochure have been pixelated and made anonymous for child protection reasons.

The intention of the interviews was to ask the children about their past, present and future. Particular regard was paid to the possible sensitivity of the children with regard to their past experiences and things that happened during their journey. Attention was paid to any possible traumatization of the children. Where necessary, interviews were conducted by a native speaker. After the end of the interviews, the children were given a voucher for a clothing store as a thank you, as well as a card from the "Nummer gegen Kummer" [a helpline] so that they could

talk to someone in confidence if necessary. In the refugees' outpatients department in Hamburg, the children were supported by trauma therapists to ensure that the children could talk about mental stress after the interview.

The study aims to make visible the experiences, impressions and individual fates of children who have fled. The interdisciplinary access and the interdisciplinary composition of the research team make achieving this complex objective possible. The starting point of the study is the observation that children are rarely considered in discussions and analyses of the situation of people taking flight, the causes of the flight movements and the challenges in organizing migration. Children are affected to a particular degree—as childhood research has always pointed out—by the general claims of not being perceived as a subject defined by national, ethnic or religious affiliations. Children usually have less scope than adults to intervene in their living conditions and can barely discuss the individual reasons for leaving home. They are still being denied the "right to rights" (Hannah Arendt 1943), in spite of recognition of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. This means that fading out of individual stories affects the next generation to a particular degree. It is mainly children who have fled accompanied by their parents/guardians that have hardly been considered in the past; they are subsumed into the whole family that has fled. Childhood studies offer the potential to provide help here—at least in research. Against the background of the theoretical direction and the methodological experience of questioning children, it is possible to describe and analyse the subjective perspectives of children and to help the children find the words for their experiences.

6 Following the Memories and Stories of Children with Experience of Flight. Findings and Analyses

On the basis of the portraits of the children interviewed, it is clear that their backgrounds and stories are very different. The reasons for fleeing with their families range from the illness of individual family members and a lack of healthcare, experiences of marginalization, poverty and material need to war, violence and persecution. The children speak about the reasons for flight from their point of view and that is highly individual on the one hand but, on the other, their reports reveal wishes and hopes as well as needs that are expressed in a similar way by all the children interviewed. As already shown in the introduction, childhood research has raised awareness that children should not be subsumed in the decisions, interests and approaches of the family as a whole, but that we should take

notice of their specific viewpoints. What does that mean? To evaluate the children's stories, we wanted to bring the dimensions of childhood well-being introduced in the introduction together with the specific stories and experiences of the children who have fled. Childhood well-being, which can be arranged and sorted by the criteria of family and friends, education, security, health and material provision, has different connotations and focuses for children with experience of flight. They will be presented in detail below to illustrate the special needs of the selected group of children.

6.1 Family and Friends (Relationships and Encounters)

Family and friends form a central dimension in children's everyday lives. Good relationships make a major contribution to well-being, just as much as a lack of them makes children especially vulnerable. In the interviews, the children talk at length and mostly happily about their family or individual family members, for example those they haven't seen since their flight. It quickly becomes clear that the family is the first and most important place for the accompanied children who have fled. It offers the children support and security as well as familiar structures with reliable attachment figures. But the children differentiate between the family that they experienced before taking flight and the family with which they are growing up in Germany. There are many reasons for this: sometimes the family in Germany is no longer complete, the father is missing or there is hardly any contact with grandparents in the country of origin. As with children with no experience of flight, they use photographs of celebrations or special events to remember. If they still have photos after their flight, these photos give the children points of reference for their memories, but they also create space to discuss losses. For example, twelve-year-old Edgar said: "*For my birthday in Kosovo, my mother bought a big cake and invited all my friends. I still have a photo as a reminder.*"

The happy memories of big parties in the country of origin are consequently overshadowed by losses of family members and disruptions to relationships. Many of the children lost contact with family members because of or during the flight. For example, Marlon's uncle and granddad stayed in Kosovo when he and his family set off towards a better future. And Josephina very much misses her grandma who still lives in Eritrea: "*I would love to see my grandma more often and I wish that she could come to Germany soon. But we do speak on the phone now and then.*"

These quotes imply the dimension of being a geographically scattered family whose family members only have limited scope to change anything about it. Thus,

Josephina's desire for her grandmother and stable contact with her corresponds to the fundamental socio-political issues of the importance to successful integration of the subsequent immigration of family members. Losses and interrupted relationships are thus subjects addressed by the children in the interviews, and this is particularly serious when it is not clear where a close family member actually is. Maybe some children avoid discussing a permanent loss. Shirin from Iran lives alone with her mother in Germany and the two of them seem to have fled on their own. But she does not want to say where her father is and what happened to him. Whether he is still alive or was a victim of the persecution of Christians in Iran or whether her parents have separated and the child does not want to talk about it remains unclear. Families are often separated by flight and then reunited later. Edgar talks about exactly this experience: "*My older brothers went away from Kosovo on their own first of all. When they got to Germany they phoned us and then the rest of the family set off. We all cried when we saw each other again because for a time it looked as though we couldn't find my brothers. That made my mother, my sister and me very sad.*"

Kabira's father also set off from Syria on his own first. Only later did her mother travel with the children, following their father. They all met up again in Italy and were happy—but the flight and its experiences changed Kabira's parents and they have now separated. The memories of family members in the country of origin, the flight undertaken with the family, the subsequent arrival in Germany—these are all memories that inevitably connect the children to their family, that will live on as collective family memories and that will be discussed with the family. On the one hand, memories can represent what was "good" about their familiar home country and their dear relatives, but they also reveal the reasons for the flight and displacement. How the situation in the country of origin was experienced, to whom in the family the children assign the initiative for flight, whether they organized the flight together or separately, father first and then mother with the children, what uncertainties they experienced on the journey, all of these contribute to children's views of family and is part of their experience in Germany. In addition to family, friendships with other children are important in the stories. This includes the experience of the loss of friends and friendships as a result of the flight or after it. Josephina says: "*When we got on the airplane to Germany, the worst thing for me was that I had to leave my friend behind in Eritrea. I loved her so much; we played together every day. Now I have no contact with her; that's such a pity!*" Children who move house within a country also have these experiences and they also suffer from the possible loss of a close friendship. Therefore, this does not per se have to be seen as a particular stress for children who have fled. Nevertheless, the question remains as to what resources children can access, whether they can cope with sad

feelings, and how the risk that they find no way of integrating their experiences and the significant people in their home countries into their self can be countered. But new friendships are made as a result of the flight. Shirin met a girl in the reception centre in Karlsruhe who is still her friend. "*We write to each other because my friend lives in Cologne now and we cannot see each other very often.*" Jakob stresses how important his new friends are to his life in Germany: "*If I do not say something correctly, for example 'Blaum' instead of 'Baum', my friends help me and say what the word should really be. That's really great! I also like to play football with my friends; my friends are very important to me!*" Therefore, as much as losses, be they of people, familiar everyday routines, the familiar landscape and language, are part of the experience of children who have fled, their everyday life after their arrival in Germany can be marked by productive and supportive new relationship experiences, after the first phase of uncertainty. The opportunities for new friendships are portrayed in detail and vividly in the children's stories. Arrival in the new environment, familiarization and ultimately the integration of children newly arrived in Germany is made easier and encouraged by new alliances with children of the same age and through new, growing friendships. From the children's point of view, these relationships can be interpreted as the first gestures of arrival, caring and the associated sigh of relief. These gestures by children, but also by caring and compassionate adults, are as central for children just as much as for adults.

By being given access to society and not being shut away in separate accommodation, children and their parents are given the opportunity to build up social networks and thus participate in society with an interchange of give and take. The institutions in which children are housed with their families are in principle the rooms that either contribute to or have a preventive effect on how children experience family and what good opportunities they have to make alliances and friendships.

6.2   Education and Language

It is obvious that flight confronts children with language confusion. At the latest when they arrive in Germany, they realize that their native language is no longer the natural choice for communication. Sometimes even young children try to overcome linguistic barriers with English words or phrases. They thus experience language as an entrance to the new world and this challenge was literally put into words in the interviews, especially by the older children. Just like the political discussions on integration by learning the language, the children we interviewed

seize on this argument and connect it with education and their own educational efforts.

Children who have fled are educated in school. Overall, it is generally appreciated and the children see their resources for well-being and for familiarization with Germany in the school or in individual teachers. Overall, the children's biographies are distilled at school and with their experiences there. Because in the interviews, the causes of flight and the reasons for wanting to stay in Germany are bound to experiences at school. The comparison between their experience of school in the country of origin and school in Germany is developed here. When individual children talk about the reasons for fleeing, they attach it to the blows or discrimination from teachers that they experienced. This makes school a place where violence and discrimination were experienced and the most important reasons for fleeing. Bajan says that he was marginalized at school. He and his family are Roma, a group of people who are disadvantaged and discriminated against in Serbia. This presented him and his family with great disadvantages in their home country: "*My parents could not buy me any books or pens for school. That's why I got into trouble with my teachers and was actually beaten.*" Shirin from Iran had similar experiences. As Christians, she and her mother belonged to a minority. In the interview, she unambiguously states that in the short or long term it would have cost her and her mother their lives because Christians are persecuted in Iran. "*I always had to wear a headscarf at school. Once, I got into real trouble because my headscarf slipped and some of my hair could be seen. I was not allowed to go to school for a few days.*" We rarely hear about these experiences in reports because the focus is more on institutions tailored to adults when the right to asylum due to state persecution is being considered. If we also include the child's systematic worlds of experience and sense in the consideration, there are definitely perspectives that are relevant to everyday life.

In terms of participation in the German educational system, in the interviews the children mainly report on their positive experiences with teachers. For example, Edgar expresses his gratitude and surprise that the teachers are so friendly to him. "*In Kosovo I was beaten if I did not give the right answer or did not have an exercise book with me for the lesson. It's very different here: the teacher asks me how I am and how I'm settling in. I find that so nice; I've never known anything like that!*" However, the limits to access to education in the countries of origin are not the only aspects that the interviewed children told us about. It is clear that all of the children are grateful for the opportunity that they are given in Germany: to be able to go to school here, to be able to learn the new language and to make new friends through school who can help them to cope in the new environment. Jakob says: "*I already go to a proper school, not a preparatory class like the other*

children in the refugees' home. I really want to learn German; I want to do it all on my own. I'm also really interested in maths! I want to be a teacher one day and teach the children things. I think that's great!" This quote could be used to discuss how most federal states deal with integration classes and ask questions about alternatives. But something else becomes clear here: the future prospects of a child attached to school, language learning and education. It is possible that in the process it will become clear how children experience their new environment and whether the experiences they undergo here, the encounters will open up plans for the future. The possibility to connect one's own past and the experience in the here and now to the need for future prospects can also be seen in Jakob's report.

But school in Germany also causes problems for the children in our study. Josephina talks about racist experiences: "*In school some of the children call me 'chocolate' – because of the colour of my skin. That's just about OK because chocolate is yummy. But once one of them swore at me really badly because of my skin colour; I do not understand what that's about. My teacher always says, 'In one ear and straight out through the other.' I'm trying to do that.*" At least Josephina's teacher reacts, although we have to ask how teachers can be given more support and better enabled to protect children from such experiences and to act in an anti-discriminatory way themselves. It is a difficult everyday experience for children in Germany to have a different skin colour or to speak a different language. These experiences of discrimination and marginalisation are rarely mentioned in our interviews which does not mean that they do not exist. Overall, the children we interviewed are aware of the opportunity that access to the education system gives them. They have great hopes of acquiring skills and knowledge and they want to use them to secure their futures. Shirin from Iran says: "*I want a really good job one day; maybe I'll be a fashion designer, I'm not sure yet; maybe I'll have another idea when I'm older. It is important for me to work when I'm grown up, which is why I want to go to grammar school next year; my teacher agrees.*" Moreover, attending school also enables an experience of normality. This offers stability and security, because every-day routines are ruptured during the flight.

6.3 Security and Protection

When children's well-being is impaired and they feel that they are particularly vulnerable, this is often due to a lack of security. A lack of security and protection is almost always a reason for flight. Children are also well aware of this or will have developed a feeling for this in the situations they have experienced, even if

they cannot explicitly put it into words. These dimensions also include unsettling observations among close relatives or reactions of parents in which their own uncertainty is expressed. But in our interviews, other aspects after arrival in Germany are added to this, and they are directly linked to uncertain residency status. Ten-year-old Jakob from Kosovo very impressively reports his worries and fears: "*I heard from an acquaintance that the police come at night. People who are not allowed to stay in Germany are collected at night and sent back. I cannot sleep well because of this, you know? I have lots of stress and fear.*"

The quote illustrates that children pick up and process any piece of information pertaining to their uncertain situation. If there are no transparent and clear processes and associated information, whether at a reception centre, in shared accommodation or at the local authority, this can lead to great uncertainty, as can be seen in Jakob's case. Children need a feeling of security for their well-being and in view of their elementary reliance on protection and care. This also makes it possible for them to develop their potentials and to get used to the new environment and to take steps towards a new life as new arrivals without fear or worries. Leaving children and their families with a feeling of uncertainty and lack of prospects puts an enormous strain on mental and social development. Existential fears threaten the whole family. The status of waiting, the physical and mental persistence, for example for recognition as an asylum seeker, in reception centres, in corridors, before departures or at the borders, generates emotions, sometimes monotony and can be an expression of social coldness.

If we think of a child's urge to move and need for security, other questions about these imposed forms of waiting are raised. Shirin from Iran also reports of experiences of uncertainty in the reception centre: "*There was a girl there; she was funny, almost crazy. She was always hitting me and crying.*" In the reception centre, Shirin had no one other than her mother to whom she could turn with this problem. This experience of Shirin clearly illustrates how few opportunities people on the run have of deciding on the people with whom they have to live. In the large accommodation centres in particular, people who have fled form a sort of artificial community, whose dynamics also have an impact on the children. The rather unregulated structures of shared accommodation, with their cramped living conditions and little opportunity for withdrawal and privacy, therefore makes it an unsuitable place for children to stay in. Children need safe and regulated structures as well as safe accommodation in the "best interest of the child", healthcare, social and material provision.

An analysis of the importance of security and protection has already indicated the dimension of healthcare, social and material provision that is so central to the children who have fled. The deadly terror such as that experienced by children in

flight is especially threatening to psychosocial health. This is where psychotherapy is especially important. "*When we travelled over the sea in the little ship, it rocked all over the place and slowly filled with water. I was very frightened. At some point, an enormous ship came and collected us all up; we had to climb high and ever higher,*" says ten-year-old Kabira from Syria in her interview. At the "getting to know each other" day before the interviews, she kept pointing to ships sailing past on the Rhine and said: "*We sailed over the sea in a boat like that. I had nightmares for a long time, but they're slowly getting better.*" Kabira's stories show that the mental health of children who have fled is fragile. Farid and Samir, the Afghan brothers from Hamburg, regularly attend the refugees' outpatients department where traumatic disorders are treated. Many of the children we interviewed have undergone experiences that can damage mental health and that require treatment with specialist staff.

War-like conflicts, witnessing death and violence and the risk of not surviving are the experiences of some of the children interviewed. But, as already mentioned, the permanent uncertainty and fear of having no prospect of staying, being collected unexpectedly and sent back to the country of origin can cause mental damage among the children who have fled, as can worries about their parents and their stability. Edgar's stories are in this vein, when he reports that his mother suffered a serious mental illness as a result of the experiences of the Kosovo war. "*In Kosovo, my mother was very ill; she was frightened for me and my brothers and sisters and was always thinking about the bombs. But we had no money in Kosovo; we could not afford a doctor. My mother gets tablets here in Germany and she's much better.*" Access to the healthcare system, general healthcare provision, plays an essential role for the children and the families who have fled. What is central for childhood research is precisely how children have gained their knowledge and how they try to sort out their observations, what they have heard and the medical care of their mother, for example, that they have experienced and make sense of it.

Now that his mother is receiving medical care, Edgar is also better because he no longer has to worry so much about his mother. These forms of relief are important for children and they are part of comprehensive provision aimed at families. But in the case of Edgar in particular, it can be seen that the children who have fled often assume great responsibility for their parents and put themselves in the role of a caring parent (parentification). This is particularly the case if they learn the new language more quickly and better because they are then used for interpreting activities. If, as in Edgar's case, the father is dead, the children are sometimes given responsibilities that the remaining parent cannot manage alone. "*When my mother was in hospital for weeks at a time, my older brothers looked*

after me and my sister. I always did the shopping because my mum was not there. I also do that when mum is too tired to go shopping," says Edgar. Here it can be seen that not only are trauma-therapy treatments needed for healthy physical and mental development of children with experience of flight, but that some families also need close-knit support from social workers so that the children can remain children and are not overburdened with jobs that are really the preserve of adults. In addition to healthcare provision, material provision and the existing material resources of a child and a family are also important. Flight usually also means heavy material losses; many children are also clear about this: "*There was war in Kosovo. A bomb fell on our house; it was totally destroyed. After that we did not have a house anymore and often slept on the streets.*" Here, Edgar is reporting on a very radical material shortage in their daily life.

But Marlon, Jakob and Bojan also say that there was a lack of material equipment in their countries of origin, whether firewood, books and pens for school or clothing. All of the children interviewed fall below the poverty line in Germany and little will change in this material situation for a long time. Kabira and her family were able to save only a little of their luggage on their flight from Syria to Germany via the Mediterranean Sea. Few people who have fled have possession and are thus greatly dependent on material donations; that is also very important to the children. Marlon reports that he and his family have no table in the accommodation where he can do his homework: "*I just do my homework on the floor; I can do that. But here in Germany, my father can at least buy me the materials that I need for school.*" For most of the children interviewed, the experiences they have had with food are also key. "*When we finally arrived in Italy on the ship, my siblings, my mother and I were so hungry! We then met my dad again and he bought a chicken for us, we shovelled it into our mouths with our hands, we were that hungry,*" Kabira says. Josephina remembers very well how unfamiliar she found the food in the reception centre in Gießen; she remembers mashed potatoes every day. Shirin from Iran had similar experiences: "*We were very happy when we had our own kitchen again; since then my mother has been cooking Iranian food again; that's just what I like best.*"

Access to food and the means to prepare familiar dishes is decisive for the identity of the children who have fled and their families. Sticking to familiar food, preparing dishes in a familiar way, seems to help the children and their parents to make sense both of events that occurred where they used to live and during the situations in flight as well as the shared experiences with familiar attachment figures, their observations, fears and finally the situation after arrival in Germany. The autonomy associated with the opportunity to be able to prepare familiar food gives security. Material and social provision also manifests itself for children in the

matter of where and how they live. The domestic environment on the stations of flight also takes up lots of space in the interviews. From other studies, it is known how much the living environment helps to determine the feeling of safety, development opportunities and the activity radius of children. This clearly stands out in the interviews. Shirin from Iran, for example, is overjoyed that she and her mother now have a flat of their own and no longer have to share a kitchen and bathroom with others: "*It is so lovely to have a room of my own; here, I can decide for myself how I arrange things.*" At the same time, in the interviews we note reluctance to question or criticise the unfamiliar living conditions. As with Edgar, for example, who does not give a proper answer to the question of whether he likes the flat in the shared accommodation, because on the one hand he is happy to have a roof over his head, but on the other still feels uncomfortable with his current accommodation.

6.4 Privacy and Self-Determination

One visual example of the importance children attach to self-determined scope for themselves and relatives in their everyday lives is whether the families can prepare their own meals. Fleeing and applying for asylum mean a high degree of dependency and extremely little scope for self-determination in everyday routines. Children just as much as adults experience this and it may be especially difficult for them to see—in the process of waiting, suffering and the uncertain future—any sense that would make the situation more bearable. The need for and the ability to achieve autonomy in principle plays a central role in many studies on children's well-being. But it runs through our interviews like a common theme through the children's stories and is relevant to all of the dimensions that have unfolded. Dependency on external decisions affects the whole family that has fled, but especially the children. Because, in the order of the generation, children are in an imbalance of powers that is not in their favour. If the parents are then also dependent on external decision-makers, on information and a lack of self-determination, this affects the children even more. This can be seen in Jakob's stories of his fear of deportation when he is sleeping or in Josephina, who does not really know whether she will be able to return to Eritrea with her family.

7   Discussion: Insecurity as Central for the Concept of Vulnerability and Resilience

Surveys on children's well-being address the finding that alongside the experience of autonomy and care, another indicator or relevant dimension of child well-being is security (Rees and Main 2015; World Vision Deutschland 2007, 2010, 2013, 2018). According to empirical findings on the well-being of children aged 6–12 years, insecurity is linked, first, to experiences of violence, and, second, to a lack of self-efficacy—above all in the context of experiences at school. Further sources of insecurity are the quality of relationships to parents, to other adults in educational institutions, and to peers. From a socio-ecological perspective we see in these studies an often reported result: an outstanding relation to a sensible and empowering person could protect a vulnerable child.

Insecurity is also an important dimension for parents and their ideas on child vulnerability. This finding relates to David Finkelhor's (2008) observation:

> Parents make considerable efforts, some more than others, to try to keep their children safe. They move them to the suburbs. They give them karate lessons. They drive them to school to keep them off the streets or the bus. They sometimes invest in wearable alarms, wristwatch Global Positioning System devices, and babysitter-surveillance cameras. (2008, p. 47)

This diagnosis of the parental need for security by David Finkelhor, a researcher specializing in childhood and violence, points to a notable consensus among adults: Children are considered to be at risk, and they are particularly insecure in public spaces. This is reflected in the fact that protection is one of the fundamental orientations of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child alongside development, education and participation. Not only parents and other adults in their concrete interactions with children but also institutions in their formal shaping of childhood develop and establish more or less successful strategies to make the childhood life phase as secure and safe from harm as possible. However, what exactly is perceived as a threat or a risk depends decisively on the contexts in which children are growing up: the educational level and status of their parents, the public discourses over risks, or the norms of the state and civil society. In addition, it is precisely social contexts that are linked closely to normative attributions. For example, there is one discourse shaped primarily by moral panic. It views a childhood spent growing up with unemployed parents as a risk. However, this notion of risk does not refer to any effects on children that can be explained in structural terms, but is based on a critical evaluation of the behaviour of unemployed parents.

Another example addresses the significance of legally formulated norms and the associated obligations imposed on the daily interactions between children and adults. For instance, several European countries have granted children the legal right to be reared without violence. In Germany, this was encoded in civil law—but not criminal law—in 2000. This now makes it possible to examine how such a fixed consensus in civil society influences the practical and everyday interactions between parents and their children or between educators and children and to examine whether and how far this is leading to changing attitudes among adults (Bussmann 2003).

Despite such reforms to civil law, there is still no empirically unequivocal knowledge about what makes children into threatened beings and at what ages they are threatened. And "*sadly, social science has been little help. There is surprisingly little research about exactly which children are at risk and what works to reduce that risk*" (Finkelhor 2008, p. 47). One impressive example for the lack of precise knowledge as well as for misguided perceptions is the concern that children may become victims of violence inflicted by strangers. Available findings, however, point in another direction, even when the dark figure, that is, our lack of knowledge, is particularly pronounced: It is above all in close proximal space, that is, in the family, among friends and relatives, and at school, that children become victims of violence and are exposed to other threats to their well-being.

Hence, it is those time periods, spaces, and actions that are perceived to be insecure that influence the social shaping of childhood and the strategies of adults. This provides the theory of childhood with an approach to assumptions in sociological theory that refer to the shaping of the social, for example, between the generations and genders, in the distribution of goods, and in the granting of rights. We would like to address here a hypothesis: Insecurity of relations, structures, social conditions and the concrete space like a village determines the possibility to develop resilience. This is especially the case when it comes to the situation that a child fled with his or her family. Results from the current World Vision Deutschland (2018) show that children from the immigration country play an important role for the integration of children who have fled: Children become social actors for integration. Resilience can grow through the acceptance and structures of the incorporating society.

