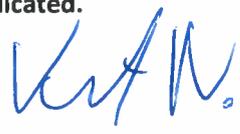


GRS front page for examination papers

Subjects: (tick box)	Semester project	Internship report	Master's thesis x	Course literature
-----------------------------	------------------	-------------------	----------------------	-------------------

Study programme	Global Refugee Studies
Name	Nico Kunert
CPR no.	2301904021
Student no.	20147661
Examination / hand in date	01/08/2016
Semester	10th
Project title*	Accommodating Conflict
Total amount of characters (1 page = 2400 characters)	197.045
Group members*	Nico Jürgen Kunert
Supervisor*	Cecilie Lanken Verma
<p>I/We hereby verify that this is my/our original work and that I/we are solely responsible for the content. All references that have been used are clearly indicated.</p> <p>Date and signature(s): 19.07.2016 </p>	

* Not to be filled out for course literature exams



AALBORG UNIVERSITY
DENMARK

Master's Thesis:

Accommodating Conflict

Is a separation of asylum seekers and refugees on the basis of their ethnic background and origin a reasonable and desirable tool to prevent violence within refugee accommodations?

Nico Kunert

M.Sc. Global Refugee Studies

Supervisor: Cecilie Lanken Verma

Submitted: 01/08/2016

Abstract

After millions of refugees reached Europe, especially in 2015, violence occurred within refugee accommodations. As a reaction in Germany, some politicians and the policemen's union demanded a separation of refugees on the basis of their ethnic background and origin. The purpose of the present thesis is to analyze if such a separation is a reasonable and desirable tool to prevent violence and further to give recommendations how violence may be reduced in the given setting. The thesis firstly examines the liminal status and lives of encamped refugees by drawing inter alia on Giorgio Agamben's concept of *bare life* and what it can say about dependency, the feeling of uselessness and boredom of refugees. Secondly, it is investigated how refugees deal with their identity in crisis and how that influences certain group formation processes within the camp. To understand these processes, the thesis utilizes theories from the field of social psychology, especially *social identity theory*. Thirdly, the paper dedicates itself to conflict dynamics and highlights the influence of frustration, stress, and arousal on conflict development. All the findings above finally result in the conceptualization of a conflict model with the purpose to understand and explain conflict dynamics within refugee accommodations. The results suggest that a separation based on ethnic background and origin does not solve the stated problem, as conflict inducing reasons are mostly not found in ethnicity, rather in the frustrating situation of refugees and in the aversive conditions predominant in the accommodations. To conceptualize the thesis, ethnographic fieldwork was conducted in three refugee accommodations in Nuremberg, Germany.

Keywords: refugee, ethnicity, camp, aggression, violence, conflict, liminality, social identity, frustration, aversive conditions

Acknowledgments

I would first like to thank my thesis advisor Cecilie Lancken Verma of the Department of Culture and Global Studies at Aalborg University. She had always an open ear for me whenever I had questions about my research or writing. She consistently allowed this paper to be my own work, but steered me in the right direction whenever she thought I needed it.

I would also like to thank Christian Maetzler of the Nuremberg social welfare office, who put forth every effort in order to realize my fieldwork.

Additionally, all social workers from the Red Cross earned my respect and gratitude, which I encountered during my fieldwork in the Nuremberg refugee accommodations in the Schloßstraße, Peterstraße, and Tillystraße. I Hope they keep up their great and important work.

Moreover, my gratitude goes to all asylum seekers and refugees, who were willing to share their time with me. All of them were great hosts and delighted me with interesting conversations and delicious coffee and pastry. I wish good luck to all of them.

Finally, I have to express my very profound gratitude to my parents and to my girlfriend for providing me with unfailing support and continuous encouragement throughout my years of study and through the process of researching and writing this thesis. This accomplishment would not have been possible without them. Thank you.

“If we cannot end our differences at least we can make the world safe for diversity”.

(John F. Kennedy)

“Nonviolence means avoiding not only external physical violence but also internal violence of spirit. You not only refuse to shoot a man, but you refuse to hate him”.

(Martin Luther King, Jr.)

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgments	ii
Table of Contents	iv
A) Introduction	1
I. Subject of investigation	1
II. Methodology, structure, and main concepts	2
III. Fieldwork	5
IV. Asylum process.....	7
V. Relevant definitions	8
1. Ethnicity and ethnic group	8
2. Aggression, violence and conflict	9
3. Asylum seeker and refugee considering fieldwork	9
B) Analysis	10
Chapter I: The refugee: inside exceptionality	10
Introduction.....	10
1. The Camp: inside and outside	10
2. Liminality of the third kind	13
3. Social nakedness.....	14
a) Camp and bare life	14
b) Camp and sovereignty.....	15
bb) Fieldwork experience	16
c) Camp, agency and dependency.....	17
cc) Fieldwork experience.....	18
4. Cultural nakedness	22
5. Attachment and the creation of identity.....	23
a) Home	23
aa) Fieldwork experience	24
b) Creating identity.....	25
bb) Fieldwork experience	26
Importance	28
	iv

Chapter II: Groups and consequences	29
Introduction.....	29
1. Group formation and membership	29
a) Social identity theory.....	29
b) Fieldwork experience	32
2. Resentments as consequence	34
a) Prejudices, stereotypes and attribution error.....	34
b) Fieldwork experience	36
Importance	37
Chapter III: Conflict dynamics	39
Introduction.....	39
1. Social identity, conflict, and primordial accounts	39
2. Realistic conflict theory and a combination of both	41
3. 4-C Model of Identity Based Conflict.....	43
4. Triggers of confrontation.....	45
a) Frustration and aggression.....	45
b) Aversive cues and conditions	46
5. Displacement.....	50
6. 5 C-Model of Identity Based Conflict.....	50
Importance	53
Chapter IV: Conflict dynamics within refugee accommodations: application of the 5-C Model of Identity Based Conflict	54
Introduction.....	54
1. Comparison.....	54
2. Competition and aversive conditions.....	55
a) Major life changes and liminality	55
b) Progress and deprivation	56
c) Competition and deprivation	57
d) Heat, noise and crowding.....	58
e) Alcohol.....	60
f) Mental Illnesses	60
3. Confrontation and counteraction.....	61
4. Limitations	63
Importance	63

C) Implications on the question of separation and possible approaches	65
I. Implications	65
II. Possible approaches	66
1. Physical and psychological conditions.....	67
2. Dependency, full life and progress.....	67
3. Bureaucracy	68
4. Enhanced inter-ethnic contact	68
5. Improvement of language skills	69
D) Conclusion and final thoughts	71
Appendix	73
Informants	73
References	76

A) Introduction

I. Subject of investigation

The present thesis was conducted after millions of people were forced to emigrate from their home countries, especially because of the ongoing wars in Syria and Iraq. The ones who could manage it arrived Europe in large numbers. Most of them travelled to Germany in order to apply for asylum. Thus, Germany, like all other receiving countries, had to face the great challenge to accommodate and provide for the displaced people. In many cities and towns, housing arrangements had to spring out from nothing, which led to the construction of provisory emergency accommodations. To provide enough space, many school gyms, former company halls, and the like were converted to places to sleep for refugees. Little by little, the refugees were then transferred to shared accommodations, which also reached their full capacity after a short period of time. All that did not pass by without problems.

Kassel, Gießen, Suhl, Chemnitz, Hamburg. These German cities, which represents a non-exhausting list, have something in common. There, violence occurred between groups of asylum-seekers in accommodations for refugees. The attacks were often described as erupting between people of different ethnic background and origin. Because of that, the policemen's union and some politicians demanded a separation of asylum seekers on the basis of their ethnicity and origin. In their point of view, this is the only reasonable solution to prevent violence and aggressive behavior within the walls of refugee accommodations. This political discussion leads to the main question of the thesis: is a separation of asylum seekers and refugees on the basis of their ethnic background and origin a reasonable and desirable tool to prevent violence within refugee accommodations?