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Supporting Escapees and Migrants: Understanding the Role of Resilience Resources

Linda Liebenberg and Emily Pelley

1 Introduction

Internationally the number of escapees and migrants is both glaring and growing at an exponential rate. Despite what appears to be an insurmountable problem, host communities can respond in meaningful ways to the needs of migrant groups. Furthermore, capacity exists to respond to more than basic needs. To this end, however, we need to shift our perspective from threat to strengths (Bäärnhielm 2016). Migrants bring with them resources and skills; they stand to add to our communities in numerous ways. The question arises however, as to how we can integrate and meaningfully support newcomers.

Understanding the processes and resources that support successful adaptation following the trauma that precedes migration, and that is often part of the migration process, could be an important starting point. It is here that resilience theory proves useful. Accordingly, we begin this chapter by briefly setting the context of the escapee/migrant situation globally. Following on this, we provide an overview of what is currently known about resilience. We conclude by considering the relevance of this theory to the situation of escapees and migrants.

L. Liebenberg (✉) · E. Pelley
Dalhousie University Halifax, Halifax, Canada
e-mail: linda@lindaliebenberg.com

E. Pelley
e-mail: emily.pelley@dal.ca

2 Risks Confronting Escapees and Migrants

In 2016, the UNHCR reported that 65.3 million people had been displaced worldwide, with just over half of them being under the age of 18 (UNHCR 2016). Displacement can be caused by natural disasters, economic changes, famine, and civil conflict (UNESCO 2017). Often refugee and internally displaced persons (IDP) camps become long-term dwellings as a result of drawn-out conflicts and/or the complete destruction of home communities.

Displaced peoples are highly vulnerable (Landry 2013). Refugee camps are intended to provide escapees with relief and protection until a permanent solution is found (Ramadan 2013). However, these camps often become "permanently temporary", as escapees wait indefinitely to return to homes that no longer exit (Dunn 2015). Refugee and IDP camps contain numerous risks to individual safety and health. Overcrowding, limited food rations, lack of work and educational opportunities often leave the population underserviced and vulnerable. Due to poor living conditions, communicable diseases are common (Phillips et al. 2015). Access to recreational resources and activities is also restricted (Al-Hroub 2014). Limited information fosters miscommunication, rumors, and stereotypes that can contribute to further instability (Wall et al. 2015). Risk of sexual violence and abuse is high (Noble et al. 2017). The prevalence of mental health problems is a significant issue as well, as the psychological impact of war and trauma are brought with the people into these camps (Wells et al. 2016). Consequently, there is a wide range of related maladaptive issues that negatively impact an escapee's health and well-being, especially young people (Vossoughi et al. 2016).

Hardships in new contexts, especially in new countries, include a deep sense of isolation due to a lack of support on how to integrate in the new society. This isolation is often heightened by a limited ability to speak the local language, lack of knowledge and understanding of local context and related cultural barriers. Additionally, newcomers are often faced with limited educational possibilities (including recognition of existing education) and work opportunities. This sense of isolation can be amplified by hostile attitudes amongst local community members, including people in positions of authority. Hostile attitudes can also mean discrimination at school and/or at work as well as exposure to violence. Living conditions further aggravate challenges. Escapees and migrants ordinarily relocate to socioeconomically marginalised communities, with substandard housing conditions and difficulties in transportation and mobility, where resources are scarce for everyone living there. The challenges are increased due to difficulties in accessing social services and health care, including mental health services.

Integration into a new society is multifaceted, and struggles with pre-migration stress and mental health have a significant impact on that experience (Beiser et al. 2015). Some have argued that the use of "refugee" as an identifying label perpetuates the problem of isolation that many migrants experience. It also homogenizes the differences within this diverse group of people and the different resilience processes they may rely on (Olsen et al. 2014).

3 What We Know About Resilience

Research is demonstrating that resilience is best understood as (1) an interactive process; (2) dependent on personal assets as well as resources located in the environment; and (3) that occurs in contexts of acute and/or chronic stress (Cicchetti 2013; Supkoff et al. 2012). The components that facilitate resilience processes include assets within the individual, as well as resources located in relational and physical environments (Fergus and Zimmerman 2005). These protective processes help shield individuals from the effects of adversity and promote positive adaptation (Wright and Masten 2005).

3.1 Resilience Assets and Resources

Individual assets of resilience include factors such as intelligence and cognitive abilities (Fenning and Baker 2012); problem solving skills (Tomás et al. 2012); a positive outlook (Alessi 2016), sense of humour (Kuiper 2012); creative thinking (Corley 2010); self-efficacy (Betancourt et al. 2010; Wiles et al. 2012), adaptability (Masten and Obradović 2006; Wiles et al. 2012) and competence (Masten et al. 2006; Masten and Obradović 2006); as well as faith or spirituality (Crawford et al. 2006; Walker and Longmire-Avital 2013).

However, research has demonstrated that individual qualities are fostered and developed through engagement with others (relationships), and with available and accessible contextual resources (Barnes 2016; Belsky and De Haan 2011). Being able to navigate and interact with both the relationships and the resources in an environment have a direct impact on resilience. Relationships have been identified as a foundational component of the successful development of individual resilience assets (Baker et al. 2012; Betancourt et al. 2010; Betancourt and Khan 2008; Finkenauer and Righetti 2011; Graber et al. 2016; Masten and Obradović 2006; Meaney 2010; Supkoff et al. 2012). As Tol et al. (2013) conclude, "*a supportive socio-ecological context is at least as an important—if not more important—*

determinant of resilience as individual variables" (p. 456) for children and adolescents living in contexts of armed conflict.

Core features of resilience-promoting relationships have been identified. In families for example, warm yet strong parenting skills (Belsky and De Haan 2011; DuMont et al. 2007), family acceptance (Betancourt et al. 2010; Pieloch et al. 2016) and a nurturing family environment (Papoušek 2011) are associated with better outcomes for children. In dangerous contexts, authoritative parenting (warm structured monitoring with clear boundaries and high expectations) is valuable (DuMont et al. 2007). In later life, the value of stable caring relationships, family acceptance and a nurturing family environment is noted in partner relationships (Tomini et al. 2016).

Outside of the family, supportive adults (such as mentors, role models, teachers, family friends, and other community members) are also associated with improved psychosocial (Sanders et al. 2016; Tomini et al. 2016), physical, educational and employment outcomes (Farruggia et al. 2006). Again, these relationships are characterised by stability and trust, that facilitate communication, empathy and practical support (Alessi 2016; Finkenauer and Righetti 2011). This has important implications in instances where family relationships are strained or limited, as is often the case for migrants.

Particularly for children and adolescents who have experienced the extreme social upheaval and related violence that results in escapees and migrants, the interpersonal relationships developed in educational spaces expand often depleted support networks (Masten and Obradović 2006; Toland and Carrigan 2011). Furthermore, outside of the family, teachers (together with other school personal) provide critical adult supports (Sanders et al. 2016; Toland and Carrigan 2011). These relationships can be key, providing young people mentorship, role models, and access to social capital (Doll 2013).

Community acceptance, reflected in interaction with broader peer group (including peers, colleagues, and neighbours) is important to supporting the resilience processes of especially those individuals who have had potentially ostracizing experiences such as combat engagement or having experienced sexual violence (Betancourt et al. 2010; Luthar et al. 2000).

Importantly, relationships function as a bridge within the interactive processes of individuals with contextual resources. Relationships provide various inter-personal and interactive opportunities for the development of personal assets (Finkenauer and Righetti 2011; Graber et al. 2016; Sanders and Munford 2016). Additionally, they provide social capital and access to related contextual (such as services, or educational and employment opportunities) and physical (such as food

and shelter, transportation or recreational resources) resources (Sanders and Munford 2016).

Physical resources include an interwoven web of tangible and intangible supports (Masten 2014). Educational opportunities, systems and environments are amongst the most prevalent. Supportive educational environments and engaging learning activities (Baker et al. 2012) offer opportunities for personal skills development (including problem solving, and emotional development) (Toland and Carrigan 2011), the development of relational supports (from peers and teachers) (Masten et al. 2006) and socialising opportunities (Toland and Carrigan 2011). Educational environments often provide access to important physical supports, including recreational resources (Barnes 2016; Pieloch et al. 2016).

The benefits offered by educational resources extend into adulthood, where continuing education resources further intellectual capacity and augment self-efficacy in efforts at gaining, maintaining or improving employment situations. In late adulthood, learning opportunities can sustain competence and self-efficacy, as well as expand supportive social networks. For people who have experienced the chronic stressors that prompt migration, as well as those attached to migration itself, these education-based resources are often critical. The benefits of this can reverberate throughout communities. As Masten (2014) concludes "restoring community routines and structures central to the lives of children, including child care, school and safe places to play" are critical to supporting improved outcomes as "virtually every overview of how children fare in disasters and war … notes the importance of restoring community functions and structures of this kind for children and families" (p. 137).

Similarly, community supports, routines and structures provided within a cohesive community are central to supporting better outcomes for individuals (Betancourt and Khan 2008; Pietrzak et al. 2012; Tol et al. 2013). Community cohesion in particular, can support a sense of social justice and civic engagement. Cultural and civic engagement are important to resilience because they provide a sense of belonging, personal identification and sense of cultural heritage (Hughes et al. 2006). Furthermore, they facilitate personally congruent coping mechanisms; personally congruent meaning making systems and relevant role models and life teachings. These supports are all of particular relevance to migrants and escapees who are frequently managing a pervasive sense of loss (Sleijpen et al. 2015).

Religious engagement forms a component of civic and cultural engagement (Crawford et al. 2006; Klasen et al. 2010). Membership of a religious community (Brewer-Smyth and Koenig 2014) can expand supportive social relationships (Crawford et al. 2006; Van Dyke and Elias 2007). Engagement in religious practice has also been found to mediate the physiological impact of stress on the body

(Brewer-Smyth and Koenig 2014). Spiritual beliefs provide meaning making frameworks for individuals that augment other individual assets such as positive emotions, optimism, and humour (Brewer-Smyth and Koenig 2014). As Masten (2014) explains, "the relationships and cultural belief systems shared in community groups can play a sustaining role in the midst of physical destruction" (p. 137).

Physical resources also include formal service provision (Sanders et al. 2015) such as health (Wiles et al. 2012), mental health (Andrew et al. 2014) and legal services (Alessi 2016). Again however, it is often the relationships service providers form with clients that are as important to outcomes as the models of service provision themselves (Sanders et al. 2015). This underscores the need for increased staff capacity in service provision.

3.2   Resilience as a Culturally and Politically Embedded Process

As resilience is regarded as a *process* facilitating better than expected outcomes in the face of adversity (Cicchetti 2013), fostering resilience is best understood from an interactive cyclical perspective. As implied in the previous section, focusing on a particular resilience component (such as an individual asset), negates the value and exponential gains to be had from focusing on the various components of the cycle. As Bonanno (2012) concludes "*personality rarely explains more than a small portion of the actual variance in people's behaviour across situations. Moreover, when resilient outcomes are modeled using multivariate designs, it appears that no single variable explains more than a small portion of the variance*" (p. 745).

Resources and supports in an individual's environment facilitate the development of personal assets. As personal assets are increased, the individual gains greater access to external resources (Supkoff et al. 2012). Furthermore, these developments occur exponentially: as individual assets are increased through the provision of contextual supports, development of these assets occur faster and by greater margins (Masten et al. 2006). Research is therefore also underscoring the importance of foundational experiences, where resources and risks faced earlier in life impact not just life skills used at that point in time, but also impact later capacity to negotiate and manage non-normative stressors (Supkoff et al. 2012). Early life experiences shape the ways in which people understand and draw on resources later in life. The implication is that where escapees and migrants have had negative foundational experiences, or where experiences have disrupted

healthy coping skills, support needs to be provided in ways that will (re)develop these positive assets and resources.

Research is demonstrating variability in terms of relevance to gender (Graber et al. 2016; Munford and Sanders 2015). Females for example, are more prone to developing internalising concerns (such as depression and anxiety) in the face of acute or chronic adversity than males. By contrast, males are more likely to develop externalizing concerns (such as aggression; Masten 2014). Accordingly, these variations require different support structures. Furthermore, which assets and resources will protect the individual and/or promote good outcomes is very much shaped by culture and context (Bonanno 2012; Masten 2014). Sameroff et al. (2003), for example, highlight how parental control may be beneficial in environments characterized by risk exposures such as street crime but how it may be detrimental in environments characterised by risks other than these. Similarly, exploring the experiences of youth living in the Bosnian and Palestinian conflicts for example, Barber (2008) found dramatic variation in how youth made sense of the conflict and how they managed it. For youth in Bosnia, their experience was powerfully characterised as "the shocking deadliness and destruction of the war and its inexplicability and senselessness" (p. 307). Additionally, the context of the conflict offered few opportunities for youth to experience a sense of empowerment and control. Ultimately, these youth found the conflict "unworthy and regrettable, particularly in the loss of their childhood" (p. 307). Barber concludes that "they came to know who they were as a people by way of targeted, hateful aggression and by being the inescapably helpless victims of it" (p. 307). By contrast, for youth in Palestine "the concentrated, intrusive and insulting features" (p. 307) characterized their experiences of the conflict. Additionally, through these characteristics, youth found numerous opportunities to actively engage in the conflict, finding ways of "challenging and resisting" that helped them make sense of events in empowering ways. Barber explains that this "extensive engagement in the struggle, and their willingness to sacrifice for it … was thoroughly informed by a realm of meaning that comprehensively detailed for them their identity and justified and legitimized the goals and tactics of their fight" (p. 307). These findings bring to our attention the ways in which experiences will shape meaning making and related understanding of challenges, risks and needs. Consequently, how policy makers, service providers and host communities perceive risks, resources and outcomes could be at odds with how escapees and migrants perceive risks, resources and outcomes, as well as how various gender groups perceive risks, resources and outcomes. We need to account for the ways in which individuals understand and interpret the severity and relevance of risks (Bonanno 2012; Fergus and Zimmerman 2005); the value and utility of resources (Eggerman and Panter-Brick

2010; Masten 2014); and what is considered "a good outcome" (Fergus and Zimmerman 2005).

When individuals and communities perceive resources to be missing and/or maligned with their needs, maladaptive coping mechanisms can be used in an attempt to attain good outcomes. These attempts at successful coping often mask strengths and capacity, and can manifest in antisocial outcomes such as gang membership or radicalisation. Understanding the ways in which maladaptive activities compensate for absent assets and resources may serve as a viable means of contributing to family and community (including communities that youth and their families have had to leave behind). Such engagement can serve to establish a sense of belonging and social justice (especially in instances where youth are not experiencing their host community as welcoming and accepting), as well as finding a sense of perceived agency and exercising self-efficacy.

Of course, larger socioeconomic and political contexts play a significant role in the availability of resilience resources. Social policy forms a foundational component in terms of what resources are made available (van der Wel et al. 2015), especially in resource strained contexts (Bennett et al. 2016). Furthermore, the extent to which dominant norms value individuality or collectivism will impact which resilience resources are made available. These norms could be at odds with the cultures and values of newcomers, amplifying tensions and trauma rather than alleviating them.

4 Facilitating Resilience Resources for Escapees and Migrants: Concluding Thoughts and Cautions

The resources and related processes that are necessary in supporting successful adaption following the migration and escapee experience include both the development of individual assets together with access to supportive relationships and meaningful contextual resources. Relationships however are critical to both individual assets and accessing relevant resources.

When host communities ensure that educational, recreation and social spaces are welcoming and inclusive, constructive ways are established to support newcomers. Politically, we need to call for policies and services that are flexible enough to accommodate varying needs, and respond to these needs that are culturally and contextually relevant to various groups of newcomers. As protectionist ideologies increase, the sense of belonging created by communities is increasingly jeopardised (especially in host communities) and simultaneously needed.

However, individual assets, relational resources, and contextual resources can, under certain conditions and at certain times, prove more harmful than promotive. Faith for example, while providing various protective resources, has also been identified as harmful, having the potential to promote a strong sense of guilt and neurosis (Koenig 2009) or compound stigmatisation and alienation (Walker and Longmire-Avital 2013). Similarly, while cultural connection and adherence can be a critical resource (Ruiz-Casares et al. 2014), it can also position individuals in vulnerable and challenging ways (Eggerman and Panter-Brick 2010). The potential for educational systems to serve as a resource stands in contrast to the systemic ways in which educational systems currently support the so-called "school-to-prison pipeline" (Wald and Losen 2003) (i.e. the ways in which school climate and educational policies are augmenting young people's sense of alienation and their resulting engagement in crime). These cautions underscore the need to avoid blanket, one-size-fits-all approaches to promoting resilience.

Additionally, sufficient adversity will ultimately impact people negatively (Reed et al. 2012). Some traumas are simply too "toxic" to recover from (Klasen et al. 2010). Therefore, we need to be weary of holding people accountable for their outcomes.

To conclude, there is no question that the global migrant situation is a daunting one. However, we must begin to identify the potential strengths and resources of both host communities and arriving escapees. Such a perspective will allow us to bolster resilience processes and support people as they endeavour to build a new life in a new place (Liebenberg and Hutt-MacLeod, 2017). Migrants bring with them their resources and skills; they add to our communities in multiple ways. What needs to be negotiated is how this integration is being meaningfully supported, not just in rhetoric. Supporting resilience processes is an effective way to engage with migrant and escapee individuals. It is important to remember that mental health is not limited to the absence of illness, but must also include positive social and community engagement. Building strong, supportive relationships thus becomes an imperative for supporting resilience processes with the escapee and migrant populations.

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Community Resilience. Networks for Developing Successful Migration

Michael Wünsche and Sibylle Fischer

1 Conceptualization of Community Resilience

1.1 Community Resilience

The subject-specific determination of Community Resilience can be found in the origin of conceptual individual resilience. Individual resilience describes the resistance of a person towards crisis or challenging situations as well as the persons' ability to seek and use resources that are necessary for ones' wellbeing. This still includes "*the negotiation for the access of culturally significant resources with those who have control of the resources*" (Ungar et al. 2013: 3). Equally, the individuals' sphere and contextual variables such as violence-fraught accommodations, value-oriented neighbourhoods, quality of educational institutions as well as familial environment moderate the development of individual resilience (Rönnau-Böse and Fröhlich-Gildhoff 2015; Fröhlich-Gildhoff 2013; Luthar 2006). This interrelationship is also termed "contextual resilience" (Ungar 2011).

In line with determining individual resilience, Community Resilience can be understood as the ability or process of a community to cope with exceptional pressures and crises. Conveyed accordingly onto Community Resilience, the ability and the process for communities to positively cope with remarkable burdens and crises is a central factor. Here, community has to be defined as a communion

M. Wünsche · S. Fischer (✉)
Pedagogical University, Freiburg, Germany
e-mail: Sibylle.Fischer@eh-freiburg.ekiba.de

M. Wünsche
e-mail: michael.wuensche@ph-freiburg.de

not only being determined as an administrative or territorial but also as a social system.

At a social aggregate level of a community, crises may arise e.g. in a high unemployment rate or in welcoming refugees. Such crisis and strains can arise abruptly and unexpectedly through change of life circumstances or can subtly arise (Bonß 2015). With regard to the occurrence and duration of the crisis, it is relevant that the more directly it occurs and the longer it lasts, at the level of action the pressure of solving problems increases for the actors concerned (Schmid 2015: 79) and at the research level the pressure of improving predictive skills and of fasten response rates of any relief efforts (ibid.) rises.

Resilient communities consist of a meshwork of complementary and compatible individual competences, which offer the possibility to be aware and to overcome crises through the collaboration of their competences. In that respect, the thoughts from Aristoteles can be identified, that the whole is more than the sum of its parts (Norris et al. 2008: 135).

A current uniform conceptualization of Community Resilience is not present. Corresponding terminological similar expressions, which each highlight a different aspect, can be found in the following terms (Castleden et al. 2011):

1. "Disaster resilience"
2. "Ecosystem resilience" as well as "social-ecological resilience"
3. "Infrastructure resilience"
4. "Organizational resilience",
5. "Network resilience",
6. "Urban resilience",
7. "System resilience".

In conjunction with the different terminological accents, there are just as many related research approaches and focuses, which lead to challenges especially in the comparison and interpretation of effectiveness studies.

This list is to be supplemented with regard to the relevance of culture, because culture as a dimension of community not being stated explicitly in the above-mentioned terms of specific resilience although included in the various concepts at different level. Taking the respective culture into account does not represent self-evidence: "Culture is perhaps the most neglected topic in the study of risk and resilience" (Feldman and Masalha 2007: 2). The high relevancy of culture is increasingly being pointed towards in publications about resilience and its development in the 21st century yet its complete consideration and complex relationship to resilience couldn't entirely be performed (Theron et al. 2015: V). Likewise, the

summarizing insights from the research study from the International Resilience Project (www.resilienceproject.org) suggest that "*cultural and social context determine whether interventions and programs that are offered to a child in need of protection will be acknowledged as helpful resources by the child, its family and community*" (Ungar 2011: 135). At the same time, it must be assumed that there are encounters with diversely-oriented cultures, which are subject to family cultures, that are shaped by adults and tendentially conservative in nature and passed on, to youth cultures, influenced by peers and swift transformation especially due to digital media and lastly, to societal norms-oriented cultures of educational support (Gharabaghi 2013: 137f.).

The concept of social resilience reveals distinct correspondence to Community Resilience, which is a characterization often used in the sociological discourse (Endreß and Maurer 2015). Here, the focus is often on the "*ability of groups or communities to cope with external stresses and disturbances as a result of social, political and environmental change*" (Adger 2000: 347) as well as "*to withstand external shocks to their social infrastructure*" (ibid.: 361). Differentiation of the definition of social resilience can be found in regard to persistence, or a return, therefore the act of regaining of an original state, through transformation and shaping of processes of change as well as sustainability; the act of learning for the future from burdensome events in the community (Keck and Sakdapolrak 2013; Birkmann et al. 2011). With this, Community Resilience is situated between the poles of "*persistence and adaptive or even transformative change*" (Endreß and Rampp 2015: 35), whereby it should be reflected upon what valuations are associated herewith, if, for example, change could eventually be a priori negatively connoted and reorganization or restoration rather positively (ibid.: 46).

1.2 Amplification of Community Resilience Conceptualization

To contour the definition of Community Resilience, the specific determination as well as its relationship to community, systems, networks and culture must be considered. Herewith, the following includes publications which are being referred to from the Anglo-American and the German-speaking countries. This enables the inclusion of and differentiation between the two termini "social environment" and "living environment".

Community can be understood as an administrative or territorial area. The previous explanation with regards to resilience has already shown the problem with suchlike restrictions. Herewith, the social and cultural dimensions of

resilience would not be sufficiently considered. Thus, a broadening and equalization of Community with "*Gemeinschaft*" is performed.

With recourse to the sociological foundation, the concept of social systems allows us to perform a further differentiation. We proceed with the assumption that social systems can be understood as defined interactive communications, actions, as well as expectations and decisions that are separate from environmental actions (Willke 1999). Social system characteristics, in their non-trivialness and complexity as well as autopoiesis and structural linkage, have their selective contact points to relevant environments. Viability is recognized as decisive aspect in researching social systems, which means external interventions are necessary, relevant and compatible from the system perspective. It can be observed that standardized processes and programs are not evocable due to the lack of causal mechanics of the system with regards to the development and fostering of resilience of a social system, instead, observation is the initial point as well as a wide-reaching understanding of the system itself. By the research of resilience in social systems, the necessity becomes apparent of using multi-method designs, both quantitative and qualitative in nature and to include different perspectives.

A further option to contour the definition of Community Resilience can be found in the social environment discourse. Several discourse threads can be found in publications from German-speaking countries, whereas their clear differentiation cannot be identified: a sociological-descriptive, normative and a pragmatically-operative thread. An orientation to social environment refers not only to spatial circumstances and material objects such as buildings, playgrounds etc., but rather "*the interest of the social environment perspective is the man-made constituted space of relationships, in which interactions and social relations are present. Exactly these social relationships point at the "social" prefix. Herewith, the social environment can be classified as the societal space as well as the human interaction, which means that the interacting personae (subjects) within the constituted space and not just the objectified space (objects)*" (Kessl and Reutlinger 2010: 2). This is the reason why social processes and interactions are of particular interest and have to be taken into account with regards to the professional practice within the scope of Community Resilience: who contributes or could contribute which resources, who has which access to specific places etc. and lastly: who possesses decision and handling power as well as interpretational sovereignty. Due to the fact that "*children and youth develop (…) themselves especially through processes within social environment acquisition, in which they seek to discover and mold their spatial environment to experience themselves*" (Böhnisch 2003: 171), operating in a social environment is essential with regards to resilience stimulation and social affairs are orchestrated in the perspective of collective resilience.

Furthermore, one must investigate not only which circumstances a person is in, but rather how each and every individual's living environments being experienced to be able to assist Community Resilience. It could be that a person feels secure to move within their quarter but not in strange situations, or not at the same level—which in turn aggravates the access or makes the threshold seem to be too high, independent of the financial dimension.

For the research and understanding of life situations, it is then necessary to take a look at and determine the word "*Lebenswelt*". The term was especially contoured by Husserl within the scope of phenomenology, conveyed later into sociology by Schütz and Luckmann and updated in the context of constructivist philosophy and theory of cognition (Kraus 2012) before it was made fruitful in practical approaches for social work (Thiersch 2013). The socio-ecological model by Bronfenbrenner (1993: 38) and the factors of the various system levels influencing human development thus provide the major framework of the research of community resilience. Assuming that an environment is significant to human behavior and development especially in the way it is appreciated and not in the way it is described objectively (Ahnert and Haßelbeck 2014: 29), the following explanations offer a conceptual definition of the individual perception of effects on the system levels as well as on establishing communities.

Husserl understands the life environment—Lebenswelt—as something ego-logical, as a construct out of individual perception and one's own logic: "*It is the spatiotemporal world of things, as we experience it in our pre- and post-scientific life and above what experienced to what we know that we have experienced. We have a world horizon and a horizon of possible experience with objects. Objects such as stones, animals, plants, also people and people constructs: but everything is subjective-relative, although we normally are able to find sound actualities through experience, our social circle and those connected to our life community*" (Husserl 1976: 141). Subjectiveness does not solely origin from different life circumstances, instead from various perceptions of the present circumstances (Kraus 2012). The personal world of an individual is generated from its individual experiences according to Husserl. The experiences are the foundation from which the personal mindset of an individual is composed of. In turn, the mindset itself operates externally-directed because perception and interpretation are performed upon this foundation (Husserl 2008). As a result of this strain of thought, each person has a different subjective life environment and develops different, individual self-realization beliefs even though they grow up with the same life circumstances.

Schütz and Luckmann broadened the life environment concept and emphasized communication, culture and daily routine: "*A collective communicative environment can only be (…) constituted through a daily life environment*" (Schütz and Luckmann 1979/2003: 2); the life environment resembles the "*world of our mutual life environments*" (ibid.: 109). Individual life environments and daily social environments determine and interfuse with one another. The opportunity of action depends on the possibility and obstacles, the individual as well as social and the—as of yet thematized—economical life circumstances: the opportunity for action are far-reaching or restricted. Accordingly, certain resilient mindsets and self-efficacy beliefs can be developed, or not or somewhat constrained. The life conditions can be described and summed in data sets, which are no longer dealing with subjective observations. For this purpose the term "life-situation (orig.: *Lebenslage*)" is being recommended (Kraus 2013).

Due to the fact that educational and acquisition processes are individually performed, likewise this is always in interaction with the environment present, to reality, to each and every life situation and to the living situation in which the individual is situated; living environment will be discussed as the following:

– subjective perception and object experience, places and people,
– as perception of the interactions with people, and their actions and behaviour with one another, with objects and places
– in putting things into correlation and the relationship of the subject to the objects, places and people as well as
– their internal images they bring forth.

Therefore, the life environment has been characterized as an egological construct within the meaning of Husserl's definition, which is generated by daily experiences in social cultures. In conclusion to consolidate both terms "social space" and "living environment"; Social space can be defined as a mutual, with others constructed and shared, living environment.

Such "*daily (…) relationship networks of individuals*" corresponds with the subject matter of networks, although the term reveals vagueness (Schubert and Veil 2013: 5). Networks can be divided into two types, formal and informal networks (ibid.). Formal networks can be defined as organizational or institutional cooperation with a high level of commitment, as a territorial or administrative unit composed community. On the other hand, informal networks can be found within a community within the scope of a social space, in which personal relationships are

of higher relevance instead of contractual regulations. In conclusion of the various accesses, community can still be defined as territorial or an administrative unit on the one side. Along these lines, resilient communities can be depicted by formal, equally effective transparent regulations, such as how they deal with catastrophes and disasters, with social problems as well as long term development processes. This type of resilience would be simple and reactive-preventive in character. This would not do justice to cultural relevance nor to the individuals, yet offers the determination of data and facts for research work.

An overview of indicators of resilient communities has been put together by Hall and Zautra (2010) with recourse to the theoretical dialogue. These exist between neighbours who trust each other, regularly communicate and who live in the same house for a long period of time. Furthermore, a sense of community and cohesion between neighbours can be distinguished through mutually engaging in activities for the common good in existing public places for formal and informal gatherings. Nevertheless, it must be critically remarked that there are difficulties in measurement with regards to some indicators, such as trust (Hall and Zautra 2010: 354 f.).

On the contrary, it can be conceptualized as a unit and cluster of people as a social framework, noticeable through communication and actions. A social space is constituted as a divided or collectively constructed living environment by the participating people by means of mutual communication and activities or interactions. Individual senses of meaning are therefore immanent. Constitutive moments are presented as daily and (daily-) cultures of the participating individuals. Community resilience is composed of the perception and thematization of crisis by the community in their conjoint mastery, re-finding the balance of the poles in condition restoration to before the crisis and the newly- or re-structuring of the community in the assessment of adaption and transformation in consideration of existing and accessible resources. This characterization of community resilience also shows high resemblance to the definition of social resilience by Keck and Sakdapolrak (2013).

The assessment is performed with an eye towards mastering future crises as well as strengthening the resilience of the social network and its individuals. In this sense, one can speak of reflexive resilience. The difficulty arises in performing an operationalization for research in the field of resilience within the scope if this determination and herewith to advance in a quantitative manner. It is necessary to utilize reconstructive-hermeneutical methods for the research of living environments, formation practices of communities and interactions.

1.3 Research on Community Resilience

A large portion of the research regarding Community Resilience was performed in correlation with catastrophes, or as previously stated, with Disaster Resilience, which includes climate change, increasing scarcity of resources, economic crises and a growing amount of social inequality, like the tsunami in Southeast Asia in 2004, Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans in 2005 or the terror attacks in New York from September 11th, 2001. The goals of psychological and socio-economical resilience research efforts were especially aimed towards successful mastery of stress and critical life events, but the main focus with regards to Disaster Resilience research primarily has a more system vulnerability approach. The approaches are related to each other with regards to the aspects of public safety and public health. Therefore, the recourse to reference disciplines is quite broad: alongside of Psychology, there is intensive research being performed in Sociology and other compatible fields have proven to be in Ethnology, Economics, Geography and Political science (Endreß and Rampp 2015: 35 f.).

Rönnau-Böse and Fröhlich-Gildhoff (2015) recognized with a recourse to compilations and meta-analysis from Castleden et al. (2011), Hall and Zautra (2010), Norris et al. (2008) as well as the research performed by the International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (2012) for Community Resilience. In the systematic forms of capital according to Bourdieu (1992, 1996, 1997) the Social Capital from a community is seen as essential for Community Resilience, especially mutually yielded, narrated and sustained forms, and not stories, which are segregated from individual groups (Landau and Saul 2004). Such narratives, in which the crisis is equally a part of as the resources, and where it can be the handling of the crisis and future outlook, has a protective and healing effect (Alkon 2004). Trust, common identity and the willingness to support someone else's cause are further important aspects. The paths of stories, generally passed on by communication, reveal some redundancies so that the absence of a communication strategy leads to the use of alternative options (Rönnau-Böse and Fröhlich-Gildhoff 2015: 161). Lamont et al. (2015) perceive social scripts as incorporated in a community and its ability to take action and the possibility to offer recognition or to minimize experiences of isolation.

With recourse to Wright and Bloemraad (2012), they attest "*that societies who use the multicultural narrative of collective identity and multicultural politics (such societies that show a high value on the "multiculturalism-index"), signal immigrants that their contributions in the society of the host country are appreciated. These societies are not only giving the immigrants a chance to be recognized, they are also strengthening their emotional and cognitive participation in the host*

countries' society, which leads to for example, higher political participation"
(ibid.: 91). Through a communal consciousness of stigmatizations and discrimi-
nation, such aspects could be reduced, and in turn the resilience of a community
could be strengthened. Recognition in the forms of love, justice and solidarity
(Honneth 1992), are herewith a substantially important aspect in Community
Resilience on the level of orientation as well as their practices. Especially with
regards to stigmatized groups and their members, the "*group relationships need to
be re-formed so that they can allow a comprehensive acceptance of representa-
tions and narratives, which would secure the dignity and social valuation of their
group*" (Lamont et al. 2015: 97).

Cultural Capital in the context of Community Resilience consists of "*knowledge
of helpful strategies and health-promoting measures*" (ibid.: 160) and the ability to
use acquired strategies in new situations. It becomes clear that this is a matter
predominantly of incorporated cultural capital, although institutionalized as well as
objectified forms of cultural capital such as educational achievement and public
access to knowledge, contribute to Community Resilience.

The meaning of economical capital in the context of Community Resilience can
be found in infrastructural aspects as well as in the just distribution and
chance-equality with regards to access to societal processes (ibid.).

2 Migration as Resource for Community Resilience?

The differentiation of several areas of life and the development and change of
various cultural and social scripts of life are the main characteristics of modern
societies. Difference and diversity are ever-present and impact not only external
manifestations from ethnic-cultural and religious diversity, it has much more
impact on social relationships within groups and observation of respective attri-
bution of ethnic-cultural diversity (Peucker 2012: 73). As a result of growing
international migration movements, there is a development towards a "*strength-
ened orientation to one's quarter, in an assessable framework in the living quarter,
in which there are often un-utilized resources regarding political, social and
economic participation and new chances of integrated political approaches*" in
order to improve participation (Dettling 2011; Reutlinger 2009; Terkessidis 2010).
This intensified social space orientation in the context of migration, aims to
maintain and build beneficial networks, making good use of social capital, acti-
vation and participation from neighbours (Rodatz 2014: 45) and therefore obtains a
social environmental character.

With all the efforts towards integration and reinforcement of integrated social environmental approaches, the migration debate in Germany is still being discussed out of a deficient-oriented perspective, which concludes largely to an ethnic-national reduction, and herewith a logic of "Us" and "Them" classification is being conducted (Mecheril 2010: 14; Yildiz 2011: 71; Yildiz and Hill 2015: 10). Such discussed perceptions, often with ethnic omens, do not strengthen the aspects of Community Resilience as presented in the previous chapters. Glick-Schiller critically remarked that an "*ethnic group research design*" still gets underlain in the communal research (ibid. 2008: 3). This perception is a hegemonic understanding of authority immanent and it reproduces itself continuously in all societal knowledge. This is how one-sided hegemonic expectations of reality are being developed and held which results to marginalization und unequal accessibility to resources and is turning into a self-evident element of societal togetherness (Yildiz 2011; Glick Schiller 2008; Beck-Gernstein 2004). A collective otherness is therefore being constructed, which implies special treatment for the migrants. Indicators of resilient communities stay hereby extensively disregarded, as much as the fact that this constructed "Us" has originated decisiveness in various migration movements. Experiences with mobility and the herewith associated diversity, have always influenced social togetherness and have contributed to success stories of large cities, especially in urban areas (Bayer et al. 2009; Deben and van de Ven 2009; Orywal 2007; Bergmann and Römhild 2003). According to this, migration is a constitutive element of social environment development (Yildiz 2011: 71). Immigrants and their descendants contribute to common industrial, social, cultural and economic activities, they provide resources and create new and change existing social environments (Neef and Keim 2007; Reimann 2014).

A resource can only then become a resource, as long as it is perceived, interpreted and accepted as such. In research hereto, which take informal inner-ethnic networks into account, subsume them simply and self-evidently into categories such as "*country of origin*" and "*introversion*" (Haug 2005) social capital with an exclusive "*bonding*" (Putnam 2000: 22). Intensive own-ethnic relationships are polemized very quickly as parallel societies, are mistrustfully perceived and it is often assumed that their network members show insufficient willingness to integrate (Straßburger and Bestmann 2013: 21; Yildiz 2011: 73). Out of a more acknowledging perspective, it can be declared that migrated people often invest a high amount of energy in the shaping and fostering of their social networks, which can be successfully utilized for various purposes. They are in command of reciprocal support systems, which do not need to be built up by professionals (Neef and Keim 2007: 217; Straßburger and Bestmann 2013). Pries (2010) verifies with reference to Otto and Schrödter (2006), that increasingly "*multicultural*" and "*pluri-local*" life

environment orientations and life approaches are being established through migration processes and intensive relationship fostering across borders, which broaden the resource spectrum from people yet increases the weight of expectation and could lead to uncertainty in orientation (ibid.: 24). To prevent descent-specific networks and unifications from becoming a risk, which could lead to an increase in conformity pressure or may seem to be mobility-restricting; group-overarching interactions (*bridging social capital*) can be helpful and unfold an including impact (Filsinger 2005: 34; Gesemann and Roth 2015: 39ff; Putnam 2000).

In order that all residents can participate in social environment development and develop a mutual perception towards cohabitation, it is necessary according to Bukow and Yildiz (2005) to identify district resources and make them visible and to utilize them in daily activities. The specific experiences from the residents should be a main focus; each person's own perspective from migrants should be made public and included as a constitutive part of migration processes (ibid.). A successful outcome is only possible if "*ethnic receipt knowledge*" (Terkessidis 2010: 134) is renounced and binary categorization of "*Us*" and "*Them*" is refrained (Beck-Gernsheim 2004; Mecheril 2010). Such biases distort the view of how people act and develop under certain, present conditions, which resources they are able to mobilize and how they acquire new spaces and develop skills (Yildiz 2011: 73). Pleiner and Thies (2005) declare within the scope of the psychosocial empowerment concept "*that strengths and the potential of districts are able to evolve sustainably with regards to social, economic and cultural developments, through the utilization of unified power, especially in detected deficient situations*" (ibid.: 218). Hinte and Treeß (2011) verified in this context that "*the basic respect in the willfulness of people*" is a central element of a social environment concept. First of all, this respect leads to not judging people's decisions, instead using it as a starting point for a cooperative and constructive togetherness in negotiation processes (ibid.: 50).

3 Intercultural Orientation and Opening

Community Resilience in the context of migration is inevitably accompanied by the demand of intercultural social environmental orientation and intercultural opening of facilities, services, organizations and institutions (Handschuck and Schröer 2012: 17). As already debated, social environment orientation aims per se towards not only material spaces, instead the forming of social arrangements as well, which prevent marginalization mechanisms and increase the sphere of influence and potential uses for residents (Früchtel and Budde 2007: 908).

Handschuck and Schröer (2012) understand intercultural orientation as an implementation strategy and make the question of equality, inclusion and reciprocal integration from majorities and minorities on an institutional and political level a subject of discussion and express themselves with clear goals (p. 43). "*It is the foundation so that groups and individuals can articulate and represent their own interests, [...] occupying a self-reflective stance towards their own culture so that the relationship between majority and minority [...] as well as the unequal distribution of resources can be debated in a fashion that its dismantling turns into a general goal*" (Handschuck and Schröer 2002: 512). This basic approach is immanent to intercultural opening which can be understood as the acting implementation of the strategic justification.

Through intercultural opening from organizations, facilities and services, a conscious remodelling process can be initiated according to Schröer (2007), the self-reflective learning and change processes from and between various people, lifestyles and forms of organization makes it possible; whereby access barriers and marginalization mechanisms in the to-be-opened organization need to be noticed and deconstructed as well as the acknowledgement of diversity as being self-evident (ibid.: 9f). However, this process presupposes intercultural competences. For Bolten (2007) intercultural competence consists of synergies being able to act between one's own and other cultural expectations as well as being able to negotiate and fulfil customs (p. 112). Rathje (2006) pleads that intercultural competence as an observable prerequisite "*that the interaction partners need to have the ability to use in an intercultural context, to any extent whether it be specialized, strategic or an action competence of a differing art*" (p. 9). The goal is the elimination of institutional access barriers and barriers in the interpersonal communication through a changed perception from handling people within one's network to a society influenced by migration. Professionals and non-professional personae and groups are addressed herewith. Furthermore, the subject matter is about the structural, methodical, curricular, interactional and organizational adaption of individuals and institutions to a heterogeneous group of neighbours (Fischer 2009: 49).

Social environment orientation works with social capital and wants to identify and utilize inactive social capital within the social environment (Budde and Früchtel 2006: 27). Enable to practice this approach effectively in the context of migrants, an intercultural orientation is necessary that is aimed towards "*the appreciation of cultural diversity*" (Fischer 2009: 24). For that reason, the various life concepts of people with a migration background have to be addressed and appreciated, including their individual resources and those who offer ethnic networks and

organizations. Hereby, resilience-enhancing networks are observed as a decisive instrument for respective goal fulfilment in the social environment discussion and intercultural opening (Granatt and Pare-Chamontin 2006).

4 Integration, Social Capital and Social Networks

The question as to how integration can work cannot be distinctly answered due to the unclear and by no means conclusive empirical state. However, it is assumed that multi-causal coherencies influence the integration process, which can be classified as different capital resources. Social capital seems to portray an important resource and significance in two respects, because it (independent of the source or final-destination-specific social capital) can influence the migration decision and evidently shapes integration at the place of destination (Granatt and Pare-Chamontin 2006).

Fundamentally, the possibility to generate individual social capital and herewith individual resources is dependent upon their embeddedness in social relationships and network structures (Bourdieu 1983; Coleman 1991). Putnam (2000) could prove based on a comparative approach that general living conditions in specific American states with regards to living conditions for children, general population health, educational quality, economic growth, public safety, social equality and life expectancy of the people were subject to the amount of social capital available (ibid.: 300ff.) The concept of social capital includes not only individual attributes that are embedded in social networks; it also includes collective forms such as neighbourhoods, regions or countries (Coleman 1991; Putnam 2000). Putnam (2000) made a difference between "*bonding social capital*", which defines the cohesion of communities, from "*bridging social capital*" which refers to the ability of community-overarching cooperation (ibid.: 22f).

To which amount of social capital a community has command of, is dependent of the type of interconnectedness. Networks are, according to Früchtel et al. (2013), components of social environments in which relationships can be defined, represented and analysed (ibid.: 12). Initially, networks can be divided into primary, secondary and tertiary networks.

The primary (or personal) network has an informal character in which social resources are predominantly bundled. The personal relationship network is in focus that consists of family, relatives, close neighbours and friend-relationships. Certain categories can be subsumed as well, such as age-, gender-, work-, or religion-specific networks. The function of the primary network consists of the

transfer of emotions, building up trust or the mobilisation of help and support. Primary networks are distinguishable by their relatively high level of stability with regards to time and are shaped by strong bonds (Schubert 2008: 38; Schönig 2008: 156f).

> *A practical example:*
> *To strengthen neighbour relationships and make friendships possible, a key person (intermediate instance) from the city district of Freiburg Landwasser with migration background and high-acceptance within their quarter and outside their own ethnic peer group, invites mothers from the quarter to visit at her place and get to know one another, drink tea and coffee and take a break from the daily routine in the family. Many women get to know each other during this open visit, become closer friends and slowly build an internal support system in which they reciprocally take care of each other's children, organize mutual rides to the shopping centre or lend each other support regarding parenting questions.*

The secondary (or societal) network is established and solidified within an institutional framing (e.g. contact panels, scene-connection or mutual practices) (Bourdieu 1983: 190–194). A rather weak bond dominates in the secondary network and therefore a much higher relationship flexibility, which in turn leads to a higher diversity of access to social resources in the social environment. The foundation hereto is formed by affiliations, such as to neighbours or memberships in clubs, organizations or initiatives for example (Jansen 2000: 35f.; Schubert 2008: 38; Schönig 2008: 156–157).

> *A practical example:*
> *This communication round table, created out of private initiative proved to be so popular, that the organisation in private rooms was no longer manageable. A room in the quarter-own family centre is provided on a weekly basis with support from the quarter personnel. The open visit in the beginning has turned to a focus on increasingly specified parenting questions and quarter-related questions as well as free time activities for children or questions regarding educational facilities. Child care is offered parallel to this gathering inside the family centre. In order to take account for topics concerning motherhood, additional rooms are provided in the family centre along the lines of "Femmes Tische", handling and offering theme-specific gatherings, to which speakers can be invited to, according to the wants and needs of the mothers. The responsibility and organization are held in the hands of the mothers with support from the quarter personnel.*

The tertiary network bundles predominantly professional resources for the development of coalitions and for the coordination of activities (Todeva and Knoke 2002: 345ff.). They are situated between the primary and secondary networks and have a mediating function. It is a matter of networking of public, social-economic, and civil societal personae (governance-networks), to which certain groups belong

to such as self-help, local initiatives, professional service such as nursing services, health counselling or social work installations (Schubert 2008: 40; Straus and Höfer 2005: 471ff.).

> *A practical example:*
> *The quarter personnel use their existing contacts and develop their network with regards to the specific topics from the mothers, attain contact to specific service providers and beneficial personae. The personae, in return, benefit from the "newly acquired" person of contact, from whom they receive information from regarding wants and needs from families, can establish personal contacts through and herewith can reduce any reservations they may have towards specific services. Additionally, the quarter personnel encourage the mothers to articulate their concerns and provide them with mediator access to political bodies in the quarter.*

In the social-science migration and integration research processes of structural integration (inclusion in societal function systems such as education, employment system, social security systems, politics), social integration (friendships, group affiliation), cultural integration (language, normative orientation) and identification-oriented integration (affiliation with assimilating society) are distinguished (Esser 1980, 2004; Hoffmann-Nowotny 2000; Heckmann 2001; Otto and Schrödter 2006; Scherr 2008). Social integration from migrants is understood as integration of the operating, in a societal context and with relationships to one another (Esser 2000: 271), with the goal of equal participation (Hoffmann-Nowotny 2000). According to Bommes (2003) the direction of behaviour and orientation to structural terms of social systems belong to the general existential elements from all individuals in a modern society (ibid.: 96). To which extent integration is achieved, depends on the social capital that is available and to be activated, that means from the dimension and concentration of the network that is accessible through mobilised relationships. Schnur (2008) emphasizes that the specific ethnic capital configuration of a certain group (e.g. family language, cultural knowledge, ethnic networks) regarding the assimilation society is often inefficient and therefore predominantly has an effect in their ethnic community (ibid.: 139). As a result, this explains why the *bonding social capital* is quite pronouncedly developed in some ethnic personae and can be helpful and supportive within the scope of internal integration in the community. In this context, bonding social capital has a large development potential as an informational resource within one's own peer group e.g. regarding the housing market with suggestions towards discriminating housing marketing segments. The low-threshold through direct contacts, mutual language and shared values and norms makes bonding social capital an indispensable resource (Putnam 2000: 22/411; Schnur 2008: 140).