In order to answer the research question, a comprehensive picture has to be drawn of the ways in which aggressive behavior can burst out within the given setting. It has to be elaborated on what exactly a refugee camp is and what does it mean to refugees in respect to inter alia status, possibilities and identity. How are the refugees organized there and what conflict dynamics and circumstances are present to create a hostility producing environment? Finding answers or cues to these additional questions will be relevant to an explanation and understanding of the outbreak of violence in the respective camps. Only then, the research question can be answered and implications and conclusions be drawn towards the end of the thesis.

II. Methodology, structure, and main concepts

The thesis approaches the guiding question in a deductive fashion with the purpose to advance theory to understand conflict, in this case, especially in refugee accommodation settings. To grasp the diverse and manifold dynamics within refugee accommodations a comprehensive theoretical approach is needed. Therefore, the paper takes into consideration theories and concepts from several disciplines in the field of social science, namely anthropology, sociology as well as social psychology. In this sense, the topic of the thesis can be examined from various perspectives. But these different viewpoints can also be connected, as the thesis will show, through conceptualizing a model of conflict dynamics. These two aspects, namely the combination of various disciplines as well as the creation or rather further development of an already existing conflict model constitutes also the scientific contribution of the thesis.

To proceed with the thesis, the theoretical part relies primarily on scientific books and journal articles.

Moreover, ethnographic fieldwork was conducted in three refugee accommodations in Germany, which is described more in detail within the next section. The qualitative data and insights obtained from this data collection enter into almost every section of the paper to illustrate, exemplify and comment on theoretical considerations. Additionally, it influences to a great extent the establishment of a proposed analytical model, which is going to be created to help understand the causes of violence within refugee accommodations. Thus, the fieldwork does not only support or contradict already established theories and concepts, but also serves as illustration and support of the paper's scientific contribution. But the qualitative data acquired during the fieldwork will reach its limits throughout the analysis, especially while talking about post-migration stress and mental illnesses. Thus, to support the self-acquired data, external quantitative data is going to be used from scholars with sufficient expertise in the respective fields.

The paper is not conceptualized to present an all-embracing explanation for violence and aggressive behavior within refugee accommodations. It shall rather be seen as a starting point for further research and may provide thought-provoking impulses about what may influence the occurrence of hostility and how reasonable counteractive measures may be enhanced to prevent it.

The analysis of the thesis contains at first three chapters. The first dedicates itself to the predominant liminal situation of refugees and asylum seekers in camps and its effects on their lives. The second is

occupied with group formation processes, and the third pursues the question of conflict dynamics within refugee accommodations. Despite a separation, all three chapters are interwoven and interconnected. The paper will show that the first chapter has an influence on the second, regarding the question why certain groups are formed, and the first two chapters on the third, concerning the attempt to explain the occurrence of violence and between whom aggressive behavior may erupt. The content of these three chapters then will find their way into a later proposed model of conflict. A subsequent fourth chapter will apply the theoretical model to the predominant situation within refugee accommodations, which will give insights to reflecting and attempting to answer the research question.

Chapter one and two could have been also assimilated under the development and presentation of the conflict model in chapter three and four. But I decided to do otherwise and put them in front. In this way, the topics these chapters are covering are left more space in order to unfold and it is highlighting the importance and salience of the issues discussed there. Nonetheless, these topics are going to be integrated and constituting important parts in the conceptualized model later on.

With this overview of structure, a more detailed description of the form of the paper is as follows, with a short introduction of the main concepts added:

The introduction continues with a description of the conducted fieldwork, a summary of the asylum process in the German context, as well as relevant definitions.

The analysis commences with the situation of refugees within refugee accommodations. After analyzing the refugee camp per se by drawing on Foucault's *heterotopia* (1984) and Augé's *non place* (1995), the focus moves to the exceptional and liminal status of refugees. With that comes along the consequences of social and cultural nakedness. Social nakedness is going to be elaborated on Giorgio Agamben's figure of the *homo sacer* (1995). Thereby, Agamben exemplifies the separation of biological life (*zoe*) from political life (*bios*) from which encamped refugees suffer. Considering the criticism on this concept, the thesis will analyze what it has to say about full life of refugees, sovereignty, and agency, respectively dependency. Cultural nakedness describes the problem of breaking up the "*isomorphism of space, place and culture*" (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992, p.7), what the transnational refugee experience brings along. It is going to be discussed which consequences this contains for refugees regarding their identity.

How refugees deal with this "*problematique of identity*" (Agier, 2002, p.322) is going to be analyzed afterwards by concentrating on refugees' attachment to their home countries and their creation of new identities in the new setting. Especially the creation of new identities will have a great influence on group formation, which is going to be discussed subsequently.

The second chapter is dedicated to group formation processes within refugee accommodations. For that, theories from the field of social psychology are utilized, especially the major findings of Henry Tajfel and John Turner, namely *social identity theory* and its extension *self-categorization theory*. According to *social identity theory*, persons define their identity through group membership and thereby gaining a positive sense of the self. Groups compare each other to reach such a positive social identity, what then leads to the establishment of certain in-groups and out-groups. That in turn, as the paper will show, may be a fruitful ground for the development of resentments, such as prejudices and stereotypes. This section helps to understand on which lines conflict behavior may erupt and will constitute the starting point of the introduced conflict models later on.

Thereafter, the thesis concentrates on conflict dynamics. Chapter three starts again with *social identity theory* and what it has to say about the development of conflict. Next, the *realistic conflict theory* is going to be introduced. At first sight, this theory seems to be the opposite of the former, as it highlights rather *realistic* reasons for conflict, such as competition and scarce resources. But the paper will merge both theories and will show, that they may function side by side. As a representative example how that can work, the so called *4-C Model of Identity Based Conflict* is going to be demonstrated. The model, established to explain large-scale conflicts, for instance civil wars, will serve as the basic framework in order to understand conflict dynamics within refugee accommodations, but has to be altered at some points. Especially aversive conditions have to be added, which can be found within the camp setting. Thereby, the connection between frustration and aggression is going to be highlighted while introducing the *aggression-frustration hypothesis* developed by John Dollard and his colleagues (1939). Additionally, the concept of displacement will be introduced within the model to explain why aggression and violence is sometimes directed to groups or persons, who are not responsible for the hostility inducing reasons. The above together will then be transformed in an altered conflict model tailored for the topic of the thesis.

The altered model will be called *5-C Model of Identity Based Conflict* and proposes to help understanding and explaining the reasons for the development of aggressive behavior within refugee accommodations, but also recognizes some limitations. This altered model is then used in chapter four to analyze how frustration and stress may lead to aggressive responses within the refugee accommodation setting, caused by several factors, such as major life changes, deprivation and aversive environmental conditions. At this point, also the findings of chapter one are going to be encountered again. The influence of alcohol and mental illnesses will be considered as well.

Finally, it will be presented, what the findings can say about the usefulness of a separation on the basis of ethnic background and origin as a means of preventing violence and what possible approaches might be to hinder or at least reduce aggressive behavior.

III. Fieldwork

A two-week ethnographic fieldwork was conducted in March and April 2016 in the city of Nuremberg, district *Middle Franconia*, Germany. In total three accommodations for refugees were visited (in the following named after the streets where they can be found). Most of the time was spent in the shared accommodation in the *Schloßstraße*. But I also visited the shared accommodation in the *Peterstraße* and the emergency accommodation in the *Tillystraße*.