Bridging social capital is by contrast the needed group-overarching interaction that can develop strengthened impact of inclusion (Putnam 2000; Schnur 2008). Although bonding social capital, in isolated cases, can be an important resource in the educational or health workspace, say through the passing on of experiences regarding educational institutions or medical support units that have an intercultural or multilingual approach; the bridging social capital develops its potential more for the group of migrants. For example, language acquisition and herewith connected access to differentiated information are important for bridging social capital. In the context of participation on democratic processes in the social environment, bonding social capital can contribute if inter- or intra-ethnic groups organise and are then able to articulate themselves with regards to certain topics. An especially strengthening effect is more likely to be expected from bridging social capital, for example through neighbourhood networks or citizens' groups (Kriesi 2008: 39; Siebel 2013).

An excluding impact could develop in the long term, with an inwardly oriented direction, or even become a *mobility trap* and therefore be contra-productive with regards to integration.

A practical example:
The primary school in the quarter offers parents a "Round table for parents" once a week. The offering is in fact being accepted, but hardly from migrant parents. Upon request, the school social worker explained that the parents already had a meeting once a week in their own cultural centre and that they unfortunately had no time nor interest in an additional get-together. Information that was being interchanged during the "Round table for parents" could be attained in their own groups as well. The school social worker explained in an extensive conversation which topics and activates were being conducted in the cultural centre. It turned out that, fostering of mutual traditions, fests, music, language and literature, topics such as the German education system were discussed and sophisticatedly depicted. Together with the parents, the school social worker searched for topics and activities that could be interesting. The result was that the "Round table for parents" was being used as a tandem course. Parents gathered to learn "their neighbours' language". Topics such as access to healthcare, to counselling and other obvious topics in communicating interaction were thematised. Parents with migration backgrounds can learn the German language this way through daily situations with an in-language-interested partner. Offerings regarding healthcare get illuminated out of a cultural aspect, which in turn leads to better understanding amongst the residents and places more trust towards the system at the same time. The mediation primarily takes place through speaking between "neighbours", and professional help can be directly accessed if necessary. The pediatrician gets regular invitations, for example, to explain and speak about the preventive examinations in Germany, vaccinations and

children's sicknesses. The pediatrician also experienced during such gatherings why some parents irregularly or do not bring their children to a physicians' practice at all. The fear of not understanding, or not being understood, not understanding what is happening with their child and not being able to find an understandable explanation for apparently necessary treatments is what puts the parents under pressure. The pediatrician was amplified through a language-competent employee that additionally strengthened their trust in preventive healthcare and its necessary treatments.

Intercultural exchange relationships (which in turn require intercultural opening and competences) can create bridges or further network structures between various groups, which can be key resources for getting acquainted, for the destruction of prejudices, the building-up of trust and the induction of community spirit. Through such exchanges of relationship, knowledge can be generated about which different life environment orientations are decisive in a community and how they can be configured. Herewith, an important prerequisite for the development of mutual social capital and the fundament for the strengthening of Community Resilience has been made (Schnur 2008: 141, 2013). Bridge-building and networks establishment in the context of migrants rely on cultural-specific requirements, that lead to orientation security and effective behaviour and must be learned (Masgoret and Ward 2006). Culturally specific knowledge, contacts and contact abundancy with individuals and different groups are important success factors (Ward and Fischer 2008). The management of group-overarching contact are mostly intermediate instances from the sections of migrants and not from the migrants and are absolutely essential (Gesemann and Roth 2015: 39; Filsinger 2005: 34), because they can balance structural and communicative difficulties between various groups and it "*increases inclusion chances through the transformation of social educational capital to bridging social capital*" (Kabis-Staubach and Staubach 2017: 4 according to: IRS 2014: 6). Possibilities arise to provide additional intra-ethnic and intra-social social capital on all network levels. Both migrants and non-migrant people and groups would be beneficiaries. Key to the accompanied social interaction and learning processes are the specific experiences of the residents with one another, with professionals and administrative units as well as real scope of influence for all involved (Huning 2005: 264).

Not to go unmentioned at this point is that social capital and networks can also be used to exclude others from specific resources or to play people against each other who have differing social capital. Similarly alarming is when for example "*the norms of a social-capital richer ethnic or social group are more or less forced*

upon others" (Schnur 2008: 140). Social relationships can have a negative effect by being overly-supportive or inappropriate support could lead to dependency and self-efficiency experiences are then withheld from people of groups (Otto 2005; Schnur 2008).

Several studies have displayed the meaning of social networks for the development of resilience (Gabriel 2005: 213 with regards to: Daniel and Wasell 2002; McGinty 1999; Tayler and Wang 2000). But due to the fact that resilience does not develop solely from the access to resources, but also portrays the result of a learning process, accessible resources need to be known, accessible and acceptable, which assumes the acceptance of the resource itself. Moreover, a consciousness needs to be present as to how the resources can be made usable to achieve one's own, socially-compatible goals (Fingerle and Schwab 2013: 99). Social networks presume a key role, because it makes resources available through social capital on the one side and it enables the transformation from bonding social capital to bridging social capital through intermediate instances of communication, mutual understanding, interchange and promotes solidarity on the other side. The willingness of all network members, independent on whether they are migrants or not, to establish new knowledge and act in a communal fashion, attain a decisive meaning with regards to strengthening resilience (Granatt and Pare-Chamontin 2006: 53).

A network perspective in the context of migration and resilience demands multiple capabilities, competences and skills from professionals. These span from intercultural competence, social diagnosis methods and social space orientation for the assessment of personal, situational and social space resources and strains through direct and indirect network interventions to forms of organized and concentrated supportive offerings as well as the comprehensive qualification of a personal and institutional network (e.g. Otto 2005). A main task consists of figuring out what touches the residents of the social space within the scope of social space orientation, how they internalize their environment and in which settings it is easier for the people to articulate their interests or accept help (Hinte 2006: 11; Schönig 2008: 16ff). A prerequisite for this is real interest in the living conditions of people who migrated, for their practical experiences, life plan, individual preferences and visions, to create a springboard concept for a resilience-promoting social space orientation and to build sustainable networks.

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Long-Term Adaptation Among Naturalised Bosnian Refugees in Sweden—Existential Preoccupation, Spirituality and Resilience

Selma Porobić

1 Introduction to the Resilience of Refugees and the Adaptation Process

Refugee experiences have been documented ever since the earliest scriptures across the world, such as Hindu Eposes, Old and New Testament and the Koran, thus indicating the trans-historical and trans-cultural presence, continuity and universality of such experiences. Regardless of the causes of displacement, war-induced or triggered by natural disasters, being forcibly displaced is a traumatic experience that by and large produce multiple stress, loss and suffering. It is a well-documented fact that those who are affected may suffer greatly before, during and after displacement, as their losses and traumas accumulate (Bogic et al. 2015). Besides stressful pre-and post-migration experiences impacting refugees' lives, shared and communalized traumas of violent changes in the home society's structure and functioning due to often irreversible social, economic, political and demographic consequences, further complicate the recovery and adaptation processes (Hamburger et al. 2018). As a result, individuals, families, social groups, including the whole societies (home and recipient) find themselves dealing with effects and adjustments to such multi-layered disruptions for decades and generations after the actual events occurred.

S. Porobić (✉)
Palacky University Olomouc, Olomouc, Czechia
e-mail: porobsel@gmail.com

In general, the longitudinal psychosocial accommodation of such intricate life changes like forced migration, and in particular recovery and healing from its multipart stresses and traumas, has not been afforded enough research so far. On the other hand, a considerable amount of psychiatric and clinical research has been conducted in the area of conflict situations and displacement, studying pre- and post-migration indicators of health among refugees, pointing to an inevitable link between the refugee experience and mental illness. This research indicates that prevalence rates of mental disorders are frequently increased in long-settled war refugees across studies and countries explored (Mollica et al. 2001; Fazel and Wheeler 2005; Silove and Steel 2007; Bogic et al. 2012), and that pre-displacement and post-displacement factors influence the psychosocial wellbeing in a long-term perspective (Porter and Haslam 2005; Bogic et al. 2015). In Bogic et al. (2012) mental disorders were assessed in war-affected refugees from the former Yugoslavia in Germany, Italy and the UK, with results indicating that socio-demographic characteristics, war experiences and post-migration stressors were independently associated with mental disorders in long-settled war refugees. The risk factors varied for different disorders but were consistent across host countries for the same disorders.

However, critics have argued that the mental health approaches are inherently geared towards the pathology of war-affected and refugees (Summerfield 2000; Pupavac 2002; Boyden 2010; Boyden and Mann 2005) which "obscures some very real protection issues, neglects people's capacities and resilience, undermines their existing resources for self-protection, and creates operational strategies ultimately disempowering" (Gozdziak 2002: 121). Although it is established that posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in refugees appears to be commonly observed reaction phenomenon, it is not the primary pathological sequence nor does it capture the diversity in trauma reactions around the globe (Hobfol and de Jong 2014). Different cultures in different historical times have developed various coping strategies of reactivity to trauma, and ever-changing traumascapes show that there are universal similarities and significant differences that constitute the 'human' responses to trauma (De Jong 2007). Therefore, it has been suggested that the various clinical studies with the dominant operational (and humanitarian) emphasis on an individual's vulnerability in a forced migration context, have made people more susceptible to danger by portraying them passive victims rather than active survivors of adversity.

A considerable amount of qualitative data is available that highlights the behaviour and responses of refugees as appropriate under the circumstances. The large body of research from the fields of anthropology and sociology suggests that several social and cultural resources are relevant to refugees' positive adaptation to trauma (Porobić 2012, 2018; Ahearn 2000). In his first of a kind, longitudinal and qualitative

study of Cypriot refugees' adaptation to forced displacement, Loizos (2008), drew attention to the conceptualization and continuity of social life goals and their practicalities as the source of resilience for this population. He pointed out that few of his informants (1400 internally displaced Greek Cypriots from 1974 conflict with Turkey) have had extreme reactions. He suggests that most can be described as emotionally scarred and embittered, but not socially disabled or incapacitated.

Similarly, in the more recent study of long-term effects on the mental health and psychosocial well-being of forcibly displaced women in Bosnia, Serbia and Kosovo, concluded as part of the two-year-long, multi-methods and cross-country project, the plethora of social resources for the positive readjustment practices have been identified. Among these, the sociocultural ones, including strong community ties, healthy family relationships, gainful employment and child-centred life, top the list (Porobić 2016a, b).

Thus, one needs to acknowledge that a destructive reality of war and forced migration is often counterbalanced by the variety of resources (individual and environmental) and protective coping processes available. Importantly, it is noted that specific protective and adaptive processes, such as those involving social and cultural resources (Ahearn 2000; Gozdziak and Shandy 2002; Ai et al. 2003; Loizos 2008; Porobić 2012, 2015, 2016a, b, 2017, 2018), open up opportunities for a meaningful and potentially positive accommodation of forced migration adversities.

These findings suggest that the effects of social upheavals causing massive scale displacement should be studied concerning both traumas inflicting stressors as well as longitudinal social and psychological processes of coming to terms with these in an adaptive manner. *How well are these processes researched so far? How much do we know about wellbeing and resourceful accommodation of refugee traumas from a long-term perspective?*

1.1 Refugee Narratives—Hearing the Voices of Resilient

Research on the topic of forced migration and health almost exclusively gives the impression that there is an inevitable link between the refugee experience and mental illness. However, as Baker (1990: 65–66) insightfully pointed out in 1990 in the *Journal of Refugee Studies*, which had a common focus on refugee voices, "*… it would be naive to conclude that the refugee experience makes all those who have gone through it more vulnerable to stress and mental illness. Much of the research and literature available on this topic comes from psychiatrists and psychologists, and the danger is that perceptions and interpretations can be skewed to favour a 'clinical' view.*"

Many different pathways in the "psychosocial transition" from crisis to either a positive or negative aftermath are possible so that people can "remain unharmed" or even "do well" in the context of a refugee crisis. In the emergent positive psychology literature, the relationship between active cognitive coping strategies, personal dispositions (such as optimism) and social and cultural resources (such as religion and spirituality) has been extensively discussed and related to human resilience in the face of adversity, thus addressing the juxtaposition of well-being and thriving in the aftermath of such events (see e.g. Tedeschi and Calhoun 1995; Tedeschi et al. 1998; Koenig et al. 2001; Keyes and Haidt 2003; Bussey and Wise 2007).

For instance, several studies (see Weine et al. 1998; Steel et al. 2009), report a stabilization or a decline of psychopathology in adult refugees after settlement in the asylum country confirming that the act of resettlement and its stability was a particular resiliency factor (Hobfol and de Jong 2014). Likewise, the ecological resilience, conceptualized "*as those assets and processes existent on all social-ecological levels that have shown to have a relationship with good developmental outcomes after exposure to situations of armed conflict*" (Tol et al. 2011), points to the importance of understanding the particular contextual factors involved in the resilience processes.

Further to that, the British social psychiatrist Summerfield (2000), notes that the mental need dimension of refugees is exaggerated and notes that trauma work in humanitarian operations is rooted in the way that medicine and psychology have displaced *religion* in western culture. He argues (2000: 11)

> *How pain and suffering were to be understood has always been at the heart of the relationship between human consciousness and the material world. The religions of the world traditionally provided frameworks to capture pain, and the terminology with which to express it; over the last century in the secularizing West, this role passed to medicine and psychology. But, human pain is a slippery thing if it is a thing at all. Mental health frameworks and the discourse of 'trauma' can contribute to its elucidation, in particular when it is too much for a person as a biopsychological organism to bear. Nonetheless, the transcending reality is that counting the human costs attached to adverse experience invokes not technical considerations but philosophical and socio-moral ones: these differ radically across cultures, but also do not stand still over time in one culture or indeed in an individual life course.*

Indeed, the faith-based reactions are not exceptional human experiences in adversity, notably reported by those who suffer from the traumatic consequences of war-displacement and refugee experiences. Psychiatrists like Brende (1993), who has written about PTSD and spirituality, have argued that unresolved symptoms of PTSD can occur when trauma survivors do not resolve their emotional and spiritual

responses to experienced trauma. After all, even in the World Health Organization's (WHO) definition of health[1] it is acknowledged that a multidisciplinary conceptualization of a framework for health should address complex human needs in which spirituality forms a vital part of the social and psychosocial make-up of the individual.

However, studies in faith and religion in relation to forced migration adversities have only by few been discussed as vital to include in an understanding of refugee resilience (Gozdziak 2002; Ai et al. 2005). Rare studies have examined the link between religious meaning-making and adjustment to forced migration adversities (Porobić 2012, 2015, 2018).

To date, voices of refugees demonstrating wellbeing in the aftermath of displacement and relocation which fall outside the interventionist—humanitarian or recipient country's immigration-frameworks for the psychosocial support are scarcely present in the literature. My view is that this absence not only reflects a lack of willingness to understand the people who have been exposed to this adversity but even the very nature of the actual adversity.

In an attempt to bridge this gap, emic data collected in this study reflects the person's inner worlds i.e., their innermost thoughts, emotions, beliefs and behaviours throughout the constructive dealing with experienced forced migration adversities and the role of religiosity as a resilience agent i.e. resource factor in a positive adaptation process to forced migration adversities.

1.2   Long-Term Adaptation and Its Existential Aspects

The process of adaptation to forced migration adversities is commonly depicted as highly complex. Various psychology researches suggest that being forcibly uprooted and becoming a refugee is a process that has lifelong psychological effects and adaptation implications (Bustos 1995; Silove 2005). Refugees are often survivors of systematic torture and strategies aimed at inflicting harm on the physical and psychic body of the individual, his or her family, relatives and social surroundings, commonly supported by ideological, political and historical motifs that legitimize abuse and oppression. Adaptation is closely linked to the reactions and ruminations of such distressing exposures and is expected to involve complex coping processes related to experiences of humiliation, helplessness and extinction

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[1]As a "*state of complete physical, mental, (family), social and (spiritual) well-being and not merely an absence of disease or infirmity*" (see WHO's official website at www.who.int).

(Bustos 1995; Silove 2005). Experienced physical and psychological pain is, therefore, often associated with *degradation and dehumanization.*

Swedish psychology researchers like Bustos (1995: 63) argued for specific refugee-related traumatology in which attention is given to organized oppression and torture and typical experiences of people in repressive political systems, which further result in three main features: (1) attack on the *body*; (2) attack on the *self* (identity, inner life with stored memories, self-esteem, self-reflection, self-perception etc.); (3) attack on an individual's *world view* (universal perception of the world, personal security, integrity, invulnerability, social coherence, central life values etc.). He particularly underlined that no matter which symptomatology is detected, the central dilemma in the refugee experience involves the interaction of psychodynamic processes and the intentionality of these in that they meet the existential quest of each.

Thus, as an advocator of a psychodynamic-existential approach to refugee experiences—starting from an exposure to war, violence, torture and oppression and extending into the post-migration context—he emphasized that the inner world of the exposed, with its dynamic processes, will lay the foundation for possible *existential interpretations* of these complex life experiences.

Similarly, Silove (2005) proposed the broader conceptual model of mental health in post-conflict situations, in which he draws attention to *the existential-meaning system of refugees* as an essential dimension in studying survivors' mental health and adaptation in the aftermath of distressing experiences. According to Silove (2005), the exposure to inexplicable evil and cruelty tends to shake the survivor's faith in the beneficence of life and humankind and trigger *existential preoccupations,* in which the person strives to find a coherent reason for his or her endured suffering. Individuals and communities thus face a crisis of *trust, faith and meaning* that may intensify feelings of alienation and emotional isolation in the post-conflict or post-displacement phase. However, in his understanding, the overcoming of this sort of mistrust and feeling of alienation is not a dynamic intrapsychic process, but a gradual process primarily connected to the social environment of the exposed. In this process, the re-establishment of religious institutions and the rediscovery of faith, spirituality or social engagement in a common purpose and meaningful political activities may help individuals and communities to cope with existential dilemmas.

Likewise, earlier psychology studies (particularly within humanistic and existential psychology) indicate that the act of transcendence of the accumulated losses and grief is a plausible possibility towards a progressive movement from a negative to a positive perception of the world, life and its meaning. Bettelheim (1950) suggested that political, social or religious ideology-driven groups were able to

successfully cope with Nazi camps due to their commitment to transcendental meanings and solidarities. This same notion was recognized and further developed by existential psychologist, Viktor Frankl, in his later works, in which the will to meaning was discussed and proposed as a survival resource (1969, 1984).

Following the various reasoning on trauma, study of war and displacement experiences in this research was confined to the subjective experiences and perceptions of a person's life as a whole (through a life history approach) and less to a particular situational context of distress commonly referred to as refugee trauma, demarked by either pre-migration or post-migration temporal phases and their typically identified stressful content. My temporal approach to experiences of refugee trauma is thus *holistic and process-oriented*, focused on a particular cognitive and affective processing of forced migration experiences and the positive nature of the process as perceived from the present time perspective of the informant, i.e. constructed during the course of narrative life history interviews conducted for the purpose of the research.

In this approach, attention is drawn to *the existential meaning system of the individual* that has been challenged by war-induced displacement and relocation, in that there is a central focus on an individual's religious meaning-making in relation to his or her suffered adversities. The research focused on *religiosity* as a socio-cultural resource in gradually dealing with displacement adversities and their resultant existential preoccupations—an aspect of health that is often neglected in refugee studies. Existential preoccupations involve experiences that bring to the fore the limits of human powers and capacities in the face of adversity and concern life's meaning, suffering, trust in the world and faith (Silove 2005). In other words, such preoccupations reflect an individual's underlying assumptions and beliefs about the world.

1.3 About Interviews

Data collection using personal interview involved the narratives of 20 Bosnian refugees, today residing in different regions of Sweden. Sporadically, already recorded memoirs and personal reflections on the war and post-war experiences were also collected from a few informants when they made these available.[2]

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[2]It is worth noting that many individuals from this group tend to ventilate their life experiences through writing them down as a diary or making them known at various internet sites that serve as a meeting point for the dispersed Bosnians all over the world. This type of

Interviews were conducted with individuals who became refugees as a result of the war that engulfed Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) from 1992–95. According to the Bosnian Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees, approximately 1,200,000 people sought international protection in foreign countries, and approximately one million were internally displaced.[3] Many of the 1,200,000 who had initially fled abroad were offered asylum and permanent residence in their country of refuge or by a third country. At the centre of attention in this chapter are those Bosnian refugees who settled in Sweden (approx. 54,000) and for the most part, were given humanitarian asylum.

All the informants had permanent residence and Swedish citizenship by the time of the interviews. They belong to the refugee population that was given collective asylum as a result of the Swedish Government's decision in 1993, amid the war in BiH, when Sweden already hosted a considerable number of Bosnian refugees. The same year a visa requirement was introduced for Bosnian citizens, imposing control and restrictive measures regarding the reception of the additional number of war-fleeing persons from BiH. However, the policy of reuniting refugee families and the right to settlement in Sweden based on family reunification continued for a few more years. Eighteen of the informants arrived in the country in the period of war in BiH, 1992–95, and two, who came through family reunification, arrived in the country in 1995 and 1996, after the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement that put an end to the war in BiH.

The interviews conducted are *in-depth* interviews of general and detailed nature and of *semi-structured* type, characterized by an informal, conversational style that enabled the participants to engage in the process more freely (Denscombe 1998). The semi-structured nature of the interviews, in which the various aspects of their life stories were constructed or re-constructed, allowed the respondents to create their stories in personally meaningful and acceptable ways thus reflecting the subjective selection of their lived experiences.[4] The researcher guided the interview and asked probing questions.

(Footnote 2 continued)

data is not presented in this chapter but instead served as a complementary comparison for the researcher in the analysis of the interview-based data collection.

[3]By 31st August 2000, 360,749 refugees had been repatriated to BiH, and 321,730 IDPs had returned to their pre-war homes of origin (UNHCR 2000). See www.unhcr.org

[4]From a metatheoretical standpoint, human beings are viewed as (co-)authors of their life stories, struggling to compose a meaningful account of the critical events of their lives and revising, editing or even dramatically rewriting them when the presuppositions that sustain these accounts are challenged by unanticipated or incongruous events (see Neimeyer 2010).

All the interviews were carried out in the informants' homes and took between one to two hours, with variations of 60 min to three hours. The interviews were conducted in the informants' mother-tongue, i.e. Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, tape-recorded, transcribed and translated into English by the researcher.

The majority of the interviews were conducted in the Skåne region of Southern Sweden, both for practical reasons and in accordance with the Statistics Sweden (SCB)[5] from 2006, which show that Skåne has the largest concentration of inhabitants originating from BiH. These statistics also indicate that the majority of refugees from Bosnia have resettled in the three most urban and populated regions of Sweden—the Skåne region, followed by the Gothenburg and Stockholm regions.[6] Twelve of the informants live in the Skåne region (eight of them in Malmö, two in Helsingborg, two in Lund), six in the Gothenburg region (four in Gothenburg and two in Värnamö) and two in the Stockholm region (one in Stockholm and one in Norrköping).

1.4 About the Informants

The informants chosen for the interviews and the purpose of gathering life stories were arbitrarily selected through the *snowball sampling method*. Historically, this method has been widely used in qualitative studies of hidden populations. The identification of such populations requires knowledge from insiders who can locate people willing to participate in the study. This method appears to be particularly applicable when the focus of interest is an area of coping with adversity (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981, 2: 141–163).

Initially, 25 informants were contacted for an interview, although in the second phase of selection, 20 interviewees were *purposely selected* (Patton 2002). The criteria used for such selection involved *variation* (Eneroth 1984), represented

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[5]This is the leading Swedish administrative agency tasked by government, different agencies, private sector and researchers with producing and communicating statistics for decision making, debate and research as well as coordinating the Swedish system for official statistics. See www.scb.se.

[6]According to SCB 2006, out of a total number of 56,800 resettled Bosnian refugees in Sweden, 12,385 Bosnians live in Skåne (Malmö: 5,502), 12,250 in the Gothenburg region (Gothenburg: 6,053) and 5,418 in the Stockholm region (Stockholm: 2,571). The rest of the Bosnian population is spread throughout the country's less populated regions, although the main concentration is in cities and larger urban centres. See www.scb.se.

through variety in socio-demographic characteristics along with talkativeness and openness in recounting religion's role in *war-related displacement.*[7] The chosen informants reflect the variety of socio-demographic characteristics, such as ethno-religious background, education, gender and age.