The *Schloßstraße*, inaugurated in December 2015, is a complex of two buildings and a yard in the center of them. The buildings have in total five floors with several rooms and shared sanitary facilities, such as showers and toilets. Additionally, the site includes an office of the Red Cross, which offered consultation hours almost daily, and one communal lounge with 3 couches. But this room is hardly used and serves rather as a storage room for baby strollers and the like. There is no security service (yet) and a janitor is only sometimes present. The complex is owned by a private company and leased out to the city of Nuremberg. At the time of the fieldwork the *Schloßstraße* accommodated 220 asylum seekers and refugees. Thereby, the complex has not reached its full capacity of approximately 300 people, because the buildings are under reconstruction. The inhabitants originate from seven nations, namely Syria (the biggest group), Iraq, Iran, Ethiopia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Georgia. Most of the people are between 20 and 35 years old, only few are over 40 and many families and children can be found. They are distributed gender separated (except spouses and children) in rooms designed for one to five persons each.

The *Peterstraße* is also a shared accommodation, comprising one building with several rooms and one office of the Red Cross. It has an occupancy of 129 asylum seekers and refugees. Considering origin of the inhabitants and demographic composition, the *Peterstraße* is very similar to the *Schloßstraße*. The only major difference to the *Schloßstraße* is, that here, every room features its own shower and toilet, which means that no shared sanitary facilities are needed.

The *Tillystraße* is a so called emergency accommodation. It is a former industrial complex with one building, previously used as office building, and one industrial hall. This former warehouse is converted in several rooms separated by makeshift wooden walls with a capacity of 10 people each. Outside, next to the hall, sanitary facilities can be found, including portable toilets and showers. The main building contains an office of the Red Cross, some more rooms for refugees, security and medical service, and the canteen. The full capacity amounts to 700 people, which was reached during the summer of 2015, and is going to be extended up to 800. But to the time of the fieldwork, only 77 were

accommodated in the *Tillystraße* because of the closure of borders in Europe during the first half of 2016, which cut off the former flight routes to Germany. The remaining asylum seekers, and the same could be said about the ones in 2015, originating from Iraq, Syria, Iran, Ukraine and Azerbaijan. The demographic structure is very mixed. It ranges from infants to the oldest women of 77 years. Now the accommodation is characterized by families. During full occupancy in 2015, most of the inhabitants were young single males. The distribution of the asylum seekers to the rooms is based predominantly on language skills and origin.

During the two-week ethnographic fieldwork, I followed a participant-observation approach to enter and grasp the daily life within the accommodation in the *Schloßstraße*, where I spent most of the research time. Through that, I was able to acquire qualitative data relevant for the present thesis. My role as a fieldworker was subject of ongoing change. It varied from rather passive participation, for instance during the consultation hours of the Red Cross, which I visited almost on a daily basis, to more active participation while conducting several interviews with inhabitants of the accommodation. Thus, besides passively observing and showing presence, I tried to interact with the asylum seekers and refugees as much as possible. Being aware of the language barrier, one social worker conducted a list of people, which had at least some knowledge of German or English. This list constituted for me the starting point for finding conversation partners, which turned out to be very successful. With overwhelming friendliness, most of the listed people invited me to their rooms. Through that, I was able to conduct several informal interviews in the shape of conversations over coffee or tea. Semi-structured interviews, which followed a beforehand created questions guideline, helped me to be highly flexible, to react on the respective situations and conversation partners, and to gain trust more easily than with fully structured formal interviews. Moreover, the willingness of the people to learn or improve their German skills opened doors for me, as the asylum seekers saw a potential training partner in me. Also social workers primarily from the Red Cross were available for interviews, both rather informal during the consultation hours in the *Schloßstraße* or more formal and structured whilst visiting the *Peterstraße* and the *Tillystraße*, for which an appointment was required. Thus, to some degree, I relied on the experiences and narratives of the social workers in order to draw conclusions.

A short description of the refugees and asylum seekers who served as informants can be found in the appendix of the thesis. Whereas, in the actual paper, they are just called by their names without further explanations.

IV. Asylum process

After arrival in Germany, asylum seekers are assigned to the responsible accommodation of first admittance or emergency accommodation, as it oftentimes was during the summer of 2015. Which accommodation is responsible depends on several factors. For instance, origin plays a role as not every district is responsible for every asylum seeker. For example, the district *Middle Franconia*, which includes the city of Nuremberg, is not responsible for asylum seekers originating from Afghanistan. The duration of the stay in an emergency accommodation respectively one of first admittance can be up to six months, before a distribution to a shared accommodation is possible to take place. During the time, asylum seekers enjoy a relatively free movement, which means that they are allowed to leave the accommodations whenever they want, but are not allowed to leave the district or federal state (called residence obligation or *Residenzpflicht*). To do so, asylum seekers have to apply for a special permission.

The asylum seeker is able to officially apply for asylum at the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (*BAMF*). In the course of the so called *Dublin procedure*, it will be evaluated, if the asylum seeker is eligible to apply for asylum in Germany or in another country of the European Union. That depends, where he or she entered the European Union for the first time. But (at least during the summer 2015) there is an exception for Syrians. They are not facing the *Dublin procedure* and are eligible to apply for asylum in Germany. When the German competence is determined, the asylum application is individually assessed on the basis of the national asylum law, which also includes a personal hearing of the applicant. The duration of the asylum process varies from case to case, but several months are not unusual and years are possible, too. The applications of Syrians are assessed relatively fast, oftentimes in only a couple of weeks, and have a positive outcome to a very high degree.

After processing the asylum application, the asylum seeker faces several possible outcomes. First, a positive assessment, which results in the recognition of the refugee status. With that comes the right of residence (*Bleiberecht*) in Germany. Second, an assessment, which grants the so called subsidiary protection or *non-refoulement (Duldung)*. That prohibits the deportation of an asylum seeker because of well-founded threats to his or her life and limbs in the country of origin. Third, a negative assessment in the form of rejection of the asylum application, which consequently leads to deportation of the asylum seeker when all legal remedies have been exhausted.

During the asylum process, the asylum seeker is entitled to be supported. Within emergency accommodations respectively ones of first admittance, he or she gets contributions in kind, such as

clothes and meals, as well as financial support. For instance, in the Tillystraße, asylum seekers are served three meals a day and are provided with 130 Euro per month. Spouses are getting a bit less, which is explained by shared expenditures. Additionally, families are not getting the same amount of support for each child. This follows a graduated scale, too. In shared accommodations, asylum seekers receive only financial support of about 370 Euro per month. During the process, they get this support in the form of basic provision (*Grundsicherung*) from the social welfare office (*Sozialamt*). After recognition, refugees receive their support from the job center and are facing no residence obligations anymore.

Furthermore, the access to language schools depends on the status. Recognized refugees are eligible for language education as well as asylum seekers with high prospects of permanent residence in Germany. That includes Syrians and Iraqis. Whereas asylum seekers originating from so called safe countries or from countries with a low rate of approved asylum applications are not (yet) allowed to participate in language classes. That effects for instance Ethiopians and Ukrainians.

V. Relevant definitions

1. Ethnicity and ethnic group

Ethnicity and ethnic group are terms to describe and allocate human beings in order to determine a certain belonging. *“It is one of the types of human social collectivity, named identity-groups based on shared quality of social behavior, thought, or feeling”* (Eller, 1999, p.12). Many definitions of ethnic group are circulating, sometimes more congruent and sometimes less. But most of them share common characteristics, such as shared culture, memory, origin and descent, sometimes physical or racial traits, as well as the importance of the perception of themselves or of others of being an ethnic group (ibid., p.13). This paper follows Milton Yinger’s definition of ethnic groups:

“a segment of a larger society whose members are thought, by themselves or others, to have a common origin and to share important segments of a common culture and who, in addition, participate in shared activities in which the common origin and culture are significant ingredients” (1994, p.3).

2. Aggression, violence and conflict

Talking about hostility, some terms, which are going to be used in this context, have to be defined ex ante. Throughout the paper, aggression is going to be understood as *“any form of behavior directed toward the goal of harming or injuring another living being who is motivated to avoid such treatment”* (Baron & Richardson, 1994, p.7). In contrast to aggression, violence is defined by the World Health Organization as *“intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation”* (Krug et al., 2002, p.5). In this sense, aggression can include every behavior from gestures and verbal attacks to physical action, whereas violence refers exclusively to the physical use of power and force.