Out of 20 informants, nine are females, and eleven are males. I strived to reach a feasible balance in the gender break down, but the overall gender division of the informants is a result of the random and unsystematic selection process. In contrast, age break down was achieved through more intentional selection in favour of interviewees older than the age of 30. This age bias was due to intentional access to personal experiences, views and memories of the life before war and displacement. I estimated that those, who upon arrival to Sweden were in young adolescence age, from fifteen onwards, are eligible candidates. The average age of the informants in the study is 41, with ten informants being over the age of 40 and ten being under the age of 40. The youngest informant is a 25-year-old female, while the oldest informant is a 55-year-old male.

The school-based education of the informants is reasonably high with the majority, thirteen of them, holding university degree. Besides these thirteen with a university education, two were students at the university, four had vocational training, and one was a factory worker. Occupations represented amongst vocationally trained are electrician, chef, hairdresser and health worker. All besides the health worker who works in the home for elderly persons have brought their vocational training with them from BiH and managed to keep their occupations by working in the private sector.

Following university educated categories are present among the interviewed: two artists, kindergarten teacher, high school teacher, primary school teacher, social pedagogue, journalist, architect, economist, nurse, mechanic engineer, agronomist and a research fellow. The employment situation for this group in the sample is more complicated than for the above mentioned vocationally trained group. Although employment rate of these informants is also very high with only one person (a high school teacher in English) being long term unemployed in Sweden, many do not work according to their university degrees acquired in the homeland and have re-educated themselves in order to adjust to the labour market in Sweden. Unusual for this group, however, seems to be the persistence to keep the same education level acquired in the homeland, but flexibility and willingness

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[7]Only members of the BiH's war refugee population resettled in Sweden were eligible informants out of a total of 56,400 members of the Bosnian population resettled in Sweden (SCB 2006).

to negotiate career ambitions and degrees/professions in order to find work under the existing labour market conditions in Sweden.[8]

The majority of the interviewees, typically, come from the area where ethnic cleansing was committed to the non-Serb population, such as Eastern Bosnia: towns Foca (1), Zvornik (1) and Gorazde (1) and Northern Bosnia: towns Banja Luka (2), Prijedor (1), Bihac (1), Bosanski Brod (1), Doboj (1), Derventa (1), Kotorsko (1). Other informants originate from regions, such as Central Bosnia: towns Sarajevo (2), Travnik (1) and Novi Travnik (2), and Southern Bosnia: towns Capljina (1), Mostar (1), Stolac (1) and Trebinje (1), which were all affected by massive warfare during 1992–95. Twelve of the informants lived in, what is today the Republic Srpska (RS), three of them lived in dominant Croat cantons of today's Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH Federation), and five of them lived in Bosniak cantons regions of today's Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This geographical distribution indicates that the majority of the interviewed for this research today constitute ethnic minorities in the regions of BiH that they formerly come from.

Finally, regarding the ethnic background among the interviewed, there were eleven of Bosniak/Bosnian Muslim origin, three of Serb/Orthodox origin, two of Croat/Catholic origin and four of ethnically mixed background. Although unsystematic, these socio-demographic characteristics could be paralleled to the general ethnic breakdown of the total Bosnian refugee population in Sweden. As a result of the war's character, ethnic cleansing and subsequent mass expulsion and displacement, individuals of Bosniak ethnic origin constitute a majority of the received refugee population from BiH in Sweden.

2 Religiosity and Resilience Among Bosnian War Refugees Settled in Sweden

In this part of the chapter, the relationship between existential preoccupations and meaning-making, in particular a religiously informed one that leads towards positive adaptation to forced migration adversities, is presented and discussed.

Various environmental, organizational, cognitive, affective and assumptive stress dimensions of displaced person's experiences were found in the informants' narratives. They demonstrate an intensive search for meaning and its (re)construction in the aftermath of war-displacement and relocation experiences and

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[8]For the employment situation of the Bosnian refugees in Sweden, see Bevelander (2009) and Povrzanovic-Frykman (2009).

account for individual characteristics, potentials, capacities and resources in the process of adjustment to these. In the discussion below the focus is placed on the parts of informants' narratives that reveal their ongoing existential preoccupations during the integration of the strenuous life experiences into the continuing course of their lives.

2.1 New Lives: Construction of Meaning and Accommodation of Life Changes

Forced uprooting due to war, subsequent reconstruction and continuation of life in the country of asylum are complex life experiences that are characterized by all informants as multifaceted stresses demanding long-term processing and adaptation. Informants' reflections over these experiences bring to the fore a variety of existential questions and the importance of rebuilding a shattered sense of meaning in life (see even McIntosh et al. 1993). The following comment of an informant who was exposed to war and forced migration during her teenage years illustrates this:

> … significant things such as losing your home and the security that parents provide, both during the war and after … living here [in Sweden] and not knowing language at first, helping my parents to deal with their losses, seeing how many innocent people were killed in the war and how destroyed our country was, makes you think more deeply about the questions of life and what to do in your life; what is important, what stays with us and what just easily disappears. (Lejla)

Furthermore, as a mean of adapting to the new, psychologically demanding life situation, a person's view of self, life's purpose and goals are central components that are investigated (Camino and Krulfeld 1994). For the majority of informants, this process involved reworking many of their pre-war perceptions and the creating or adapting of new ones promoted by the refugee experience and formed in response to experiences and demands of relocation. Some describe it as a self-distancing and changing process with an effect on the view of reality:

> It is all different now comparing to my life in Bosnia. I think that I also became more flexible and more open to the changes that come my way. Before I was a person of principles, maybe too judgmental as well, and this also harmed my environment many times. Today I am happy for tons of small things and less concerned about some things (…) This experience changes you. You gain greater distance to yourself, and you even start to evaluate and question the reality around you a bit more. (Amel)

The dissolution of the former Yugoslav state and its replacement with a structurally different society has been mentioned as a potent trigger for personally observed changes and a questioning spirit that Amel describes. These changes on a social, political and cultural level of informants' lives have had a significant influence on their values and views that throughout the process of Yugoslavia's dissolution undoubtedly lost their support by break down of the plausibility structure (Berger and Luckmann 1966). Therefore, the personal stories of the informants lengthily account for the unpreparedness, shock and disappointment with war realities witnessed but also inevitable challenges to their personal beliefs and social norms. Their stories almost exclusively firstly focus on the shocking experiences of being forced to face the breakdown of the home society with its social structures:

> The collapse of Yugoslavia and the Communist system did not shock me as much as the collapse of human qualities, moral, and things that I believed we all had built-in us. To have a neighbour attacking you, confiscating your belongings, abusing you and expelling you from your own house is something that shocked me, and this is what I perceived as a collapse of the system. I did not see it coming. I did not see when someone pulled the trigger… All that disappointed me terribly. I am not disappointed with the system and how it fell down but with people and their behaviour. … It was a shocking collapse of the moral values above all. …It hurt me… Primarily the behaviour of people, former neighbours and former friends hurt me… and I am not referring only to my personal experience here but the stories I've read in papers, the things that media broadcasted. (Selver)

It is clear from the stories that the brutal reality of the war and a socio-political collapse not only prompted a questioning and re-evaluation of the internalized life values but even brought to the fore the issues of ethics and human nature in general. Maja, for example, condemns those who did not reflect deeper on such issues after having experienced the war in Bosnia and even moved beyond 'commonly held' materialistic values:

> I have severe issues with those who kept the same view of people and the world and did not re-think what is important in life and what not. How can this be the case after the war and all that we have been through in Bosnia? How can they not re-think the human being, good and evil, life and death and our world, and how can they go back to same convictions that money, cars and apartments are worthy of their energy? (Maja)

Anes, one of the informants, tried to explain this by underlining how various perceptions of reality that emerged as a result of war, forced migration and relocation experiences in Sweden, are the most critical changes that one should embrace and understand. Unique strength, in his opinion, is derived from the

existential character of these very experiences in which the individual's sense of belonging is renegotiated through the process of self-examination and a free choice in changing one's views. According to him, finding solutions to everyday life stresses of relocation through modification and changes in central perceptions of life is a necessary sequel in the positive adaptation. Here is how he reasons:

> *I could, for example, opt for being an altruist without religious ideology or affiliated to a religious ideology which would provide me with strict guidelines regarding my behaviour and my thoughts. In my view, my struggle to adapt equals the process of change in my approach to living. I both value life differently and live life by different rules than before. My process of change is tightly related to the outcomes of the war in Bosnia and my perceptions of life here. The war brought about radical changes to our society and our own lives. We became refugees, the displaced, dispossessed, the resettled, immigrants but still we make choices and live our lives as the best we can. (Anes)*

The war-induced displacement of Bosnian refugees interviewed involved not only facing refugee and relocation experiences, but also the re-negotiation of previously held values prompting by dramatic and permanent changes in the home society. How their personal views became affected by the process of adjusting to a new life situation was often explained by referring to personal cognitive capacities to deal with life-shattering experiences. The majority refers to working through these as an enriching process in which they have managed to preserve their own set of central life assumptions. However, they had to adjust these to fit their new life reality. Emir well exemplifies this:

> *My leading positions regarding the world and my mission in it are the same, just more enriched by the experience. The process of finding the answers on war and migration enriches you and you gain the new perception of your life, but there must be the inner strength and willingness to embark on such a journey. (Emir)*

For the majority of informants, the self-preservation efforts—in which proving or emphasizing the veracity of the society or plausibility structure that once provided the individual with an acquired set of beliefs is thus intrinsically connected to the stresses of a life in exile. Among these, the central place takes the 'lost sense' of home. The process of re-defining or re-negotiating a sense of home and belonging is manifested many times by referring to religious and cultural references, which provide continuation of specific previously internalized values, and even a sense of recognizable personal identity:

> *My home became what I had brought with me from my past life but I had to adapt that to the society here and my life here. In the end, only my culture and my faith remained closest to the home that I can get. Keeping Islamic Bosnian [here he*

accentuates Bosnian] traditions alive within the family by adhering to important values of respecting differences among people of different social class or culture and being a decent human being is something that helps me to know that I am still, in a way, at home. (Amel)

These generally discussed modifications of inner convictions, views and values as introduced above, are further discussed in the next section by focusing more profound on the changes in the informants' *world view, view of self, human relationships and life's meaning*. Such modifications take a central role in their life stories.

2.2 Pro-religious and Pro-spiritual World View

Changes in the world view of resettled Bosnians are often described as a necessary process affected by broader socio-political changes in their home society and experiences of forced migration (Miller et al. 2002a, b). With the loss of an environment that was a part of the individuals' social identity, many perceived that aspects of personal identity also lost their value and came into question.

For example, the internalized social norms could not be sustained through the war and its logic of mass violence and killing. What many believed could never happen in their surroundings, in fact, happened to them. One informant, Selver, wrote in his memoirs, "*you have heard that people are confronted with such things, but you never imagine that it could happen in such a manner. It was a collapse of humanism. Everything you believed in was brought into question.*" During the interview, he further explained:

That was so humiliating. It was such a disappointment with people, human moral, global moral, on micro and macro plan, disappointment with individuals. I cannot recall all the details now, but that was to sit and cry for days. Everything you believed in has failed like trust in people, trust in some world humanitarian organizations and institutions, the purpose of which is to prevent such things [war] and they all failed... It was not so hard for me to run away to save my life, but generally, everything that happened affected me very much. Globally, everything is burdened to our shoulders. I am Bosnia. We are all Bosnia. Those are the traumas that I will bear my whole life. All that makes you even more disappointed and hopeless, but a human being cannot accept to live in such an abyss of constant disappointment and hopelessness. You have to find the way out. If nothing else, I can at least calm down and look for the answers. Why is this the way it is? Maybe Koran can help me find the answers. That was my story. (Selver)

Often these changes are characterized by non-materialistic and more pro-spiritual disclosures about life's meaning and identifications. Zehra connects these changes in her life view to the accumulation of the endured losses:

> *My beliefs did earlier give me this view, but it was not until I felt it on my skin, in the war and life after the war, that I could realize the meaning of this message. When you experience material losses, then you become smarter not to think that this is what we are and what things make us what we are. We may live in a material world and use material goods, but they are not a goal in itself. They can never be the purpose of our earthly lives. (Zehra)*

A sense of a higher power guiding life, especially in enduring the mentioned moral, social and emotional hardships became essential to all. Some went through a process of "purification" and distance from previously "irreligious world view", now replacing it with a new spiritual one that offered answers to their ruminations on the refugee experiences. This is well illustrated in Sasa's case:

> *I went through an in-depth process of cleansing and was able to achieve the beauty of understanding the real inner self which has nothing to do with the culture, society, language and other. It is a pure feeling of inner beauty and happiness and a very spiritual journey in which everything around me became filled with meaning. (Sasa)*

This shift in world view could also be described through stronger reliance and belief in a God-assigned destiny, which is noticed among all informants regardless of their religious background. Statements like "it was meant to be", "only God knows what the destiny holds for us" are typical in this regard.

In general, the changed perception of the world amongst the informants from the Bosnian resettled population in this study illustrates a more pro-religious, pro-spiritual world view. However, four informants have become more critical towards religion and adopted a spiritual standpoint instead. These criticize religion as a newly adopted world view for many Bosnians today and explain this in political terms by illustrating the causes of the identity crises that arose amongst Bosnians in the Diaspora, but also Bosnians in general due to political and social transitions that the post-Yugoslav countries faced. In their understanding, this religious identity is explained as a collective identity forced onto citizens by a politically manipulative new order during the war and post-war BiH society, while spirituality is deemed as a development coming from self-examination and inner transformation—more genuine than one involving ethnicity and politics. For these, the forced migration experiences are related to spiritual transformations that have little to do with the broader structural changes and context and more to do with amelioration of suffering endured on a personal level. These are more described below.

2.3   Spiritualized Self-view

In continuously dealing with the irretrievable loss of home and the irreversible changes that the war and the new displacement situation brought to them, the majority of informants adopted a new perspective on reality. The return to society, as they knew it, is impossible, and the loss of part of the self with it created a space in which the "past is processed in an abstract way" (McMichael 2002). As many explained, this space involves self-distancing and contemplation—a change which has positive connotations, as it leads to renewed perceptions of the world.

This sort of experience and a shift in self-perception has been described as a form of "universal conversion" (Pargament 1997). It involves reworking old perceptions of the self and adopting new—a process which implies a deepened transcendent connection with others and a desire to devote oneself to their wellbeing.

Anes's engagement in the betterment of the world could be viewed as a type of "spiritual conversion" because he primarily stresses the self-cognition and self-awareness related to being conscious about one's importance and power in contributing to the betterment of the world. In his case, the social milieu became a religious expression that is most important to personal identification:

> I believe that the real salvation for the world lies in the new identity, some cosmopolitan identity, where everyone has several identities – one national, meaning that you are loyal to your state and political systems, institutions and constitution. That means that you are a Swedish citizen, but at the same time, you are a Bosnian citizen too if you feel loyal to both countries and if you have citizenships. However, you can develop an affiliation with the whole world at the moment when you start caring for the entire world. (Ames)

Mato, who comes from a Catholic background, described a similar process of a spiritual search that resulted in a shift of self-identification in which he gained insight into the self as a transcendent category. To him, the divinity of the self-connected to God could provide comfort and safety in turbulent times, thus ensuring a safe base for exploring the world and re-discovering the meaningful continuation of life when existential crises occurred. This transformation decreased the spiritual struggle triggered by war empowering him to pursue a spiritual path which, today, involves support in Buddhist teachings.

Generally, the increased self-analysis, self-confidence and self-reliance, as well as better self-knowledge and more interest in exploring oneself, were consistently reported as related to the forced migration experiences and religious means of making meaning out of these. For some informants, reliance on faith in the reconstruction of their self-view is even related to the preservation of their

sociocultural and ethnic background, as well as a reminder of the causes for their displacement. Mina well exemplifies this:

> You feel safe with your faith and knowing who you are. You never forget where you came from, and you are consistently connected to your roots being aware of the reasons for uprooting. Wherever you go, your faith is with you, and it cannot be crushed, stolen, taken away from you. Faith is a pillar of our self-knowing and knowing the world around us. (Mina)

There is even a somewhat judgmental and critical attitude regarding fellow citizens who did not go through the process of questioning and modifying or completely changing their views and perceptions of themselves as a consequence of the forced migration experiences. Mirsad explains:

> Some people came here for the same reasons as I did – like war refugees. They have been through the same ordeals, but now they are ashamed of this and do not want to be associated with this background. They moved here and forgot about everything that happened. They do not care. None of their beloved ones was killed and it does not affect them so much. They have no reason to change anything about themselves. They are even proud to say that they remained the same. To me, that is horrible. (Mirsad)

2.4   Life's Higher Purpose and Meaning

For the majority of informants, reliance on faith in making meaning out of adversity generally involved a greater appreciation of life. This is well demonstrated by Emir, who, in the immediate aftermath of the war during his refugee status period, at first adhered more strictly to religious practice and prayer in particular, including fasting, but then gradually abandoned his religious practice and today finds comfort in his faith by acknowledging its most significant contribution to life's sacred character:

> Well, at specific periods, I was more praying and celebrating Eid, for example. I do not know if it had to do with Swedes celebrating Christmas and me wanting to have something of my own or genuine faith. In those first years, life was tough here, and I often went to the Bosnian Islamic Association. Many would gather there and pray for the victims of war or for the loved ones who were still in the war. We also sent much aid to Bosnia, and I was quite active in helping people. I fasted each Ramadan, but then somehow I moved away from religion. What is still important to me today is that I have a faith which I can rely on in times of pressure. I am a believer in that regard and know that life is sacred, not just given to us to waste it. (Emir)

Selver explains this similar insight by referring to necessary inner changes—a result of forced migration being reinterpreted through his Islamic convictions.

For him, exile provides distance and space for introspection, as well as an urge to re-evaluate previously held life values with a possibility to transform oneself spiritually. He explains his spiritual transformation as a feeling of being reborn with new moral obligations:

> First, you need to re-create yourself in this new environment. I placed Islam as an important component of my new life and who I am here. There are some of our fellow countrymen who still live in the same manner as they did back then. The only difference is that they moved. However, their eyes have not opened. They still go to the coffee bars, stuff themselves with food, run after material things and continue to live by low moral standards… Their eyes have not opened… To open your eyes is to get disappointed. In the first phase, you see what a man is like, but you do not give up. The next phase is Islam. It helped me to leave everything I disliked by lifting the stigma from myself and reforming completely. My life today is different from the one before. I shredded my former life, and in a certain way, I was reborn. It is not that I feel more free or untrammelled. I simply go in a different direction. (Selver)

The appreciation and elevation of life to the sacred level is a typical interpretation of forced migration experiences from the context of today's post-migration reality. Their life view became shaped by the interpretation of these experiences, primarily through the process of regaining what was lost in social, cultural, spiritual and other domains. Maja describes how her internal capacity to make sense of and deal with forced migration losses stems from a reliance on God, which makes her different from other young Bosnians she meets:

> I think we should not waste our lives and that we should appreciate living more. I don't think this chance is given to us twice and we must grab it here and now. I am thankful that we, first of all, got out from the war-affected Bosnia in time and that my parents survived the war [pause], that we were able to reach a haven and that I know of ways to inner strengths helping me to rise when I fall. I fought for my rights here in this country and it is only through the determination that I have won back my life. Living on the bottom can give you incredible determination and strength to rise up and fight. I am thankful to God for this being my story. Many others from my generation stayed at the bottom. Some are drug users. I meet them every day in the streets of Malmö. They tried but could not cope with life here. (Maja)

For Nerko, engagement and contribution to the cultural and social development of the community life are directly related to a new life orientation as a means of constructively dealing with the personal losses endured:

> Flight and leaving my home, as well as refugee days in Croatia and in Sweden, are difficult things. Life here outside my country is involuntary but it is hopeful. I can still use my capacity and be useful. To be a part of the world and to contribute to the enhancement of culture as an important human expression that can save us from primitive yearnings has become my lifetime dedication. (Nerko)

2.5 Development of Hope and Optimism

When informants shared their life experiences of the war, refugee and new set-tlement reality, they also expressed general sentiments towards life and the world in which they interact with other people, as well as their sense of belonging. They acknowledged that the stressful experiences at first generated more pessimistic feeling and distrust in people and the world, and involved a process of dealing with emotional turbulence, leading to re-negotiation and re-investigation of their general attitudes towards living. However, for the majority, this emotional struggle resulted in newly found or re-discovered optimism and hope.[9] Thus, prevailing affective attitudes were increased hope, faith and optimism, tolerance, empathy and open-ness towards life.

Hope as an underlying mood communicated by the informants in this study is often contrasted with a loss of hope during particularly stressful situations. Regained hope is thus a result of the religiously informed meaning-making strategy to overcome different stressors resulting from this life situation. In Selver's case, the process of regaining hope was crucial to his psychological survival through the affective turbulences he faced:

> *In those darkest moments, hopeless and meaningless, I could only diminish, and for the moment I felt as if I was diminishing, disappearing from the face of the earth… but I reinforced myself through Koran, and the hope that it brought back to me is sometimes as a whole new life. It is a new life that grew out of the old one as a new spirit eager to live and learn about life anew. (Selver)*

For other informants, hope is the inner strength and only capacity to deal with cumulative refugee hardships:

> *Whoever has been through life changes like these has hope in life. How can we not? First, you find your ways around surviving in the war, then you find yourself in an extremely insecure flight situation and later on new threatening situations keep coming your way. If I did not see anything positive I would not have survived all that. (Mila)*

In the same way, Nerko, for example, was able to realize his strengths while being reliant on his beliefs, which made him more capable of dealing with the stresses of resettlement and exile. He managed to come out from his crises with more optimism:

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[9]This could be compared to the extensive review conducted by an international expert panel in 2007 which identified the promotion of hope as an evidence-based intervention principle following mass trauma in adults (see Hobfoll et al. 2007: 820).

Self-confidence, self-reliance and a belief in God, which I more firmly believe in now have always been my strong sides. God has given us so many blessings; it's only that we do not know how to make use of them and how to share them among us. With negative attitudes and deeds, humans can only endanger themselves and others as well as ruin all the blessings given to them. Besides all hard moments in life that each human goes through, I think we can all find the optimal meaning in life by looking at the things as they are in reality – more positive than negative. (Nerko)

The experiences of being a refugee have also led to increased tolerance, empathy and openness in an understanding of marginalized populations. It is often expressed as being compassionate towards people who have been through the same or similar adversities. Vesna explains how her own experiences of becoming a refugee are something that she shares with other individuals who experienced the same, regardless of their background. She emphasizes, in particular, the experience of being "unwanted as a refugee", which increased her empathy towards all the world's refugees. "*To experience being nobodies, homeless, dispossessed and disempowered, can be a remarkable strength*" she emphasizes.

3 Conclusion

The Bosnian refugee informants included in this study were exposed to massively disruptive events in their lives which further caused them to question and doubt many of their previously held beliefs about the world, although not to the point of being unable to function normally in society or becoming chronically depressed and unable to continue their lives. On the contrary, the doubt and distrust of the world as a result of war and displacement had a transforming effect and made them strive more actively to rebuild their shattered worlds. As it was made evident from the narrative data presented in this chapter, they became resilient in facing the constant challenges that came their way as a result of forced migration. Therefore, the most significant aspect of trauma in this study was placed on their means of bearing with the adverse experiences described.