To define conflict is difficult. One possibility offers Putnam and Poole: *“the interaction of interdependent people who perceive opposition of goals, aims, and values, and who see the other party as potentially interfering with the realization of these goals (...)”* (1987, p.552 cited in Easterbrook et al., 1993, p.3/4). Conflict can also be interpersonal, intergroup or international (Deutsch, 2000 a, p.6). This paper restricts the meaning of conflict to interactions between groups who are in perceived opposition to each other regarding goals, aims and values.

3. Asylum seeker and refugee considering fieldwork

In the following, the term refugee includes all displaced people in the context of the paper. Except, while describing and talking about the people during the fieldwork. Then, the terms refugees and asylum seekers are going to be used separately in accordance with the asylum process. Asylum seeker refers to people who have applied for asylum but not yet received a decision about the assessment of their claim. That involves especially the people in the emergency accommodations and of first admittance, but also in the shared accommodations. The term refugee describes the people who received a positive assessment of their asylum application and are entitled to stay in Germany with certainty. Thus, refugees can be found primarily in the shared accommodations.

B) Analysis

Chapter I: The refugee: inside exceptionality

Introduction

The analysis starts with examining the life within refugee accommodations. The following chapter explores the exceptional or liminal status, which characterizes the refugee situation. This status finds its expression especially in the prevailing social and cultural nakedness, the accommodation dwellers suffer from. Social nakedness describes the creation of a certain dependency, feeling of uselessness and boredom, with which refugees have to deal with whilst living in these exceptional spaces. Cultural nakedness portrays how encampment may create problems regarding the identity of the inhabitants and how they may cope with this unstable situation through enhanced attachment to the home countries and the creation of new identities.

But beforehand, it is crucial to focus on the remote refugee camp per se, as it has been in the center of former research, and to find similarities with urban refugee accommodations. If this succeeds, it is possible to combine theoretical assumptions from remote refugee camps with empirical data gathered from urban refugee accommodations.

Throughout chapter one, qualitative data gathered from the conducted fieldwork will enter the analysis. In this chapter, the findings will illustrate and comment on the presented theoretical considerations and statements. In this way own data will support but also contradict the conclusions drawn from the respective literature.

1. The Camp: inside and outside

Amongst other confinement and detention settings, refugee camps have been subjects of study for quite a while. In an interdisciplinary fashion, the camp was analyzed, occupied, measured, categorized and characterized. It was brought to attention, even to existence for the first world, considering refugee camps as primarily a third world problem. The next section will take a closer look on the categorization of *classic* refugee camps, which are predominantly in the center of academic research

and can be found in remote areas of third world countries. But the below will also show similarities with refugee accommodations in the heart of Europe, even in the heart of a European city in the year 2016.

It is important to recognize that there are similarities between refugee camps in the outskirts and accommodations within the city, at least regarding extraterritoriality and exceptionality. That would mean, that many dynamics and consequences of camp life are transferable to urban refugee accommodations. So to speak, all findings and observations concerning remote camps may also be valid within urbanity. This realization constitutes a requirement for the following usage of empirical data from an urban refugee accommodation in combination with theoretical assumptions from *classic* refugee camps.

The starting point of an analysis concerning refugee camps should be to assign and allocate these camps to the prevailing arrangement of the world. But this effort alone already unveils the fundamental problem such a camp constitutes, namely, it cannot be assigned. But assigned to what?

To explain the status quo, Liisa Malkki, inspired by Ernest Gellner (1983), draws upon a multicolored school atlas with distinct nation-states to illustrate the overarching ordering principle of the world, where (almost) the whole world was split up and every space assigned to these nations-states. Therefore, she speaks of the “*national order of things*” with nations as “*fixed in space and recognizable on a map*” or in other words, nations as “*territorialized*” (Malkki, 1992, p.26).

Now the refugee camp forms an aberration to such a clear-cut system. On the one hand the camp is doubtless recognizable and visible, means spatially inside and can be territorially assigned to the soil of a nation-state. But on the other hand it is also spatially outside the national order, often governed by foreign organizations, its mere existence allowed only temporarily with the hope of a rapid dissolution, unwanted and undesired. It is not allowed to exist but actually omnipresent as a disturbance, a thorn in the national fabric of the world.

This ambiguity between inside and outside makes a refugee camp the instantiation of a Foucauldian *heterotopia* (Foucault, 1986). In contrast to utopias, which are sites with no real place, *heterotopias* are places “*outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality*” (Foucault, 1986, p.24). Foucault makes a distinction between *heterotopias of crisis* and of *deviation*. The former is related to privileged, sacred or forbidden places, destined for people in a state of crisis. The latter are “*those in which individuals whose behavior is deviant in relation to the required mean or norm are placed*” (ibid., p.25). But he also recognizes certain hybrids, a mixture of both *heterotopias of crisis* and *deviation*. Regarding this, Foucault offers retirement homes as example. In his opinion,

they are “on the borderline (...), since after all, old age is a crisis, but is also a deviation since in our society where leisure is the rule, idleness is a sort of deviation” (ibid., p.25). That in mind, a refugee camp may also be classified somewhere between *crisis* and *deviation*. Refugees per se internalize the crisis through their mere existence and appearance. Because they carry with them the reasons and causes of their flight, may it be persecution, general violence, famine, etc. That gives them a certain sacredness, which will be discussed in more detail by talking about the refugee as *homo sacer* (Agamben, 1995). Thus the place they inhabit, or better to which they are allocated to, is automatically transformed into a sacred place, a space of crisis, destined for them. Simultaneously, as discussed above, refugee camps constitute a deviation from the norm, from the national order of things. A place to park and *manage the undesirables* (Agier, 2011). There, like people in retirement homes, refugees are also inter alia condemned to idleness, by which Foucault detects a deviation.

The camp is not only outside considering space, but also outside of time. Michel Agier describes camps as “*hors-lieux, outside of the places and outside of the time of a common, ordinary, predictable world*” (Agier, 2002, p.323). Following Agier, time has stopped within a refugee camp:

“The camp is the manifestation of the immediate present, since it excludes both past and future. It excludes them by excluding itself from all history, for past and present are only conceived, ultimately, in the Elsewhere of the lost land and the hypothetical future of return” (Agier, 2011, p.79).

That gives the camp a certain temporality, outside ordinary time, an *exceptional* time. Thus, a correlation can be encountered between a refugee camp and a *non-place*, described by Marc Augé (Augé, 1995). He characterizes a non-place, in distinction to all other places, as not defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity (Augé, 1995, p.77/78). A place of “*indistinction*”, not symbolized and abstract (Diken, 2004, p.91); “*where a person entering the space of a non-place is relieved of his usual determinants*” (Augé, 1995, p.103). Within the non-place, as within the refugee camp, time has frozen:

“There is no room there for history (...) What reigns there is actuality, the urgency of the present moment. (...) Everything proceeds as if space has trapped in time” (Augé, 1995, p.103/104).

Like the non-place, the refugee camp is in purpose as well as in nature transitory and characterized by its extraterritoriality.

Some might say, this extraterritoriality is especially visible or reinforced through the fact that the *classic* refugee camp is usually on the outskirts of cities or in remote areas of the refugee receiving country. So to speak, on the “*margins of the world*” (Agier, 2008). Argumentum e contrario, that would mean, that an accommodation or camp for refugees, directly within or at least at the periphery of the city, loses some of its extraterritoriality or its exceptionality. Merely by the fact of being inside the city would push it back inside the order, back to normality, away from crisis and deviation. Following this argument would miss the point and would overestimate banal spatiality. Inserting such an accommodation within the urban area even reinforces the ambiguity between inside and outside. In Foucauldian words, it is even easier to indicate the location of this heterotopia in reality, what does not curtail the fact of being outside of all places. In the urban life, the camp is present, visible, felt and gazed upon. Contemporaneously it is foreign, out of place, and outside the norm of the city.