Furthermore, the findings generated by this research describe resilience as a meaning-making process through the interaction of self-capacities (related to earlier socialization, relationships, cultural and religious resources) and construed religious belief (related to the cumulative and existential character of forced migration experiences and the attribution of meaning to these) that shapes the perception and experience of an individual. They point to the crucial role of the individual's self-capacity—the capacity to recognize, tolerate, reorganize and integrate affect and cognition in order to sustain an inner connection with the self

and enable self-survival; use of cognitive and social skills to protect self; and use of cultural resources in dealing with adversities. What became clear from this study is that the individual's adaptation to forced migration adversities involves *religious or spiritual meta-narratives* as necessary means of bearing with the long-term effects of the forced migraiton experiences which can or may involve the existential pre-occupations. More specifically, the religiousness involved in the accommodation process of the suffering and stresses endured by informants in this study could be summarized through its three dominant reforming or reconstructive aspects:

(1) It enables informants to view themselves as *survivors* of adversity and not helpless, incapacitated victims—which is manifested through strengthened self-reliance and confidence, and a sense of increased overall capacity and self-efficacy in dealing with hardships. Here the central aspect is the struggle for self-preservation or ongoing survival of the self. This also involves a notable capacity for the development of assertiveness in seeking useful support sources and declining those that are less helpful in a variety of stressful situations.

(2) It assists in the development of *self-complexity* as necessary capability for dealing with this situation. Self-complexity involves acknowledging that certain parts of the self are lost with forced migration. In particular, these include certain economic, material, social, and cultural aspects that were part of their lost life in pre-war Bosnian society, but which they have preserved and re-discovered as other aspects of the self. These might include previously neglected religious and spiritual resources that emerged as cognitively and affectively supportive in the process of working through the endured society losses and subsequent restoration of self-identity. The informants could thus make use of the domains of self that were not affected by life-shattering changes, such as spiritual and religious resources, which survived the changes.

(3) It led to *spiritual development*—a view of the world and life that involves a greater sense of being connected to something transcendent, in ways that were not necessary nor relevant before the struggle with the stressful life experiences of war and displacement. This involves a more significant presence of God, an increased sense of commitment to the spiritual quest, and learning or having a clearer understanding of one's own religious beliefs and increased religious observance. Although some have understood their (re)-emerged spiritual connectedness within the context of their specific religious belief systems, the majority of informants report an overall awareness of spiritual

elements in their world view and self-identity, without using a reference to traditional religious language or the background they belong to. The movement of the sacred in the central position of their world view—thus apart from God—also involves life, the self and others as spiritual categories. The spiritual development means that, over time, all of the informants have engaged in a spiritual quest (Batson et al. 1993: 169), i.e. an open-ended dialogue with existential questions raised by the contradictions and tragedies of their life.

The research on resilience in trauma suggests a variety of ways in which individual's self-evaluation, life philosophy, social ties, spirituality and religiousness can be significantly changed and even enhanced throughout the encounter with adversity (Tedeschi and Calhoun 1995; McMillen and Fisher 1998). Although these identified factors are part of the growing resilience literature, they are still to be supported by more empirical evidence. For the majority of refugees, the *adaptation process* is a lifelong project and a central task in their ongoing lives. It is well known that long-term consequences of war-related stress, both that observed and personally experienced, evolve around a resource loss—from losses of loved ones to the loss of one's safety or invulnerability (Hobfol and de Jong 2014). However, this research demonstrated that various personal means of the search for and reconstruction of meaning around losses is a longitudinal and open process also reflecting the existential nature of forced migration traumas.

Rather than pathologizing the experiences of forced migration and reducing them to traumas, informants in this study demonstrated how the use of religious narratives could nurture the phenomenological aspects of their complex refugee hardships, locating these experiences within their meaning-making processes further anchored in their religious and cultural background. In conclusion, this study indicates that resilience, or the indigenous human potential to overcome complex adversities, does not lie in turning away from adverse events and their impact, but in reconstructing them in ways that are personally and contextually more constructive and adaptive to the individual.

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Continuity or Change? The Impact of the Refugee Crisis on Swedish Political Parties' Migration Policy Preferences

Henrik Emilsson

1 Introduction

For a long time, Sweden has been an outlier with a relatively open migration policy and an integration policy based on equal rights (Emilsson 2014). Compared to its neighbouring countries and most EU countries, Sweden has resisted the trend towards more restrictive migration policies and the introduction of civic integration policies (Goodman 2010, 2012). These policy choices have contributed to making Sweden one of the top choices for humanitarian migration. Since the early 2000s, no other OECD country has granted international protection to more persons *per capita* (UNHCR 2017). When the Syrian and other conflicts escalated and pushed people to look for a safe haven in Europe, Sweden became the top choice for many of the asylum-seekers. The OECD (2016) concluded that, in 2014–2015, Sweden saw the largest *per capita* inflow of asylum-seekers ever recorded in an OECD country.

According to the policy-making literature, external shocks are one of the most important prerequisites for major policy changes (Hajer 2003; Sabatier and Weible 2007). The mass influx of asylum-seekers did, indeed, cause panic in the political system, which resulted in several drastic measures that went against long-standing traditions and migration policy principles in Sweden. The two most prominent measures were the introduction of external border controls and a new migration legislation adapted to EU minimum standards (Bill 2015/16:174). However, both measures are temporary. The border controls will eventually stop and the new migration law is presented as a three-year temporary solution. It is, thus, still

H. Emilsson (✉)

Malmö Institute for Studies on Migration, Malmö University, Malmö, Sweden
e-mail: henrik.emilsson@mau.se

unclear whether this is a temporary policy change similar to that in 1989–1991 (Johansson 2005), or whether it is the start of a more long-term redirection of Swedish policies and a convergence to European mainstream migration policies.

This article uses the external shock of the refugee crisis to investigate migration policy position shifts among the political parties in Sweden. For now, the policy changes, according to the government, are a reaction to the immediate crisis. A longer-term policy change must find support among the political parties. Thus, the refugee crisis is a test of the resilience of the Swedish migration policy position —a position that, as I show, has until recently been defended by all political parties except the Sweden Democrats. The main question is whether or not the refugee crisis has affected migration policy positions among the political parties. The answer can shed light on the relevance of an external crisis as a factor in policy changes and give an indication of whether or not Swedish exceptionalism is coming to an end.

I study the political positions of the parties' migration policies before the crisis and compare them with their current policy positions, and how the political parties motivate their policies. Thus, I go beyond the focus on media and public debates that have previously received more attention in refugee crisis research (Triandafyllidou 2017). For their policy positions before the crisis I use the latest party programs, released before the refugee crisis, together with manifestos from the 2014 election. The empirical material for party positions after the refugee crisis consists of two important migration policy debates in the Swedish parliament, the party motions related to those debates and the eventual new, official, party programs. The article concentrates on migration policy areas that are more directly connected to refugee situations: asylum and family migration. Policy areas such as labour migration and citizenship are therefore not investigated.

The mapping of migration policies is two-dimensional. Researchers have noted that there seems to be a trade-off between migration policy openness and the rights which migrants are granted after admission (Ruhs 2013). The trade-off between numbers and rights represents what Banting (2000) has called the two forms of welfare chauvinism: either a restrictive policy designed to deny resident foreigners access to social benefits under the same conditions as the citizen population, or a restrictive immigration policy designed to prevent foreigners from coming into the country and having access to comprehensive social programs. According to Banting, it is the second form of welfare chauvinism that is the most common in "expansive welfare states".

The remainder of the article begins with an overview of the theories on external shocks and policy change. After this, the major developments of the Swedish model for asylum and family-migration polices are analysed in order to understand

the context prevailing before the 2015 crisis. The next section describes the refugee crisis and how it affected Swedish society at large. The empirical section then looks at whether and how the political parties have reacted. Lastly, my empirical material is discussed in relation to the theoretical framework in a concluding discussion.

2 External Shocks and Policy Change

Over the past decade or so, a number of scholars have stressed the role of ideas and knowledge in shaping policy-making, including in the field of migration (Balch 2010; Bleich 2002; Boswell et al. 2011). This kind of analysis moves beyond traditional political analysis on the electoral factors or the pluralist interplay of interest groups pioneered by Freeman (1995, 1998), which largely neglects the role of elites, institutions and ideas. Several competing and/or overlapping schools of thought with different concepts and emphases have developed. Policy frames (Entman 1993) and policy paradigms (Hall 1993) both discuss ideational frameworks that can be applied in any given policy field. Bleich (2002) defines a frame as a set of cognitive and moral maps that orient an actor within a policy sphere. Frames help actors to identify problems, interests and goals that point actors towards causal and normative judgements about appropriate policies in ways that propel the policy down a particular path. Policy frames suggest that ideas limit the possible policy choices, especially if they become taken for granted so that actors are unwilling or unable to think outside the box. Theoretical frameworks, such as Discourse Coalitions (Hajer 2003) and Advocacy Coalitions (Sabatier and Weible 2007), operationalize the idea of frames. What the frameworks have in common is their belief in stable policy coalitions, and that the beliefs of policy participants are very stable over time, which make major policy changes very difficult.

According to the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), belief systems are constituted of three layers. First, deep core beliefs span most policy subsystems and involve 'very general normative and ontological assumptions about human nature' (Sabatier and Weible 2007, p. 194). Deep core beliefs can be understood as the deeply entrenched ideology that structures the preferences of actors, such as the left/right divide and the relative priority given to fundamental values such as liberty and equality. Second, policy core beliefs are applications of deep core beliefs that span an entire policy subsystem. Because they are subsystem-wide in scope and deal with fundamental policy choices, they are also very difficult to change. Finally, secondary beliefs essentially address specific instruments or proposals dealing with only a subcomponent of a policy subsystem. Because secondary beliefs are narrower in scope than policy core beliefs, changing them is less

difficult. The ACF predicts that it is unlikely that members of a coalition would voluntarily change core beliefs, as they are normative and very resistant to change in response to new information. Major exogenous shocks, such as changes in socio-economic conditions, regime changes, outputs from other policy subsystems or disasters are therefore seen as the only channel whereby major changes in policy core beliefs can take place.

Hajer (2003) has criticized the ACF for being too thin analytically to adequately account for the interactive dynamics of policy change. The ACF approach is, according to him, too general and neglects the social and historical context in which a policy change takes place. Instead, Hajer proposes the framework of discourse coalitions (DCF) which emphasizes narrative storylines rather than cognitive beliefs as the glue holding a policy coalition together.

While the professional "policy networks" relevant to the issue area might be interested in the validity of core cognitive factors, the broad majority of the members of a politically oriented policy coalition respond, according to Hajer (2003), to simplified storylines that symbolically reflect the *concerns* of core beliefs rather than the beliefs themselves. Consequently, it is not a belief system that constitutes the critical dynamic holding a policy coalition together but, rather, a persuasive narrative structure that provides orientation. As a way of thinking, it can also permit people with somewhat different core beliefs to continue to be part of the same coalition. A policy coalition can, for this reason, be much larger and more flexible than the advocacy coalition concept would indicate.

According to the DCF, policy change comes from discursive openings. Discursive openings are facilitated by the emergence of exogenous crises or shocks to the social system that make the tensions of dominant positions either visible or difficult to conceal. A crisis is thus a trigger for new forms of discursive responses that open or close off possible courses of action.

3 The Development of Swedish Asylum and Family-Migration Policies

The 1976 Aliens Act (Bill 1975/76:18) laid the foundation for future Swedish asylum and migration policies which have been characterized as having an open asylum and family-migration policy and equal rights for foreigners. It introduced new protection grounds beyond what is required by the Geneva Convention and replaced temporary residence permits with permanent ones. According to the

Minister for Migration, Anna Greta Leijon (S), this should be seen as a part of a general policy goal of granting foreigners the same rights and obligations as Swedish citizens (Parliament protocol 1975/76:44).

3.1 Policy Coalitions Beyond the Left–Right Political Divide: 1976–1997

The policy developments between 1976 and 1997 included both steps toward openness and a more closed asylum policy. Migration policies were often decided by a coalition of Social Democrats and the largest right-wing party, the Moderate Party. This latter occasionally pushed for a more-restrictive asylum policy and, on several occasions, the Social Democratic governments used a paragraph in the Aliens Act that made it possible to exclude non-Geneva Convention refugees from protection (Johansson 2005). The most famous use of this power was the decision of 13 December 1989 in which the Social Democratic government, without consulting parliament, declared that the asylum reception system was in crisis and exempted three categories of asylum claim from the legislation. What was seen as especially pressing at the time was the arrival of around 6,000–8,000 Turkish-Bulgarian asylum–seekers.

By the end of the 1980s there was a growing polarization among the political parties. The new Aliens Act (Bill 1988/89:86) introduced two external policy measures—first safe country and carrier liability—making it harder for asylum-seekers to access the asylum process that was strongly opposed by the Liberal Party, the Green Party and the Left Party. This was the first time that a substantial element of the parliament fought for a more-generous asylum policy, and the three parties made an alliance with civil society organizations such as Save the children, Red Cross, the Church of Sweden and Amnesty (Öberg 1994).

The 1990s could very well have ended with a much more restrictive asylum policy than that which was eventually voted in. Growing politicization, an anti-immigration party in parliament and a sharpening of bloc politics all contributed to the relative *status quo*. Firstly, the politicization came from the vocal opposition of political parties and civil society to the policy positions of the Moderates and the Social Democrats. Secondly, the 1991 elections saw a new anti-immigration party, New Democracy, entering parliament. Their presence not only contributed to the politicization of the asylum issue, but also made the Social Democrats and the Moderates less keen to push their policy through for fear of being associated with an anti-immigration party (Abiri 2000). Thirdly, the 1991 elections opened the way for a centre-right government for the first time since

1982. As a concession to the Liberal Party, the Moderate Party adapted their migration policy in order to form a coalition government. For example, the new government did revoke the December 1989 decision, resetting the asylum law to its ordinary rules (Parliament protocol 1991/92:49).

3.2 A Period of Expansive Asylum Policy: 1998–2014

With few exceptions, the period starting from 1998 until the culmination of the refugee crisis in the autumn of 2015 meant a steady and gradual expansion of asylum policies. The asylum spikes of the early 2000s and from 2006 onwards did not lead to any political initiatives by the government to make asylum policies more restrictive. The Social Democratic government did put forward a proposal in the early 2000s to reduce asylum flows but found no support in parliament for their ideas. On the contrary, opposition parties pressured sitting governments towards openness. Compared to the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, the tone of the debate gradually changed. The focus was no longer on migration control or integration considerations but, rather, on principles such as the rights of the child, equal rights in general, openness and the rule of law. For example, all parties endorsed the 2005 asylum bill (Bill 2004/05:170), which abolished direct political control over asylum decisions by creating migration courts. At the same time, the grounds for protection were extended. Children's own grounds for protection were given greater weight and a broader definition of protection grounds that included gender and sexual orientation was introduced.

Although the period overall meant a liberalization of asylum policy, the parliamentary debate was dominated by claims of inhumane asylum policies. The other parties accused the Social Democrats and the Moderates of constituting an "iron axle that maintains a restrictive policy" (Parliament protocol 2004/05:99, Anf. 26). This criticism coincided with the 2005 "Easter Uprising", the mobilization of civil society actors in favour of a general amnesty for rejected asylum-seekers. The two largest parties, the Social Democrats and the Moderate Party, rejected these demands. However, in the 2005 autumn budget, the Social Democratic minority government had to accept an amnesty to stay in power, which resulted in about 25,000 permanent residence permits being issued.

The later part of the decade, during the 2006–2010 centre-right government, was a calm period. The increase in asylum-seekers from Iraq in 2006 did not lead to any immediate reaction and the implementation of the EU qualification directive into Swedish law in 2010 (Bill 2009/10:31) happened without any substantial political debate, neither publicly nor in parliament. The implementation did not

change earlier asylum policy, and all political parties supported the fact that Sweden chose to go beyond the EU minimum standards.

With the Sweden Democrats' success in the 2010 elections, an anti-immigration party was represented in parliament for the first time since 1991. Since the centre-right alliance now formed a minority government, it could have had major consequences for migration policy in general and asylum policy in particular. In order to de-politicize migration issues and isolate the Sweden Democrats, the alliance formed a framework agreement with the pro-migration Green Party to safeguard the right to asylum (Swedish Government 2011). Most of the content in the agreement was implemented, including the bill to extend both the humanitarian protection grounds for children (Bill 2013/14:216), and rights for undocumented migrants (Bill 2012/13:58; Bill 2012/13:109).

3.3 Family Migration Policies

Compared to asylum policies, family migration policies have seen fewer political changes in recent decades. In 1997, a Social Democratic government implemented stricter eligibility criteria for family reunification (Bill 1996/97:25). After these restrictions, little happened despite several government commission investigations. A 2005 Commission report (SOU 2005:103, p. 118f) discussed income requirements at some length and concluded that an income requirement would be very difficult to reconcile with both the principles of the universal welfare state and the general principles of fairness and equality. The subsequent government bill on family reunification (Bill 2005/06:72), which implemented the directive on family reunification into Swedish law, was accepted by all parties and went beyond the minimum EU standards. Sweden did not use the possibilities in the directive to give family members only temporary permits, or to require that migrants had housing, income and social insurance before they could be granted the right to reunification.

In 2010, the centre-right alliance government presented the first bill ever to introduce a support requirement for family migration in Sweden (Bill 2009/10:77). According to Borevi (2015), the motivation behind the 2010 reform deviates from policy debates in other European countries in that the support requirement is not presented as a way to prevent reunited families' access to public funds. Both the construction and the framing of the support requirement was adjusted so that it did not conflict with the ideology of the universal welfare state. The main argument for introducing the requirement was to encourage new arrivals to attain a position on the labour market, therefore those residing in Sweden for more than four years

were exempt from it. Since refugees and persons with subsidiary protection were also exempt, very few people were eventually included in the target group. The Social Democrats, the Left Party, and the Green Party all voted against the bill and claimed that income requirements put the Swedish welfare model at risk and would scare away potential asylum-seekers (Parliament protocol 2009/10:85).

At the start of the refugee crisis, Swedish family-migration policies were thus substantially more liberal than the majority of their counterparts across Europe due to the almost complete absence of requirements and to the equal rights status immediately acquired by admitted family members (Borevi 2015).

3.4   Sweden in Comparative Perspective

Before the refugee crisis, Sweden had asylum and family-migration policies that went way beyond the EU minimum standards. Asylum was given to a larger group than in other countries, and persons granted international protection immediately received permanent residence permits, equal socio-economic rights and the requirement-free possibility to reunite with their families. The Swedish openness to asylum and family migration has contributed to a migration profile that differs from most other European countries. Table 1 shows the immigration composition in Sweden between 2008 and 2013 compared to that of a selection of similar countries. For every year between 2008 and 2013, Sweden had the largest share of refugees and family migrants among new immigrants—almost two out of three. This is a stark contrast to the neighbouring country, Denmark, with a yearly share around 15%.

The relatively liberal asylum and family-migration policies have been combined with a policy on equal rights. For example, Sweden has scored the highest in all the editions of the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), which measures migrants' formal rights and the countries' adaptation to diversity. Another indicator of rights is the absence of civic integration policies in Sweden (Goodman 2010).

3.5   The Refugee Crisis

According to official statistics from the Migration Agency, 162,877 persons applied for asylum in Sweden in 2015, comprising 12.4% of all applications in the EU and more than six times greater than the EU *per capita* average (Eurostat 2016). While, in the first half of the year, the number of applicants varied between 4,000 and 5,000 per month, in September it rose to 24,000 and, in October and

Table 1 Share of immigrants (permanent immigration by category of entry or of status change), who are given asylum or who are family migrants, 2008–2013, in % (OECD 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015)

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Austria		32	34	32	21	19
Belgium	38	43	42	37	36	36
Denmark	15	16	17	13	13	17
Finland	45	52	52	49	48	48
France	58	49	48	45	43	43
Germany	39	30	30	22	18	19
Ireland		22	8	48	19	23
Italy	33	33	29	29	35	36
Netherlands	34	34	32	31	26	30
Norway	30	43	28	30	30	31
Portugal	40	33	35	39	38	36
Spain	20	25	19	17	15	20
Sweden	63	64	58	52	59	67
United Kingdom	15	16	13	15	16	16

November, reached almost 40,000. These record numbers were not solely due to Syrian asylum-seekers, who represented a little less than one third of applicants. More than a quarter were Afghani citizens, over half of whom were unaccompanied minors. In total, over 35,000 unaccompanied minors applied for asylum in Sweden in 2015—more than one third of the total number arriving in the European Union.

The first major political reaction to the refugee crisis was the October Agreement between the Social Democratic and Green Party government and the four centre-right parties (Swedish Government 2015a). Only the Left Party, who did not accept the content, and the Sweden Democrats, who were not invited, were left out of the agreement. This agreement included 21 measures for a more orderly asylum reception, a more efficient settlement process and a dampening down of increased costs. Two of the measures—the extension of the target group for income requirements for family migration and the short-term introduction of temporary residence permits—were aimed at reducing the number of asylum-seekers.

The Social Democratic government, who did not want to wait for the long legislative process, decided on 12 November to introduce internal border controls (Swedish Government 2015b). The result was the creation of a large temporary camp in the city of Malmö, where asylum-seekers had to wait for accommodation in other parts of the country—but this move did not significantly reduce flows to Sweden. On 24 November, more drastic measures were implemented when the government decided to introduce external border controls (Swedish Government 2015c). Now, no one without an identity card was able to cross from Denmark to Sweden. Combined, these measures reduced the number of asylum applicants to about 3,000 per month during the first quarter of 2016.

The surge in numbers has affected capacity in a number of ways. First of all, the average processing time from application to decision in asylum cases went from as short as three months before the crisis to over 12 months in 2016 (Migration Agency 2016). Second, the asylum reception system itself came under severe strain. At the beginning of 2016, over 173,000 persons were enrolled in the system, which forces the Migration Agency to resort to both temporary and expensive solutions. There were also capacity problems for those granted protection and, by April 2016, about 13,000 persons still waited at reception centres for somewhere to live. Third, the housing situation was alarming, with overcrowding in socio-economic and ethnically segregated neighbourhoods (National Board of Housing, Building and Planning 2015). Fourth, the numbers also put pressures on the introduction program for newly arrived immigrants organized by the Employment Service. When it was introduced in December 2010, the program was planned for about 16,500 participants (Bill 2009/10:60). The forecast did not held, and the number of participants reached 55,000 in February 2016. Estimates showed that there would be close to 80,000 participants in 2017, growing to over 100,000 in 2018–2020 (Employment Service 2016). Due to the increase in participants, the Employment Service identified a number of risk areas: overstretched personnel, increased administration, a lack of office space and of access to interpreters and translation services, measures and programs and the risk of a general lower quality in the introduction program. Fifth, the costs increased dramatically. The budget for migration and integration rose to almost 50 billion SEK in 2016, from a previous level of 10 billion SEK between 2006 and 2011 (Bill 2017/18:1).

The main political focus has been the adaptation of Sweden's migration policy, with the clear intention of reducing the number of asylum-seekers. The numbers put stress upon the asylum system and, according to the government, pose a serious threat to public order and internal security. Two strategies are used which are designed to limit access to the Swedish territory and reduce the attractiveness of Sweden as a choice for asylum-seekers. The border controls introduced on 24

November 2015 tried to close off access to the Swedish territory and thereby hinder persons applying for asylum. In addition, the government presented a proposal for a revised migration law with the intention of making Sweden a less attractive choice for asylum-seekers, a proposal which took effect on 20 July 2016 (Bill 2015/16:174).

The proposed migration law is limited to three years and adjusts most of the Swedish asylum and family-migration laws to the minimum level under EU law and international conventions. This means that, for the first time, Sweden is only granting temporary residence permits to all persons given asylum (with the exception of resettled refugees). A transition to a permanent residence permit is given if he or she can prove that they can support themselves once the temporary permit has expired. Family migration is also being restricted. Only persons with refugee status according to the Geneva Convention will have the right to family reunification, and the income requirement for family formation has been increased and extended to most groups. Altogether, the new migration law is a huge departure from the previous Swedish policy position. However, some migration and integration policies are still, in many respects, more liberal than in other comparable countries. There are still no civic integration requirements, such as language skills or civic tests, for permanent residence. In addition, all persons granted temporary residence permits are given the same rights to welfare as other residents.