Socialization can be taken as an exemplification. Later, the paper will show that social life is happening within the accommodations, at least to some degree. But, the walls are not *socially permeable*. That means social life stays within the camp and is not spreading outside the camp. The social life of the inhabitants is thereby encapsulated of the one of the inhabitants of the city. Here again, it shows the spatial nearness of two social lives, but also its separation, in the sense, that they are not interwoven or mixed. They rather run parallel to each other.

This section above revealed similarities between remote refugee camps and urban European refugee accommodations. Therefore, research occupied with classic refugee camps may also be useful and valid concerning such settings in urban surroundings. For the present paper, that offers the possibility to consider former findings related to camps, which seem on first sight to have little in common with *first world* urban accommodations. That in mind, the focus swings now to the inhabitants of such places, namely refugees and asylum seekers and their situation within such accommodations.

2. Liminality of the third kind

Not only the camp, but also its inhabitant is trapped in exceptionality. Within the national order of things, there is no place for the refugee. He or she is “*thrown out of the family of nations*” (Arendt,

1973, p.294). Malkki describes the state of a refugee as being “*liminal in the categorical order of nation-states*” (Malkki, 1992, p.34) and thereby refers to Victor Turner’s figure of the *liminal personae*, by which he describes a “*transitional being*” who “*has nothing*” and who is a “*naked unaccommodated man*” (Turner, 1967, p.98/99). “*They are at once no longer classified and not yet classified*” (ibid., p.96). His namesake, Simon Turner, also detects a liminal existence of refugees within camps:

“The whole point with refugee camps is that they are temporary – exceptional places that act as a parenthesis in time and space, where refugees are kept on standby, neither in one nation nor the other, until a durable solution can be found and they can be integrated into the national order of things” (Turner, 2010, p.43).

Zygmunt Bauman goes even further and creates a new category, to which the refugee may be assigned. Between the classical division of friends and enemies, for him *the stranger* constitutes a third kind (Bauman, 1990). The *stranger* is not only outside the order, he rather “*undermines the spatial ordering of the world*” and is therefore “*a constant threat to the world order*” by bringing “*the outside to the inside, and poison the comfort of order with suspicion of chaos*” (Baumann, 1990, p.150; p.149; p.146).

In this sense the refugee is both “*undesirable and placeless*” (Agier, 2008, p.28) and inherits a certain nakedness in two ways, socially and culturally. This social as well as cultural nakedness is going to be analyzed more in detail in the following sections.

3. Social nakedness

a) Camp and bare life

Once the refugee fled his country and seeks refuge in another one, he is deprived of his rights as a citizen. Because normally most rights of men and women are linked with being a citizen of a nation-state, the refugee, outside the national order, is denied his rights. For Giorgio Agamben in this sense, the refugee constitutes a “*disquieting element in the order of the modern nation-state (...) by breaking the continuity between man and citizen, nativity and nationality*” (Agamben, 1995, p. 84). The refugee is the instantiation of Agamben’s “*homo sacer (sacred man) who may be killed and yet not sacrificed*” (ibid, p.8). A term borrowed from ancient Rome, which meant a man, who was banned from society and denied all rights. What is left for him is only bare life or biological life (*zoe*), the mere existence of

being a human, excluded from the political and social realm or political life (*bios*), which can only be accessed by the citizen. For the refugee that produces a social nakedness, with the only bargain of being human.

Thus refugees are only considered in terms of humanitarianism, with the effect of becoming mere victims with the consequence that *“the recognition of individuals in the practical and ideological humanitarian apparatus thus implies the social and political non-existence of the beneficiaries of aid”* (Agiar, 2011, p.133). A *victimization* of refugees takes place (see inter alia Horst, 2006; Fassin, 2005). Also Agamben recognizes such a degradation of refugees to sheer victims:

“The separation between humanitarianism and politics that we are experiencing today is the extreme phase of the separation of the rights of man from the rights of citizen, in the final analysis, however, humanitarian organizations (...) can only grasp human life in the figure of bare or sacred life (...) It takes only a glance at the recent publicity campaigns to gather funds for refugees from Rwanda to realize that here human life is exclusively considered (...) as sacred life – which is to say, as life that can be killed but not sacrificed – and that only as such is it made into the object of aid and protection” (Agamben, 1995, p.85).

b) Camp and sovereignty

Along these lines, the refugee camp becomes primarily a shelter for relief and care for the purpose of maintaining and prolonging the bare life of its inhabitants. This makes the refugee the ultimate Foucauldian biopolitical subject, *“those who can be regulated and governed at the level of population in a permanent state of exception outside the normal legal framework – the camp”* (Owens, 2009, p.568). The biopolitical regulation of bodies (ibid., p.570) is the power of the nation-state as sovereign. *“Biopower is always underpinned by sovereign power”* (Turner, 2010, p.8). Agamben, by following Carl Schmitt, defines sovereignty as the power to proclaim the exception (Agamben, 1995, p.10), which entails the disentanglement from the legal order. Thereby the sovereign is maintaining itself in relation to the exception (ibid., p.14). Thus the refugee figure constitutes the *“necessary other”* in relation to the nation-state (Turner, 2010, p.7). Agamben draws hereby a simplified picture as the state as the sovereign power, which was criticized with regard to refugee camps, because it does not recognize the variety of sovereignties, such a camp can have. Adam Ramadan for example speaks about Palestinian refugee camps as *“spaces which are not governed by one sovereign who can suspend the rule of law,*

but of multiple sovereign actors”, like PLO and UNRWA in his case, which exercise a certain power over and within the camps (Ramadan, 2013, p.69; see also Agier, 2011).

bb) Fieldwork experience

Regarding the predominant sovereign power within the accommodations in Nuremberg, the same conclusion can be drawn. Indeed, the nation-state or the federal state creates the binding legal and organizing framework, but within the housing arrangements, the Red Cross exercises the direct power over asylum seekers. The state almost entirely transfers its responsibilities of care, handling and control to the Red Cross. In coordination with the owner of the buildings, the Red Cross is responsible for regulating the daily routine. Just to name some examples, the organization determines how the rooms are distributed, enforces the house rules and creates the cleaning plans for the shared kitchens and bathrooms. Besides that, the Red Cross also fulfills certain biopolitical power which is normally reserved for the sovereign power. For instance, all refugees are registered in several different lists by the Red Cross, which are constantly updated and sent to the federal headquarter on a regular basis. Through these activities of keeping track and intervening and invading the daily life, the Red Cross exercises a certain power over the refugees, thus refugees are always observed, controlled and categorized.

In the case of the emergency shelter in the *Tillystraße*, also security tasks are handed over to private security companies, which are responsible for observing the area, controlling who is going in and out and settling disputes between asylum seekers. Only when the security staff is no longer able to handle conflict situations or crimes are committed, the state is called for help in the shape of the police and law enforcement.

In day to day life, the state only makes its appearance through its creation of a bureaucratic jungle. But to navigate through, the refugee is left alone by the state. Only with the help of the Red Cross the bureaucracy can be managed to some extent, but remains extremely difficult. That gives the Red Cross great responsibility and simultaneously puts the asylum seekers in a position of dependency, which is going to be explained in greater detail within the next section.

c) Camp, agency and dependency

Not only the aspect of sovereignty was subject to criticism regarding Agamben. But also the impossibility of refugees being agents, that is, not only being “*silenced and disempowered homines sacri*” (Ramadan, 2013, p.68). So to speak the escape from not only physical but also from *social death* (Agier, 2011, p.184), which refugees were diagnosed with by Agamben. Several authors analyzed the daily life within refugee camp settings and came to the conclusion, that camps are not pure life-preserving systems full of socially dead inhabitants. They are rather “*spaces of agency and struggle*” (Ramadan, 2013, p.74). For example, Richard Bailey (2009) reported about Australian immigration detainees, who refused to abandon their politics. There, the camps turned out to be places of defense, solidary relationships and own decision making. Raffaella Puggioni (2014) drew comparable conclusions while analyzing Italian holding centers. Similar to the findings of Edkins and Pin-Fat (2005) some years before, she observed detainees claiming their right to a political and meaningful life through resistance against the prevailing sovereign. Agier (2008; 2011) likewise detects a transformation of refugee camps into social and political milieus. He connects this metamorphosis with the realization of the camp being full of different relationships, the arising of social hierarchies and the emergence of spokespeople, official or not: “*this is the moment, that of speaking out in the name of the refugees (all vulnerable), that politics is introduced into the camp, and with it a bit of citizenship*” (Agier, 2011, p.156). To name one more, also Simon Turner observed similar incidents during his fieldwork in the Lukole refugee camp for Burundi refugees in Tanzania. He writes: “*Political entrepreneurs attempted to combat the depoliticized space that the humanitarian regime imposed on them and to regain their political subjectivity*” (Turner, 2010, p.112). But, as Turner showed, that was not necessarily desirable on the side of the organizations in charge. He speaks of good participation, what means activity and agency in a solidary and purely humanitarian manner, which was encouraged by the NGOs, and of bad participation, involving any kind of political activism, which was classified as disturbing and troublesome (ibid., p. 54/55). Thus only activism with the purpose of maintaining bare life is tolerated and everything beyond discouraged. This again shows clearly the separation of humanitarianism and politics.

But all the efforts and attempts of refugees to maintain or reconquer agency or subjectivity cannot obscure the fact, that full life, achieved through the reconnection of zoe and bios, can never be fully completed within the camp setting. Especially the dependency, which refugees are facing, contradicts the social resurrection of the inhabitants. Whether it be the dependency in regard of staying alive, in form of nutrition, health care and shelter, or dependency concerning handling bureaucratic barriers

due to make progress in the asylum process, family reunification or coping seemingly banal daily life obstacles. Thus camp life is characterized by the feeling of helplessness. *“What the refugees found the most threatening about the camp was the fact that life no longer was in their own hands and that they were at the mercy of powerful external forces”* (Turner, 2010, p.82). In addition to dependency, also the enforced inactivity of refugees contributes to the prevention of full life. Or as stated above, the condemnation to idleness, which constitutes a Foucauldian *heterotopia of deviation*. Forced to the mere preservation of biological life, the asylum seeker is not allowed to work or study until he reaches the status of recognition, which means leaving the liminality and becoming again a citizen within the family of nations. So dependency and inactivity together gives the refugee the feeling of *“impotence and uselessness”* (Agier, 2008, p.53) in every aspect of his or her camp life.

cc) Fieldwork experience

Taking part and observing the daily life within the Nuremberg accommodation-centers unveils at least to some degree the highly social life which is happening there. Similar to the findings of Agier, the accommodation is full of dynamic relationships between the asylum seekers. A joint lunch or dinner of family members or even room neighbors is no exception, as well as having coffee together. Amities and even romantic relationships were built up and formed. For example, *Mohammed M.* found his current girlfriend next door and enjoys a good relationship with her whole family. Additionally, social hierarchies can be detected. As opposed to families, whose interactions are mostly characterized by equal treatment, within especially groups of young males, leaders often emerge after a short period of time.

In general, the asylum seekers are socializing with each other to a high degree, but not everybody with everybody, which is going to be elaborated within the chapter of group formation. All that contributes to the attempt of building up a social life as far as possible within the given setting. These social encounters are representing fragments of a certain normality, which supersede social death and transform the *“camp as a place of waiting apart from society”* (Agier, 2008, p.10) characterized by bare life into a social habitat shaped by social and humane life.

But with one limitation. All this takes place just within the accommodation. The walls are not *socially permeable*. The accommodation emerges as an own cosmos with its own social life clearly distinguished and delimited from the outside world. Although the asylum seekers face no restriction on entering and leaving the complex, they have not, at least yet, developed social relations with *natives*

outside, mostly due to the lack of sufficient language skills and common activities. Whilst there are occasionally offers for joint activities, i.e. via football clubs or women associations, the people are often not using them because of being afraid of the language barrier or just feeling not yet ready to mingle.

Now, spoken about social life, the same holds true for political life. Certain traits of bios can be detected by activities and attitudes of the accommodation dwellers. Agier saw in *speaking out for people* a return of politics and with that regaining citizenship. As mentioned before, social hierarchies are present within the housing arrangement and with that a kind of leadership. In all three accommodations, which were visited in the course of this thesis, the social workers confirmed such developments. Especially in the *Tillystraße*. There, at the time of full occupancy, several leaders emerged and spoke out for groups of asylum seekers, who wanted to change some daily routines. Those were clearly acts of political activism. In accordance with Simon Turner, this was also here interpreted as bad participation. During the interview, the social worker made clear that those people constituted a disturbance and disrupted the daily rhythm. Especially his wording was interesting. He used the German word *Rädelsführer* (ringleader) while speaking about the leaders, which has rather negative connotation.

Another form of activism can be found by the informal translators at the *Schloßstraße*. Because an official translator was only available during the Red Cross office hours on Wednesday morning, several informal translators were willing to help people with no or not enough German or English skills. Generally, they were just standing inside the office, waiting until somebody needed help. Thus, they assisted people with very sensitive issues like family reunifications and asylum applications. That put them in a position of responsibility as well as importance and gives them a kind of leadership role and authority.

Talking about politics, it is worth mentioning the rather *internal political life*. The refugees turned out to be very political interested, what they obviously maintained. Many conversations quickly turned to political discussions or politics were at least part of the discussions. For example, *Abdel R.*, who is a very political man and marked by a very patriotic attitude. He is involved in the production of radio broadcasts and is also writing articles on the subject of the political/refugee situation in Iran. He also draws his motivation to learn German from his political attitude (but what he is not yet allowed to do, because of his missing recognition as refugee). A knowledge of German is for him a vehicle to show also the West what is going on in Iran. Thus, being in Germany is an opportunity to actually change something concerning his home country.

Despite apparent political tendencies, the asylum seekers in the Nuremberg accommodations face a high degree of dependency. This dependency is especially visible regarding bureaucracy. The refugees are totally reliant on the Red Cross to deal with the bureaucratic barriers the state built up. For asylum seekers, that starts by applying for a doctor appointment, for which a sickness certificate (*Krankenschein*) is needed, or to get their monthly payment of basic provision (*Grundsicherung*) from the social welfare office (*Sozialamt*). And it gets even more complicated regarding issues like family reunification. For that, family members not yet in Germany have to wait at least six months to get an appointment at an embassy i.e. in Beirut. Thus, every aspect of the refugee life is peppered with innumerable bureaucratic hurdles, which they are unable to cope with on their own. To help them, the Red Cross has open doors for assistance every day. But this can also be very difficult considering the language barrier and the lack of translators. However, the importance of these opening hours can be exemplified on one example when they were cancelled on one day. The people were waiting outside the door and got really nervous and they asked several times when it is possible to come the next time. They were really stressed and occasionally angry, because they needed badly sickness certificates to see a doctor or the like.

Sometimes the refugees are totally powerless against the bureaucratic jungle, even with the help from the Red Cross. One example: in order to open a bank account, it is necessary for the asylum seeker to deliver a form, which states that he or she is receiving money from the social welfare office. So one asylum seeker wanted to do exactly that and was told to deliver this form. During this process, his status changed and he became a recognized refugee. That means now he would get money not from the social welfare office, but from the job center. But to get money from them he in turn needs a bank account first. Resolving this confusing situation, so the refugee can get his account plus money from the job center, can take several weeks while he is not getting any monetary support.