4   Party Positions Before and After the Crisis

So far, the article has shown that Sweden has pursued a more open migration policy compared to most European countries and has combined this openness with the granting of equal rights to migrants after admission. The refugee crisis has challenged the principles of the migration policy, and the Swedish government has implemented external border controls and a more restrictive asylum and family-migration policy. However, the measures are only temporary and it is unclear how the migration and integration policies will develop in the future. In this section, I study the political parties and their policy positions both before and during/after the refugee crisis. The question is whether or not the parties have made changes to their policies and, if they have not yet done so, what kind of policy changes are proposed. In this analysis, I use the two-dimensional typology described in the third section. Thus, I separate policy proposals on openness from policy proposals on rights given to migrants in Sweden.

4.1   The Social Democratic Party

Since 2014, the Social Democratic Party has been in a minority government together with the Green Party. Before coming to power in 2014, the party was in opposition during the eight-year centre-right government (2006–2014). During that time, the party was known to largely accept the policy position of the sitting government. Both their 2013 party program and 2014 election manifesto reflect the traditional Swedish policy positions of combining openness and equal rights (The Social Democratic Party 2013, 2014). Three specific issues are represented in both party documents: the need for the EU to develop a common responsibility for asylum and migration issues, for persons in need of protection to find asylum in Sweden, and for all municipalities to take responsibility for the settlement of refugees. There were, thus, no signs of a re-positioning on asylum policy before the 2015 refugee crisis.

As is shown in the section of migration policy developments in relation to the crisis, the government introduced temporary border controls and asylum and family-migration legislation, with the objective of reducing the immigration inflow. The Social Democratic Party was the clear driver of these policies, while the coalition party—the Green Party—only accepted because they wanted to stay in power. The government made one major change compared to the policy pro-posal sent out to stakeholders for comments. The minimum temporary residence permit was extended from 12 to 13 months. The stated reason was that a residence permit of more than one year provides the holder with the right to register in a municipality. In turn, registration with a municipality is the prerequisite for equal rights to welfare provision. Thus, when it comes to a possible trade-off between numbers and rights, the Social Democrats clearly favour a reduction in numbers over a limitation of rights.

The political guidelines decided at the 2017 party congress (The Social Democratic Party 2017, p. 37) are not concrete but state that it is not possible for Sweden to apply an asylum legislation that is substantially different to that of other countries in the EU. They also emphasize the need for a functioning, common EU asylum system with more-harmonized legislation and implementation. Their website is more to the point and explains that the ability to offer a good reception to asylum-seekers and persons granted international protection has its limits and therefore "Sweden cannot accept an unlimited number".

The last major parliamentary debate on migration policies confirms these policy positions but does not say whether they want to make the temporary legislation

permanent or not (Parliament protocol 2016/17:101, Anf. 1). However, it is clear that both their framing of the policies and their policy positions have fundamentally changed compared to the period before the refugee crisis.

4.2 The Centre-Right Alliance

The Centre-Right Alliance ruled together between 2006 and 2014, the first four years as a majority government and the second term as a minority one. The Alliance comprised the Moderate Party, the Liberal Party, the Centre Party and the Christian Democrats, and entered the 2014 election with a common manifesto (The Alliance 2014), just as they did in 2006 and 2010.

The 2014 manifesto—*We Build Sweden*—signalled a very open migration policy. There were many suggestions for better integration policies involving administrative changes and the improvement of current policies, but there were no suggestions for major policy changes. Although, like the Social Democrats, they emphasize the need for the EU to take on a larger role, they clearly defend the position of being more generous than comparable countries.

> *Many people choose to come to our country. The Alliance government, together with the Green Party, has chosen a different path than that of many other European countries. Instead of closing the country off to the world, we have said that Sweden will pursue a humane asylum policy and be a haven for those fleeing persecution and oppression. We have shown that it is possible to put compassion in the first place and to open the door for those who need protection.*

Looking at the individual Alliance parties' programs and election manifestos, the wider picture of openness and equal rights is confirmed. The Moderate Party (2011) position on asylum mirrors that of the Alliance by emphasizing an increasing role and responsibility for the EU whilst, at the same time, safeguarding the right to asylum and confirms that Sweden should be more generous than other countries. However, in their 2013 action program (The Moderate Party 2013) there is a new proposal for a slightly less open family-migration policy, which would mean an expanded target-group family-reunification income requirement as part of the work–life policy.

The Centre Party and Liberal Party share a vision of an even more open migration policy. In their ideological program, The Centre Party (2013) writes that they strive for open borders and free movement, as well as a generous and humane refugee and immigration policy. For a party that bases its values on people's equal rights and values there is, according to the program, no other logical position than

to push for a world where people can move freely across borders. On the same note, the party program for the Liberal Party (2013) says that their vision is that freedom of movement be recognized as a human right worldwide. They suggest steps towards this goal at the EU level, with a liberalization of the visa policy and the abolition of the EU carrier responsibility. Within Swedish politics they strive for a more generous asylum policy, according to the program. Finally, The Christian Democrats' (2015) policy program is in line with the Alliance program, with an emphasis on a generous, common EU asylum and migration policy which takes people's need for protection into account and in which humanitarian considerations weigh heavily. The national policy focuses on safeguarding the rights of the child and keeping families together.

All four Alliance parties have substantially changed their position on asylum and family-migration policies but not to the same extent and not always in the same direction. The Moderates have made the biggest turnaround. They want to make the 2016 temporary law on migration policies permanent, with temporary residence permits and comprehensive requirements for family reunification (The Moderate Party 2017). They also suggest several measures for Sweden's reception system for asylum-seekers and the undocumented, which would mean reduced rights for asylum-seekers—for example, fewer guaranteed hours of legal advice—and a change in the law to guarantee that asylum-seekers and undocumented migrants have no access to social welfare. They also suggest new laws to expel more foreign criminals. At the 2017 Congress, The Moderate Party (2017) confirmed a permanent change of direction. A long-term sustainable and responsible migration policy, they write, means that temporary residence permits should be the main rule, and that income requirements should be the rule for all family migration. At the EU level, Sweden should push to replace the EU-wide asylum system with a new refugee quota system.

The Christian Democrats want to safeguard family reunification but agree with the now—among most parties—new consensus position that Sweden cannot have asylum and family-migration rules that depart significantly from those of other EU countries (The Christian Democrats 2016). For the asylum policy, the party presents some suggestions in a variety of directions. They want to have more-generous asylum rules for children with humanitarian needs. At the same time, they want to set up certain zones where all asylum-seekers must hand in their application and get a first assessment of their claims. They also want to make temporary residence permits a permanent feature in the Aliens Act. However, they want to make the permits of longer duration and to include rights for family reunification without any income requirements.

The Liberal Party (2016) acknowledges that the Swedish immigration laws need to be more in line with those of other European countries and are critical of current government policies. They are against all income requirements for family reunification in which children are involved and are also against the abolition of grounds for humanitarian protection. They are also critical of the shorter residence permits (13 months) for those with subsidiary protection and want to give everyone a three-year temporary residence permit.

It is not easy to pinpoint the policy position of the Centre Party. They acknowledge that, as long as immigration entails costs for the receiving country, there must be a balance in what a country can do (Parliament protocol 2016/17:101, Anf. 21). However, the party still supports an open asylum and family-migration policy and, instead, concentrates on cutting costs for immigrants in the country. Among the four Alliance parties, the Centre Party is the most critical of temporary legislation and wants to have a more liberal family-migration policy and, in general, safeguard the right to protection (Parliament protocol 2016/17:41). The Centre Party is, thus, opening up to the reduction of some socio-economic rights for those granted asylum. Their policies are framed as aiming to "protect[s] people's right to seek protection, but not all benefits" (The Centre Party 2016). However, the actual proposition to decrease migrant rights is not yet grounded in the party—for example in a party program.

4.3 The Green Party, the Left Party, and the Sweden Democrats

In their 2013 party program, The Green Party (2013) write that they are proud to be the most open party when it comes to migration policy. They criticize the common EU asylum policy for building walls against the surrounding world. They want everyone to be able to come to the EU and apply for asylum. Like the Liberal Party and the Centre Party, their vision is a world without borders, in which free movement is a human right. Nationally, they want to expand the grounds for humanitarian protection. Their election manifesto repeats the same priorities as the party program (The Green Party 2014)—they promise to always work for a more generous migration policy. Some more concrete promises are that family ties and health should weigh more heavily in asylum cases, that asylum for LGTB persons should be made more liberal and that persons who cannot be deported should get permanent residence permits after two years.

The Green Party is in the current 2014–2018 minority government together with the Social Democrats. In this way, they have presented and voted for the adaptation

of Swedish asylum and family-migration policies to meet EU minimum standards. However, they still hold to the migration policy positions laid down in the 2013 party program or the 2014 election manifesto. Their goal is still that Sweden should take a large responsibility for refugees and be an international role model (Parliament protocol 2016/17:41, Anf. 118). In line with these goals, they want a return to the older legislation as quickly as possible (Parliament protocol 2016/17:101, Anf. 12).

The party program for The Left Party (2012) is not very concrete but states that Sweden will pursue a humane refugee and asylum policy whereby every asylum-seeker is guaranteed the right to a humane and dignified individual assessment and with generous criteria for refugee status and asylum. The election manifesto (The Left Party 2014) repeats the same basic position and adds that legal channels to seek asylum must be established.

For a long time, the Left Party has been advocating for a more open asylum and family-migration policy and they want to retract the June bill. They not only want to return to the previous legislation, but would like to open up for further liberalization in Sweden as well as in the EU (The Left Party 2016). They want to tear down the walls around the EU and let the asylum-seekers decide for themselves the country in which they would like to apply for asylum. In order for the EU to be more accessible to asylum-seekers, the party wants to open up more legal ways— for example, by issuing humanitarian visas, abolishing the carrier responsibility, increasing resettlement and de-criminalizing non-profit smuggling. Lastly, they want to increase the eligibility for family reunification to children over 18 and to parents.

I do not need to allocate too much space to the Sweden Democrats, since they were the only political party that did not support Sweden's pre-crisis migration policy. Already before the crisis, the Sweden Democrats talked about keeping immigration to such levels that it does not pose a threat to national identity, prosperity and security (The Sweden Democrats 2011). The election manifesto (The Sweden Democrats 2014) contained suggestions that now are official policy —a reduction of the right to asylum and the introduction of temporary residence permits. They also suggest that migrants in general should have fewer socio-economic rights during their first years in the country. Not surprisingly, the message from the Sweden Democrats is that they had been right all along and that other parties have finally understood the need for more restrictive policies (Parliament protocol 2016/17:101, Anf. 3).

5   Concluding Discussion

Sweden has, for a long time, been the exception to the general trend in EU countries for more-restrictive migration policies and a reduction of rights for migrants (Emilsson 2014). Thus, there has been no obvious trade-off between openness and rights in the Swedish case. This policy position has been supported by a dominant policy coalition that has exceeded left–right ideological differences, and the coalition thus resembles what Hajer (2003) describes as a 'discourse coalition'.

The refugee crisis has, indeed, functioned as an external shock and, today, most political parties are suggesting policies that would have been impossible before the refugee crisis. Neither the success of the anti-immigration party, the Sweden Democrats, in the 2010 election or the other forms of societal discontent with migration identified by Lucassen (2017), have significantly influenced the official policies of the established political parties, which entered the 2014 election with either a *status quo* position or advocating for a more-open asylum policy. Today, however, both the political debate in parliament and the official migration policy positions of most parties have changed drastically. Deeply entrenched principles and narratives among many of the seven 'old' parties have been discarded in favour of the overall goal of reducing the number of asylum-seekers and family migrants.

Where, earlier, there was one dominant coalition consisting of the majority of political parties, this coalition has fragmented into several elements. On the one hand we have the Moderates and the Social Democratic Party, together with the more-hesitant Liberal Party and the Christian Democrats, who guide their policies according to their overall goal of adapting policies to European standards in order to reduce asylum and family migration. The Green Party and the Left Party are still holding on to the traditional Swedish policies on migration, with a generous asylum policy, permanent residence permits and no income requirements for family migration. The odd one out is the Centre Party, which still advocates a generous migration policy while, at the same time, being open to reducing immigrants' socio-economic rights. In these changes, we have seen a break up of earlier policy coalitions (Hajer 2003; Sabatier and Weible 2007) and we now have a more fragmented policy field that makes future policies more difficult to predict.

Thus, a new dominant policy paradigm acknowledging a need for a reduction in the number of asylum-seekers and family migrants, previously only consisting of the Sweden Democrats, has emerged and is supported by a clear majority of the political parties. When it comes to rights, the majority of the parties still supports

the principle that legal residents should have equal rights independent of status and citizenship, thus confirming a long-standing tradition in Swedish migration policies that dates back to the late 1960s, when Sweden resisted the guest-worker system and introduced long-term residence permits for labour migrants.

6 Epilogue

It took 131 days to form a government after the 2018 national elections, which is a record number of days for Sweden. The main reason for this was the election success of the Sweden Democrats, and the new lines of conflicts in the party system that had been developing during and after the refugee crisis. The dispute was not only about what policies a new government would conduct as much as a different view among the parties how to relate to the Sweden Democrats.

The parties in the centre-right Alliance that was formed before the 2006 election had different opinions on this. The Liberal Party and the Centre Party refused to accept even passive support from the Sweden Democrats, and eventually preferred to strike a deal with the Social Democrats and Green Party that paved the way for them to form a minority government. Their influence over the new government was ratified in a political agreement between the Social Democrats, the Center Party, the Liberals and the Green Party (Socialdemokraterna 2019). The agreement consists of a list with 73 political commitments, of which three are about migration. Even though the Social Democrats ahead of the election promised a firm migration policy, they now had to accept some liberalizations. The agreement say that the temporary migration law should be extended with some modifications, most notable that those with subsidiary protection should have the same right as refugees to reunite with their families without any income requirements. The parties also pledge to work for a reintroduction of asylum on humanitarian grounds in a forthcoming parliamentary migration policy commission.

The new party positions on migration due to the refugee crisis did, thus, strongly contribute to break up the left versus right block party system that dominated Swedish politics for decades (Kjöller 2019). The importance of the traditional economic right-left scale has been challenged by socio-cultural issues relating to migration, lifestyle and identity (Elgenius and Wennerhag 2018), creating new political alliances. Support for the 2018 minority government among both right and left parties was partly based on a promise to return to more open migration policies, showing a resilience of the past few decades welcoming culture and principles of openness. The new political landscape is illustrated in Fig. 1 that show the party positions on the Left–Right socioeconomic scale and the
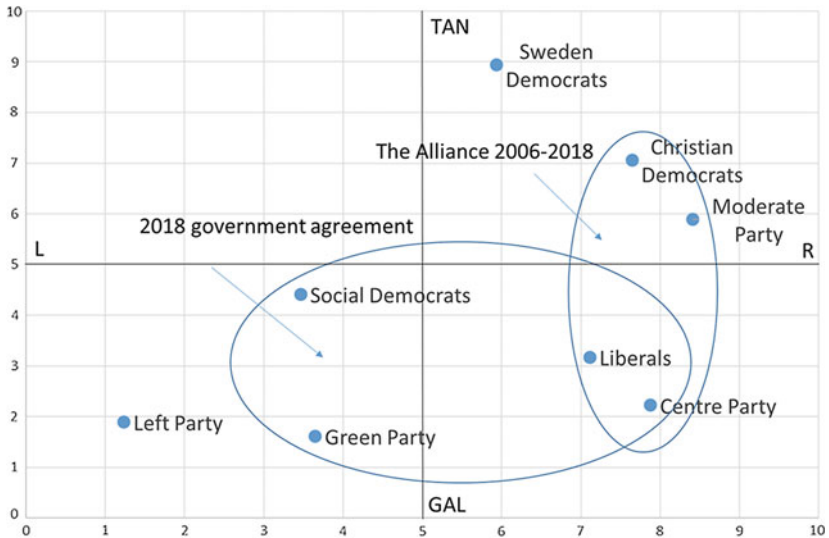
Fig. 1 Political parties' ideological positions 2017. *Source* 2017 Chapel Hill Expert FLASH Survey and own adoptions (Polk et al. 2017)

GAL–TAN sociocultural scale in 2017. The GAL–TAN divide refers to the contrasting spectrum of views between Green-Alternative-Libertarian and Traditional-Authoritarian-Nationalist attitudes. A look at the political party positions in 2017 of the parties in the 2006–2018 centre-right alliance show that they converge on the socioeconomic and diverge on the sociocultural scale. Eventually, the Liberal Party and Centre Party chose to make a deal with parties that are more similar on the sociocultural scale. For them, resistance against traditional, authoritarian and nationalistic values took precedence over economic liberalism.

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Forced Migration and Resilience. Elements of Resilient Processes on Different Scales in Host Countries

Rüdiger Wink

1 Introduction

Forced migration has become an increasing problem on a global scale. While in 2009 more than 43 million people were registered as forcibly displaced, including approximately 15 million asylum seekers and refugees registered by UNHCR and UNRWA,[1] the numbers rose to more than 70 million forcibly displaced people, including more than 30 million refugees and asylum seekers in 2018 (UNHCR 2019). Most forcibly displaced people remain in their countries or migrate to neighbouring countries, which contributes to the limited recognition of these flows in industrialised countries (see e.g. for the context of Syrian refugees David et al. 2017, with further references). Only very severe crises like the military conflicts in Syria lead to forced migration flows on a spatially large scale. In 2018, population numbers for Syria were estimated at 19.5 million (CIA 2019), while more than 6.8 million Syrians were registered as UNHCR refugees and asylum seekers outside Syria and 6.1 million Syrians were identified as internally displaced (UNHCR 2019). 85% of the Syrian refugees remained in the region with more than 3.6 million people being registered in Turkey.[2] Outside the region, Germany (532,100)

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[1]UNHCR stands for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, while UNRWA is the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees.

[2]Other countries with high numbers of Syrian refugees include Lebanon (944,200), Jordan (676,300), Iraq (252,500) and Egypt (132,900); see UNHCR (2019).

R. Wink (✉)
HTWK Leipzig, Leipzig, Sachsen, Germany
e-mail: ruediger.wink@htwk-leipzig.de

and Sweden (109,300) were among the countries with highest numbers of Syrian refugees (UNHCR 2019).

Many studies have proved that forced displacement and dramatic experiences during migration across different transit countries are responsible for various and severe forms of traumatisation (see for overviews to relevant studies Leopoldina 2018; Feltes et al. 2018). As the design and methods of studies on prevalence rates for post-traumatic stress disorders among refugees vary, no common estimation on exact prevalence rates exist (Siriwardhana et al. 2014; Schauerte 2016). Fazel et al. (2005) used twenty eligible studies about mental disorders on 6,700 refugees in seven Western industrialised countries and concluded that prevalence rates among these refugees could be ten times higher than for the age-matched general population in the host countries. Children below 18 years are recognised as a particularly affected group among forcibly displaced people, as for them epigenetic alterations and changes of the parents' educational behaviour due to stress exposure have an additional impact on coping capacities (Sangalang and Vang 2017; Bryant et al. 2018).[3] These effects in early childhood can even cause severe psychological stress in old age. Further causes for traumatisation of refugees occur in host countries with violent attacks from other refugees and/or from anti-immigration groups (Feltes et al. 2018; Krause 2017).

Simultaneously, short-term inflows of large numbers of refugees are also recognised as challenges in host countries (Deardorff Miller 2018; EBRD 2019). Experiences with scarcity and competition on housing and labour markets as well as short-term increases of public expenditures or conflicts with anti-immigration groups stimulating xenophobic or racist rhetoric fuel stress to political, economic and social systems in the host countries. For example, the large number of Syrian refugees and asylum seekers from other countries in Asia and Africa coming to Europe was used by many political anti-immigration parties in European countries to gain votes and to influence debates on legislative changes in the context of asylum, family reunification and access to social systems (see for more details Manow 2018).[4]

Despite these stressors on different levels, many refugees are able to successfully maintain or regain their physical and psychological stability or even positively transform their living conditions (Siriwardhana et al. 2015; Sleijpen et al. 2017; Pearce and Lee 2018). This element of "despite" is called resilience in many

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[3]In 2018, half of the total population of forcibly displaced persons were below 18 years (UNHCR 2019).

[4]In many cases in the EU, the regional political success of anti-immigration parties was negatively correlated with the actual presence of refugees in the regions.

different disciplines. In the context of forced migration, first studies on resilient refugees were realised by psychologists but during the last years, resilience of refugees became also a topic in social and political sciences (Krause and Schmidt 2018). Simultaneously, the successful maintenance, recovery or transformation of social, political and economic systems in host cities and countries was also investigated from a resilience perspective (see e.g. Kirbyshire et al. 2017; Betts et al. 2017). So far, however, perspectives on resilience of refugees and host countries were often analysed separately. In this paper, a framework for a common and inter-disciplinary resilience research is introduced to better understand inter-actions between processes on the individual (refugee) level and the level of the host country. This focus on the interactions does not imply any concrete commonalities of the stressors, capabilities and resources on the different levels but an under-standing of resilience as processes with different shapes on different levels but complex interactions among and between the levels with different scales.

The paper is organised as follows. After an introduction to the theoretical context of resilience research, general information on the context of forced immigration of Syrians to Germany and reasons for the specificity of this context are provided. This context will then be used to apply the theoretical approach with special focus on interactions between refugees' and host country's level to identify potential elements for mutual support of resilience. These elements will finally form the core for some concluding recommendations at the end of the paper.

2 Theoretical Context

Resilience has been used as a term by many different disciplines (see Alexander 2013, for an overview to different uses in different times and disciplines). Despite the differences of perspectives from single disciplines, definitions show common features (Wink 2016): some kind of adverse conditions (short-term shock events as well as slow-burn changes accumulated to negative effects) and some kind of non- or less negative impact, including a resistance, recovery or successful transformation.

For the purposes in this paper—looking at interactions between resilience of forced migrants on an individual level and resilience processes in host countries—a reference to complex adaptive systems and panarchy models seems to be most useful, as they include interactions between different levels of scale and allow for agency, emergence and adaptation (see also Martin and Sunley 2015; Fath et al. 2015). If we define host countries as complex adaptive systems, complexity refers to the multitude of interactions on the inter-individual level (refugees and other

citizens in the host country defined as agents in the theory of complex adaptive systems), inter-organisational level and among the jurisdictions within the state. These interactions enable the system to emerge, i.e. to change its structures and shapes based on e.g. new forms of collaborations, new rules for interaction or new types of organisations among and between the levels as part of self-organisation (see on the fundamental role of complexity and emergence Holland 2014). These emergent patterns allow the system and its actors to adapt and transform in case of new internal or external stressors to maintain the functionality, which means to maintain or improve the living conditions within the system and to prove resilience against internal and external stressors. The recognition of system borders, stressors, adaptations, transformations and the maintenance of functionality is subject to social constructivism (see also Christmann et al. 2019, on further conceptual developments towards a "communicative constructivism"). Therefore, any statement on resilience can only be based on values and cognitive patterns emerging from the experiences and learning processes of the agents (Wink 2019).

In contrast to "Darwinian" approaches to explain evolution with processes of variation, selection and fitness to changing contexts, the emergent patterns of complex adaptive systems are fuelled by learning and creative behaviour of the agents. Not all complex adaptive systems are social systems. The basic characteristic of social complex adaptive systems is the role of agency (Bristow and Healy 2014; David 2018). Agency includes human behaviour on different scales from the individual level to collective levels of organisations or governmental authorities. On the individual level, cognitive frames of the context, individual capabilities and expectations on potential reactions by others influence the behaviour (see also Wink et al. 2017). Cognitive sciences claim that frames—interpretations of the context as a crisis, threat or even an opportunity—emerge as result of psychological traits (Obschonka et al. 2016), interactions with others or individual learning processes. Individual learning processes also influence individual capabilities, while this impact depend on personal skills and experiences. Individual learning processes need processing of own or others' experiences, including confrontations with social and cultural values and routines (see on the role of social values Huggins and Thompson 2015). Collective agency is fuelled by communication and institutional rules of coordination and decision-making (Bristow and Healy 2014). Here, different governance structures in private and public contexts and different options for individuals to participate lead to different forms of entanglements between different levels of scale from individual actions to legislative changes on the state level (see also Evenhuis 2018).