Through dependency, even in respect of basic needs like health care, the feeling of helplessness is developing among the asylum seekers. For example, *Yaser A.* showed me his stack of formal papers, 30 cm high, and was just shaking his head and was telling me with a sad smile: *"You just need paper for everything"*. Additionally, he explained me that he hasn't received money from the job center (as recognized refugee not from the social welfare office any more) for two months because of some bureaucratic problems. That deprives him and his son from his livelihood and he has to borrow money from a friend, because he is now running out of money. *Yaser A.* also articulated what in many conversations constituted a major topic. The frustration of not standing on one's own feet and the desire to support himself and, in this case, especially his child. For that he desperately wants a job: *"I would do anything. I have no problem with that"*.

In order to escape from this position of dependency, a lot of my interview partners recognized language skills as the only way out. In almost all conversations the asylum seekers were assuring how eager they are to learn German. The full determination of learning German was expressed in the way, that they all attending every class offered and learning extracurricular with certain smartphone apps or even advertising leaflets of construction markets. For me, this eagerness also opens doors for interviews, because in me they saw a potential training partner for speaking German as much as possible. That shows how desperate they are to flee again, this time not from war, persecution or famine, but from such a situation of full dependency and the feeling of uselessness.

This feeling of uselessness, and thereby the inability to reach full life, contributes highly to the development of feelings of frustration. As described above, the lack of outside activities paired with no chance of employment leads to extreme boredom and languishing inside the walls of the accommodation, which was exaggerated during the winter months. *Mohammed M.* exemplifies this situation. He has been an early bird all his life by waking up every morning around six o'clock. But because he has nothing really to do, he sleeps again after a couple of hours. Similarities can be drawn to the articulation of other inhabitants:

Mohammed A.: "only room, room, room".

Yaser A.: "I can't do anything, just wait, wait, wait".

Because of that situation, as described, many cling to the language school as only occupation and simultaneously only possible way out of the misery. Thus the situation is even more problematic for people who are not (yet) allowed to attend language schools.

The situation interestingly is not changing much, even if an asylum seeker becomes a recognized refugee in Germany. Indeed, on the one hand, the felt uncertainty is reduced, because he or she is now allowed to stay for sure. But on the other hand, the uncertainty is also simultaneously perpetuated since no major changes occur at first. After recognition, the refugee is now free to move wherever he wants and to apply for a job. But, in the most cases, with no sufficient German skills it is almost impossible to get a job. Consequently, it is also very difficult to find an apartment because of the reluctance of landlords to rent to unemployed people and because of the already tight market considering cheap or subsidized housing arrangements. So they have to sojourn in the situation not that different as before the recognition. In some cases, as the social workers reported, people are waiting one year or more to snatch an apartment outside the refugee accommodation.

In summary, traits can be detected of ways to oppose social nakedness and bare life. The refugees are highly socializing (although only) within the accommodation and thereby trying to bring a bit normality back in their lives through certain rituals, like joint dinners or having coffee together. Also political life, *internal* and *external*, can be found, for instance, in the development of social hierarchies, taking over responsibilities and in the emergence of spokespeople. But besides of all that, bare life and a victimization cannot be fully overcome, which is imposed on them by the sovereign and leaves no room for bad participation, namely politics. Especially the high dependency and the perceived meaninglessness of their being, illustrates the detained refugee life detached from bios, at least to a certain point. Dependency, uselessness, boredom, suppressed political life and so forth combined creates a very stressful and frustrating environment within the accommodation, which is going to be analyzed in detail while speaking about conflict dynamics.

However, *refugeeness* not only creates social nakedness to which all the points above can be summarized, but also cultural nakedness, which the next section is dedicated to.

4. Cultural nakedness

Within the national order of things, every nation-state is provided with its own distinct culture. In this sense, Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson speak about an "*isomorphism of space, place and culture*" (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992, p.7):

"We assume a natural association of a culture (American culture), a people (Americans), and a place (United States of America)". "Space itself becomes a kind of neutral grid on which cultural difference, historical memory and societal organization are inscribed" (ibid, p. 7/12).

In accordance with that, not only the nation state is territorialized, but simultaneously its assigned culture. For Augé (1995), anthropological places, in contradiction to the non-place, are places of identity, relations and history. "*To be born is to be born in a place, to be assigned to residence*", what for him creates a constituent of the individual identity (Augé, 1995, p.53).

Conversely, the refugee, as a transitional being, is therefore not only constituting a problem to the spatial national order of things but also to the cultural classification and to identity itself. Being displaced, means being nationless, then can be consequently equated as being cultureless. As already elaborated, Liisa Malkki applies Victor Turner's figure of the *liminal personae* to illustrate the transitional position of the refugee. Thus, the refugee is a "*naked unaccompanied man*" (Turner, 1967, p.99) to the extent that he or she is not anymore "*clothed in culture*" (Malkki, 1992, p.43) what has consequences regarding his or her identity. The fact of being displaced leads the refugee towards a crisis of identity, a "*problematique of identity*" (Agier, 2002, p.322). That was before unproblematic, since he or she was embedded in his or her *right* environment, where identity was interwoven with place. Like Michael Pollak writes about detainees in Nazi concentration camps during World War Two:

"identity becomes a preoccupation and, indirectly, an object of analysis only where it is no longer taken-for-granted, when common sense is no longer given in advance and when the actors involved can no longer agree on the meaning of the situation and the roles they are supposed to be playing in it" (Pollak, 2000 (1990), p.10 cited in Agier, 2002, p.322).

How refugees cope with this cultural nakedness or *problematique of identity* is going to be the subject of the next section.

5. Attachment and the creation of identity

a) Home

The transnational situation effects refugees "*and provokes a questioning of their own identity*" (Agier, 2001, p.133). How and in what manner was subject to several studies within refugee studies. Liisa Malkki, for instance, compared Burundi refugees living in camp settings with refugees settled in urban Tanzanian areas. Despite being criticized by several authors (see Kibreab, 1999; Friedman, 2002), especially about the conclusions she drew about urban refugees, this study gives major insights about the concept of identity within refugee camps. In Malkki's view, the camp refugees created a very strong and distinct identity, with their homeland and their peoplehood as focal center:

“The most striking social fact about the camp was that its inhabitants were continually engaged in an impassioned construction and reconstruction of their history as “a people”. (...) The camp refugees saw themselves as a nation in exile, and defined exile, in turn, as a moral trajectory of trials and tribulations that would ultimately empower them to reclaim (or create anew) the “Homeland” in Burundi” (Malkki, 1992, p.35).

In opposition to the town refugees, the detained ones created a deep attachment to their homeland, but homeland not as *“a territorial or topographic entity”*, rather *“as a moral destination”* (Malkki, 1992, p.35/36). Thus home is only on the surface a geographical place on which a finger can be placed on the school atlas. It is rather in the mind of the people, an imagined, socially constructed place (see Anderson, 1983), or as Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson puts it, an *“imagined state of being or moral location”* (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992, p.10). This imagined place becomes even more salient or more important as more blurred and unstable the own spatial position gets. So these memories serve as *“symbolic anchors”* and as a tool for the unification of displaced people (ibid., p. 11).