Consequentially, processes of self-organisation and emergence on different levels of scale affect each others' capabilities to withstand or transform internal and

external stressors. In this context, the panarchy model introduced by Holling (1992) and Gunderson and Holling (2001) became influential, as it describes different forms of interactions between social adaptive systems on different scales. The model follows along Holling's argumentation of adaptive cycles, which investigate adjustments of systems due to changes of the two system dimensions potential and connectivity (Holling 1986). Accordingly, an adaptive cycle moves along four transitory directions of change—increasing potential, but decreasing connectivity ("reorganisation"), decreasing potential and decreasing connectivity ("exploitation"), increasing connectivity and increasing potential ("conservation") and increasing connectivity with decreasing potential ("release"), which should then be followed by a new phase of reorganisation—and forms different directions to react to internal and external stressors. Fath et al. (2015) define resilience factors by focusing on preconditions to move the social system from one cycle phase to the next:

– energy to stimulate for the move towards "exploitation"
– self-organisation to store capital and information for the move towards "conservation"
– improvisation to maintain essential functions to survive for the move towards "release"
– learning and willingness to experiment for the move towards "reorganisation".

The panarchy model serves as an illustration how different phases of the adaptive cycle interact with each other on the different levels (see also Holling 2001). According to complexity theory, smaller scales react faster to internal and external stressors than larger scales.[5] Therefore, the most prominent examples for interactions between the scales are "revolt", when a system on a smaller scale gets into a phase of "release" with contagious impact on systems of a larger scale to reduce connectivity and potential with disruptive consequences despite its low speed of change, and "remember", when a system on a larger scale is in its phase of "conservation" and is able to stabilise systems of smaller scales, which change their phases faster but can use this stability to avoid negative impacts of too fast disruptions (see also Wink 2019).

In the following, we look at the role of Germany as a host country for forced migrants from Syria after 2015.

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[5]For example, families might be able to change their daily routines faster in situations of economic crisis than states, as the complexity of coordination between the single agents is reduced (see also Wink 2019).

3   Forced Migration from Syria to Germany since 2015

In 2018, Syrian refugees were the biggest group worldwide among the forced migrants with nearly 6.7 million people living outside Syria as registered refugees (UNHCR 2019).[6] The majority of Syrian refugees currently live in Turkey (more than 3.6 million people) with Lebanon (944,200) and Jordan (676,300) being other major host countries in geographical proximity. Germany was the fourth biggest host country in 2018 with 532,100 registered refugees according to UNHCR statistics (UNHCR 2019). Statistics by the German Federal Agency for Migration and Refugees show slightly higher numbers of asylum seekers from Syria (see Table 1).[7]

What makes the situation of Syrian forced migrants in Germany so special compared to other economically strong host countries (see on the political reaction in Sweden Emilsson 2019)? Five aspects need to be considered in this context:

(1) *the abruptness of the process*

As shown in Table 1, Germany remained more or less unaffected from forced migration due to the civil war in Syria until 2015. Then—due to large numbers of refugees leaving Turkey and passing the West Balkan countries—Germany decided to accept the immigration of a relatively large number of refugees in a very short-term (SVR-Migration 2019; Hamann et al. 2017). Only in 2015, approximately 890,000 people came to Germany,[8] while not more than 441,899 applications for asylum could be received due to administrative limits.[9] Most of the asylum seekers came from Syria (35.9%).[10] In March 2016, agreements with

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[6]In 2018, 210,900 refugees returned to Syria (177,300 from Turkey), while 526,500 Syrians were registered as new refugees outside Syria (397,600 in Turkey; all data from UNHCR 2019).

[7]Additionally, 21,071 visas for family reunification of Syrian refugees were granted in 2018, while 40,725 visas for this purpose were granted in 2017 (Mediendienst Integration 2019, based on information from the German Office for Foreign Affairs).

[8]This number was published in 2016 by the Ministry for the Interior (Spiegel Online 2016).

[9]A further proof of the novelty of the challenge becomes obvious when considering that for the whole period between 1953 and 2018 5.7 million applications for asylum were filed, while nearly a third of these applications (1.8 million) were filed between 2013 and 2018 (SVR-Migration 2019, with reference to statistics of BAMF; see also on the specificities of the humanitarian crisis in 2015 OECD 2015).

[10]Numbers on applications for asylum were published by the German Federal Agency for Migration and Refugees (BAMF).

Table 1 First applications for asylum by Syrian citizens in Germany (Worbs et al. 2019; BAMF 2019a)

Year	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Applications	2,634	6,201	11,851	39,332	158,657	266,250	48,974	44,167

Turkey and the West Balkan countries caused sharply decreasing numbers of immigration. As the decisions to accept immigration were taken in a very short time frame, neither federal administration (BAMF) nor regional and local administration being responsible for short-term accommodation and provision for asylum seekers were prepared for the challenges (Thränhardt and Weiss 2017; Robert Bosch Expert Commission 2016). Many volunteers from civil society stepped into support the processes in the short-term with local disparities in succeeding coordination between public authorities and private engagement (Linnert 2018; Hamann et al. 2016).

(2) *the missing self-perception of Germany as destination country for immigrants*

Germany has gone through decades of controversies about its relation to immigration (see for more information SVR-Migration 2019). For the context of the right to asylum, first restrictions were implemented in the second half of the 1970s (Münch 1993). In the beginning of the 1990s German parliament implemented restrictions to the basic right of granted asylum and later the German government forced the introduction of the "EU Dublin III regulation", which restricted the legal access of asylum seekers to Germany, as asylum seekers had to apply for asylum in the first EU country they enter (Münch 2014; SVR-Migration 2017). When large numbers of refugees came from former Yugoslavia in the 1990s, Germany was among the countries with the strictest policy to restrict the stay of refugees as temporary and to enforce and encourage fast returns of the refugees despite a relatively strong and unprecedented civil engagement to welcome refugees locally (Barslund et al. 2017). Therefore, German policies on hosting forced migration are described as an antagonism between "rights and numbers" (SVR-Migration 2019) with rights being restricted in times of larger numbers and being extended in times of smaller numbers. Demographic changes led to increasing demands of German companies to overcome labour market shortages by immigration of workers from countries outside the EU (Nikolka et al. 2018; Hunger and Krannich 2018), but legal approaches to facilitate this type of immigration remained to be piecemeal. Accordingly, the German government failed to develop a clear perspective for the forced migrants coming from Syria, as the political and normative argument to

protect people in need was mixed up with economic motifs to attract workforce in public discourse (Worbs et al. 2016; Robert Bosch Expert Commission 2016; SVR-Migration 2017; Salikutluk et al. 2016, on experiences with labour market integration of refugees in Germany before 2015).

(3) *missing experiences in Germany with integration processes of forced migrants*

This is an aspect, which is closely connected with the lack of clear perspectives and the abruptness of the immigration process. When refugees during the war in former Yugoslavia came to Germany in the 1990s, the political strategy was focused on prevention of long-term stays and permanent integration processes of the refugees (Hemmerling and Schwarz 2003; Valenta and Strabac 2013). Consequentially, only few forced migrants stayed after the termination of the war activities,[11] and capacities to care permanently for traumatised forced migrants and infrastructures to support permanent integration processes were only poorly developed (Adorjan et al. 2017), which also limited the potential to gain practical learning experiences. Accordingly, scientists ascertained a lack of therapeutic offers and qualified staff to deal with short- and medium-term effects of post-traumatic stress disorders in Germany (Leopoldina 2018).

(4) *demographic structures and qualification patterns of forced migrants*

Syrian refugees in Germany belong to the ethnic groups of asylum seekers with relatively high shares of young men and migrants below 18 years.[12] Given the dangerous route and costs for Syrian refugees, most families decided to send a young and strong male person or a minor in advance to prepare for a legal status based on family reunification.[13] While asylum applications of almost all Syrian refugees in 2015 were accepted, the legal status for newly applying Syrian refugees was changed in 2016, as they only received a status of "subsidiary protection". Simultaneously, the German parliament cancelled the option for family

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[11]In 2005, only 22,000 of originally 320,000 Bosnian refugees were still living in Germany (Valenta and Strabac 2013).

[12]According to the German Federal Statistical Office, 64.3% of Syrian people seeking protection in Germany were male, 32.1% of Syrian people seeking protection in Germany were minors and the average age of Syrian people seeking protection in Germany was 25.8 years (Federal Statistical Office 2019, with data based on Dec, 31, 2018).

[13]In 2015, 75% of all Syrian people seeking protection in Germany were male (SVR-Migration 2019).

reunification in case of subsidiary protection for two years, and in 2018 this option was restricted to a monthly quota system for a maximum of 1,000 persons based on specific criteria (see Thym 2018, for a description of the legal process). Despite these restrictions, the share of female refugees and small children increased remarkably since 2017 (SVR-Migration 2019). Comparisons with refugees from other countries reveal a relatively high share of Syrian persons with high risks of post-traumatic stress disorders (Brücker et al. 2019a, b).[14] Comparisons on qualifications among people seeking protection in Germany from different countries show a relatively high share of people from Syria with degrees from secondary schools or even academic experiences and degrees (IAB 2019).[15] For vocational qualifications, however, Syrian refugees could only refer to relatively few experiences and degrees. In this context, 65% of Syrian refugees had at least professional experiences in their country of origin or transit (IAB 2019). Repeated interviews with representative groups of Syrian refugees emphasise strong improvements of language skills and employability in German labour markets in the meantime, while married women with (small) children face specific barriers due to their time-intensive childcare (Brücker et al. 2019a, b; Kalkum et al. 2019). These observations reveal the complexity of diversified living conditions among Syrian refugees, which are confronted with the functional logic of German integration programs to be standardised to create a maximum output in short term (SVR-Migration 2017, on potential adjustments). A typical example for the limitation of standardised approaches refers to systems of recognising professional degrees, as the German system of defining specific qualifications for professions is only rudimentarily applicable for other countries (see for more details on first experiences of Syrian refugees IAB 2019, and on first experiences with liberalised rules for recognition Kogan 2016).

(5) *geographical and cultural distance between country of origin and host country and small existing ethnic networks for refugees*

Between 2010 and 2017, the Syrian population in Germany grew from 30.133 to 698.950 persons (Worbs et al. 2019). This growth was accompanied by structural changes, as the biggest shares of the Syrian refugee population in Germany at the beginning of the civil war in Syria until 2014 belonged to ethnic-religious

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[14]31% of male persons and 44% of female persons from Syria were assessed to PTSD risk groups with only higher shares of persons seeking protection from Afghanistan (Brücker et al. 2019a, b).

[15]The results of this study were based on interviews with a representative group of people seeking protection in Germany in 2016 and 2017 (see on the methodology IAB 2019).

minorities, while since 2014 80% of the Syrian refugees were Muslims and 63% of the Syrian refugees belong to Arab ethnic groups (Worbs et al. 2019). Therefore, most Syrian refugees could not refer to already existing ethnic networks in Germany. Furthermore, the spatial allocation of refugees with their first application for asylum according to a pre-defined rule ("*Königstein Key*"; see also BAMF 2019a) prevented a spatial concentration of ethnic groups in the short-term. Table 2 describes the shares of total and ethnic population on the regional level (*Länder*) in the total and ethnic population on the national level for the three biggest groups of foreign nationalities in Germany, i.e. 13.3% of the total population in Germany in 2018 lived in Baden-Württemberg, while only 10.5% of the Syrian population in Germany lived in Baden-Württemberg. The Syrian population in Germany is less concentrated than the Turkish and Polish population with shares above the average particularly in Bremen, Saar, North-Rhine Westphalia, Lower Saxony and Berlin. These shares indicate that location decisions by Syrian immigrants are primarily focused on areas in West Germany with relatively low housing costs,[16] while the shares in economically strong regions and East Germany remain relatively low.

Networks are particularly important, as many studies emphasise their relevance during job search (Constant and Zimmermann 2005, distinguishing between impact on self-employment and employed work; Eisnecker and Schacht 2016), and several studies discuss the importance of labour market integration for personal wellbeing of refugees (Wood et al. 2019; Colic Peisker 2003, on experiences in Australia).[17] First studies on the labour market integration of refugees coming to Germany since 2015 confirm these observations (Siegert 2019), in particular if these networks can be extended to Germans.[18] Again, women particularly with small children face specific problems in getting access to these networks and labour market perspectives (Kalkum et al. 2019). Therefore, German labour markets seemed to be ill-prepared to offer easy and fast access to jobs with career perspectives for people from economically lagging countries, in particular when considering cultural and language distance and the heterogeneity of living

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[16]In 2017, the State government of Lower Saxony as a first State government prohibited further relocations of asylum seekers to three cities (Salzgitter, Wilhelmshaven and Delmenhorst); see also Spiegel (2018).

[17]In general, convergence of labour market participation of immigrants and native workers took up to twenty years in the past (Beyer 2017). These gaps increased for immigrants from "non-advanced" countries like Syria (Beyer 2017).

[18]Brücker et al. (2019a, b) asked people seeking protection in Germany who started their jobs in 2017. 22% found their jobs with support from German friends, 15% supported by friends from their own ethnic background or other migrants and 3% by family members.

Table 2 Shares of regional population in total population in Germany 2018 for different nationalities, in % (based on data from BAMF 2019b; Federal Statistical Office 2019)

	Total	Turkish	Polish	Syrian
Baden-Württemberg	13.3	17.3	10.0	10.5
Bavaria	15.7	13.1	13.5	9.7
Berlin	4.4	7.2	8.3	4.8
Brandenburg	3.0	0.2	2.4	2.3
Bremen	0.8	1.6	1.2	2.2
Hamburg	2.2	3.1	2.9	2.1
Hesse	7.5	10.6	9.5	6.8
Mecklenburg-Pommerania	1.9	0.1	1.5	1.8
Lower Saxony	9.6	6.0	11.3	10.7
North-Rhine Westphalia	21.6	33.5	25.7	27.7
Rhineland Palatine	4.9	3.9	5.2	5.5
Saar	1.2	0.7	0.7	3.2
Saxony	4.9	0.4	2.1	3.2
Saxony-Anhalt	2.7	0.2	1.3	3.2
Schleswig-Holstein	3.5	1.9	3.2	4.2
Thuringia	2.6	0.2	1.3	2.2

conditions within the group of refugees coming to Germany since 2015 (see for more detail IAB 2019).

4 Forced Migration and Resilience in a Host Country's Micro-Meso-Macro Context

In the second section, we introduced the theoretical framework of resilience in a context of complex adaptive systems and interrelationships between systems of different scale. In many models on complex adaptive systems, three levels of scale are distinguished: micro, meso and macro (Dopfer et al. 2004; Dopfer 2011). As introduced in the second section, the different scales correspond with different speeds of adaptation to stressors with the micro level showing the potential for fastest adaptation processes. When analysing resilience in the context of forced migrants in host countries, these three levels refer to different institutional contexts, which are the subject of this section.

The micro level refers to resilience on the level of small-scale systems. In the context of forced migration, this includes the individual migrant, her family and friends.[19] Psychological preconditions to cope with different stressors but also additional resources based on supportive structures within direct private networks influence the processes to adapt to the changing living conditions during and after the escape (see also the papers by Porovic 2019 and Liebenberg and Pelley 2019). Interviews with persons seeking protection in Germany since 2015 showed relatively high expositions of self-esteem and social orientation compared with people already living in Germany before, while the experiences during the escape particularly influenced the individual readiness to assume risks (IAB 2019). Studies on refugees' resilience from sociology and political science deny a strong focus on individual capabilities and resources but primarily analyse structures supporting processes of empowerment and self-efficacy of the refugees (see Krause and Schmidt 2018; Promberger 2017, and with a more general perspective Dagdeviren et al. 2016). These studies investigate power structures and potential limits for families and private households to develop resilient practices and processes. As a result, the agency capacity of forced migrants and their families in the host countries still remains quite important, e.g. when considering the openness and readiness to extend personal (ethnic) communication networks, to use the time for reflections, attendance to language courses and supporting programs to cope with traumatisation, to receive further information etc. (De Paiva Lareiro 2019; Linnert 2017; SVR-Migration 2017). The range of this agency, however, is influenced by structures, rules and relations defined and developed on larger scales. In the vocabulary of the panarchy model, forced migrants usually find themselves in the host countries in a phase of "*reorganisation*", which means that they have to build up new "*potential*" (learning and experimenting in a foreign context with new social and institutional rules) with only limited "*connectivity*" to other networks.

On the meso level, more complex adaptive systems are built based on collaborations between (public and private) organisations. Examples in the context of forced migrants in Germany include linkages between schools, nursery schools, voluntary private groups to support childcare, self-organising groups for forced migrants and other groups of the civil society (see Wünsche and Fischer 2019, on more details on processes to form suitable forms of support; as well as Karakayali

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[19]In the context of host countries, micro level resilience can also refer to citizens deciding to engage voluntarily in the support of refugees or to employers changing their human resources activities or business models according to new market signals due to refugee immigration (see e.g. Hamann et al., 2016; Linnert and Berg 2016). In this paper, we focus on forced migrants due to limited space.

and Kleist 2016, and Linnert 2017). As most regions in Germany had only limited experiences with the specific challenges of hosting forced migrants, and ethnic networks of Syrians in Germany were almost not existing, new forums for communication and developing new structures of collaboration had to be initiated and adjusted (see e.g. Hamann et al. 2016). These processes had to be synchronised with the adjustment processes of the migrants in Germany to vitalise their agency potential (Söhn and Marquardsen 2017; SVR-Forschungsbereich 2017; Worbs et al. 2016). Due to the need for support in a short-term and the limited experiences and capacities in Germany, many activities had to be improvised with a huge need for learning structures to reflect and adapt the processes along the experiences (Linnert and Berg 2016; Linnert 2017). As on the micro level, the phase of "re-organisation" with the need to build new "potential" and to find new connections with the help of experiments and learning seems to be characteristic for the processes on the meso level in Germany. According to the panarchy model, a lower scale within a process of "reorganisation" or "release" would profit from stabilising effects on the higher scale, if these system scales are in a phase of "conservation", so that support structures and already practised routines can serve as stabilising frameworks for the experimental processes and the emergence of reflecting learning structures on the lower scale. When systems on a lower and a higher scale simultaneously search for new functional solutions, the willingness to learn and experiment might be present and mutually supportive, but the lack of already functioning "connectivity" and "potential" could cause additional uncertainties and create unforeseen barriers.

The macro level describes processes within public jurisdictions, which in the context of Germany as a host country usually covers a multilevel governance system from the local level of municipalities and districts to the Länder (State) and Federal level with the supranational level of the EU as additional political framework (SVR-Migration 2017, on the general context). As the decision to accept the immigration of a large number of Syrian refugees was realised in a very short-term in 2015 and the German administration was not prepared to manage these inflows, the first months after August 2015 were characterised by scarcities of capacities and different forms of improvisation in most German municipalities and districts (see also Thränhardt and Weiss 2017; Müller 2015; Robert Bosch Expert Commission 2016). Local administrations were particularly challenged to provide short-term accommodation and housing, while short-term adjustments on the federal level primarily affected the provision of additional financial funds to regional and local level and the extension of capacities in the federal agency for migration and refugees being responsible for registrations and decisions on the legal status of the forced migrants (see also Robert Bosch Expert Commission

2016; SVR-Migration 2017). Due to differences of legal allocations of responsibilities and tasks on the Länder level and differences of the local approaches to refugee integration, processes and results of the refugee integration vary (Müller 2015; SVR-Migration 2017). Similar to other policy fields of refugee migration in Germany like childcare, housing or education, new programs on labour market integration, e.g. to facilitate short-term employment or vocational trainings, were introduced and adjusted based on first experiences (Burkert and Garloff 2017; Schreyer et al. 2018). Reports on positive experiences emphasise the importance of collaborative structures between public and private organisations on the local level with potentials for agency on the micro and meso level (Bertelsmann Foundation 2019, with best practise case studies, while Schamann and Kühn 2016, refer to structural barriers for active participation of voluntary groups and refugees in the design and implementation of local integration projects). Again, as on micro and meso level, processes on the macro level reveal characteristics of "reorganisation" with dominant relevance of improvisation, experiments and learning to support the emergence of new potential and connections for adaptations to facilitate integration.

In contrast to micro and meso level, agency and decision-making on the macro level is further challenged by the complexity of different cognitive patterns and incentive structures within the jurisdictions. Many studies on integration processes in host countries refer to intensified competition in labour market segments for lower qualified workforce and potential conflicts on the allocation of public budgets (Manow 2018; Deardorff Miller 2018; Huber 2015; IRC 2016; Esen and Binatli 2017; David et al. 2017, on effects in Turkey and Middle East host countries). In the context of the immigration of Syrian refugees to Germany, decreasing unemployment rates and firms' complaints about skill shortages reduced the potential for conflicts on labour markets (see e.g. OECD 2017) but still nationalist parties tried to initiate protests and attacks against further refugee immigration and support for refugees by public administration and voluntary groups (see e.g. Hamann et al. 2017; Manow 2018). These interventions further restrict the potential for new experiments on collaborations between macro, meso and micro level (Linnert 2018).

Consequentially, micro, meso and macro level in the context of Germany as host country for Syrian forced migrants were simultaneously in a phase of reorganisation within the panarchy model. This means that the potential to cope with challenges from forced migration and connections were on all scales on a relatively low level, and all social complex adaptive systems had to build new potential and resources with experiments, improvisation and learning. According to the panarchy model, the lack of stabilising interactions with other scales might restrict or even

hinder the emergence of new capabilities for resilience processes.[20] As a result, positive examples of resilience processes can be observed for single systems on all scales (see e.g. reports on positive case studies for successful capacity building in Bertelsmann Foundation 2019; Linnert 2017; Brücker et al. 2019a, b), but systematic capacities for mutually supportive structures between the scales still only remained to single cases. Reasons for the low level of potential and connections on the meso and macro level in Germany were presented in the third section when looking at the lack of willingness for a systematic development and elaboration of the experiences in past periods with high numbers of refugee immigration to Germany as in the case of refugees from former Yugoslavia in the 1990s.

5 Conclusions

This paper illustrates the potential of the panarchy model to help understanding the importance of considering the role of agency and interactions between different levels of scale to support resilience in the context of forced migration. The lack of capacity building and examinations on forced migration in Germany before 2015 restricted the potential to stimulate already existing institutional routines and structures to cope with the needs of newly arriving refugees. Studies on positive examples of the collaboration between public administration, private voluntary groups and self-organising refugees reveal the potential of joint learning processes and capacity building. Therefore, these positive experiences should be used as cornerstones for joint learning platforms, which help to liaise the different single cases and structures and to build the basis for periods of "conservation" in the terminology of the panarchy model, which allows for increasing coping potential and connectivity based on systematic storage of information and capital. These supportive structures, however, require a clear self-perception of Germany as destination for different forms of immigration and different needs to support integration. Only if stabilising structures are realised on the macro level of institutional structures (based on Federal immigration legislation and a common EU policy), systematic preconditions for permanent civil engagement and the emergence of self-organising supporting structures of forced migrants can be realised. It remains to be seen whether the approach by the Federal government to introduce an Immigration Act for qualified workforce will help to clarify the self-perception

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[20]See e.g. in this context the complaints of the mayor of Schwäbisch Gmünd about hindrances in the integration processes due to discretionary interventions from federal and regional level in Kastner (2019).

as a host country for labour as well as forced migration (see on this discussion e.g. Brücker et al. 2019b) and will facilitate the capacity-building along the local structures to support the integration of forced migrants.

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