But such an attachment to the homeland does not automatically mean, that all displaced people seek repatriation, when the situation in their home countries became more favorable again. Stef Jansen and Staffan Löfving argue, that *“even if many people on the move do express very strong nostalgia, this is not always and necessarily best understood as desire for return”* (Jansen and Löfving, 2007, p.9). The imagined home is not only left behind in place but also in time and *“is therefore often experienced as a previous home, irrevocably lost both spatially and temporally”* (ibid., p.10). This temporary disentanglement of the home recalls characteristics of a non-place. *“Words make images. Certain places exist only through the words that evoke them, and in this sense they are non-places or rather imaginary places, banal utopias, clichés”* (Augé, 1995, p.95).

aa) Fieldwork experience

In almost all conversations with the informants, home and belonging were highly salient topics. That obviously stems also from the fact that most of the people had to leave behind at least a part of their family to whom they are in close contact. A striking fact was that the description of the home country or city as it is now during the war, i.e. in Syria or Iraq, was often mentioned only briefly. In a short time, the narratives switched to the period before the war. Then they drew a picture of how beautiful it was there and how the war destroyed everything:

Mohamed A. about Aleppo: "Such a beautiful city, just bombs destroyed everything";

Yaser A. about Damascus: "I love this city; you must have seen it once";

Guran about Kirkuk: "It was a very nice city, but now, everything is destroyed";

Abdel R. about the Iran: "The Iran is very beautiful and the people are extremely lovely. But there are a lot of problems and grievances. The dictatorship is poisoning the country".

Thus, in accordance with Malkki, many informants have strong attachments to their home and draw their identity from that. The home left a lasting mark in the minds of the refugees and is a great part of their *self-identification*. But as Jansen and Löfving described, they left their home not only spatially but also temporally. Their imagined home is one of the past, one that cannot be found as it is in the minds of the people. Although they are aware of the destruction of their home and how it looks like in the present moment, their thoughts again and again drift to places of memory, to the *symbolic anchors* of their identity.

These nostalgic feelings do not necessarily express the desire to return home. Actually only one informant stated clearly that he definitively wants to return home after the situation has become bearable again. *Abdel R.*: "I love my country; I want to go back when the problems are solved there". Despite that, most of the refugees want to rebuild their lives in Germany, as illustrated regarding the longing for a full, independent life.

b) Creating identity

How refugees are creating identities within refugee camp settings was convincingly studied by Michel Agier (2002; 2008; 2011) through fieldwork, especially in Africa. In his opinion, "*camps create identity, both ethnic and non-ethnic, even more so than they reproduce, maintain or reinforce ethnicity*" (Agier, 2002, p.333).

He identified three ways of an *identitarian process*, which happened in refugee camps. Firstly, Agier detected what he called "*bricolage of novel identities*" (ibid., p.333). Besides the formation of new religious labels, he especially witnessed the development of a transformation from national

classification to an ethnic one, what he describes as “nationalities become ethnicities in the relational sense” (ibid., p.333):

“If there are, for example, refugees from Ethiopia in the Ifo camp who belong to a dozen different tribes, as well as Eritreans, they are all identified here simply as “Ethiopians”. Whereas the accounts of warfare and flight are marked by “tribal” opposition and violence, and reference to the nation was profoundly abused in ethnic conflicts, the term “Ethiopians”, like that of “Sudanese”, refers to what we can call a national locale. These “ethnonyms” do not eliminate previous group membership, but they do indeed become real and functional terms of identity as long as the camp persists” (Agier, 2011, p.142).

Agier, secondly, discovered a “strengthened particularism” (Agier, 2002, p.334), means a finer distinction between certain groups which creates own entities, untied from groups to which they were formerly attached to. In the Kenyan Dadaab camp, for instance, Somali Bantus, which were attached to other groups, achieved autonomous recognition within the camps and were considered as separated from other Somalis. By giving more examples, Agier sees in that a “strategy of emancipation from previous domination and of ethnic separatism in the new context of the camp” (ibid., p.334).

Thirdly, he observed inter-ethnic relations which were not based on any ethnic or national features. But instead built upon socio-economic reasons (ibid., p.335). In one case, Agier describes, that certain groups of Somalis, which were considered as being of lower status, joined together and created a new group consisting out of different craftsmen, like blacksmiths, shoemakers and tailors. So in this case, occupation rather than origin was paramount regarding the question of identity.

bb) Fieldwork experience

For the Nuremberg accommodations, it can be said, that all three forms of Agier’s discoveries can be detected, too, or at least some traces of them. On the one hand, in the case of the Ethiopian refugees, it can be agreed that *nationalities become ethnicities*. There, Ethiopians are forming a closed entity, despite what clan or tribe membership they may have. That is not important within the camp setting. After asking Tahir about his relation to other Ethiopians, he described it as follows: “*The Ethiopians here wouldn’t be friends at home, but here they are good friends*”. Such answer indicates that at home he would have some problems with them. If these problems result from clan quarrels or the like cannot

be answered definitively, however at least can be said, that these problems, which origin they may have, are no hindrance for friendships or building of “*the Ethiopians*”, to what *Tahir* also refers.

On the other hand, the fieldwork yielded precisely the contrary, as it were, that *ethnicities become nationalities* in the figurative sense. This can be exemplified by the Iranian refugees interviewed. This overarching designation for people with Iranian origin is not applicable within the accommodation. Not all Iranians felt as Iranians, rather they split in two different groups, namely Persians (Farsi) and Arabs. Thus, the Arabic Iranians felt more as Arabs than as Iranians. This was illustrated by the fact, that they spent their time rather with other Arabs, i.e. from Iraq and Syria, and not with Farsi Iranians. Actually, when refugees spoke about Iranians, only Farsi Iranians were meant by this labeling, excluding Arabic Iranians. The same can be said about Syrians and Iraqis. Their social bonding indicates that also their Arabic descent is more salient than their actual nationality. Within the accommodation, there couldn't be found distinct groups of Syrians or Iraqis. They rather formed kind of *Arabic groups*, including Syrians, Iraqis and Arabic Iranians.

The Kurds also constitute an interesting group. The same can be said for them as about the Arabs. For Kurds, too, it seems like ethnicity comes before nationality. Within Kurd groups, it can be found people from Syria, Northern Iraq (autonomous region Iraqi Kurdistan) and Iraq. Mostly they call themselves Kurds rather than i.e. Syrians. For example, by asking a group of young people about their origin, one gave me the answer, that they are all Kurds. Only then he pointed from one to another and explained their national origin. Besides that, the Kurdish self-perception may also be interpreted as, what Agier calls, *strengthened particularism*, which means a strategy of emancipation. The new setting of the camp may give Kurds more freedom as in their home countries. This joint *Kurdishness* may mirror the long-standing desire for an independent Kurdish state. Now free from previous domination they can emancipate as Kurds and do not have to subordinate themselves to the former national order.

Occasionally, it can also be found inter-ethnic relations without any ethnic or national features. In Agier's studies, the unifying element was occupation of people. In the present case, it is rather interest in correlation with the age of the people. The member of the Red Cross, who manages the accommodation in the *Peterstraße*, explained, that especially adolescents identify themselves with others, with whom they learn German together or with whom they going to the vocational school. Thus, bonding is detached from ethnic and national considerations.

Along these lines, asylum seekers and refugees compensate their cultural nakedness, which was caused by forced displacement. Strong attachment to the home country as well as the creation of identities were the tools used for that.

Importance

Chapter one reflected on the *classic* remote refugee camp per se and found similarities with urban refugee accommodations. This recognition opened doors for the subsequent usage of data stemming from urban accommodations in combination with theoretical assumptions drawn from experiences made in remote refugee camps. Having this clarified, chapter one could proceed and dedicate itself to the examination of the life within refugee accommodations.

The first part explored the social nakedness refugees suffer from. Despite finding some social and political life, being a refugee or asylum seeker means primarily a separation of *zoe* from *bios*. And, as chapter one showed, with that comes along a certain dependency, powerlessness, the feeling of uselessness, and boredom. These topics are going to be important later on and are going to be picked up again while exploring conflict dynamics, more precisely, while talking about frustration, arousal, and aversive conditions in conjunction with violence and aggression in the third and fourth chapter of the thesis.

The second part analyzed cultural nakedness and the troubles with the question of identity. Being a refugee creates a problem considering identity. The chapter above elaborated on the strategies of refugees to overcome this problem, namely through enhanced attachment to the home country as well as the creation of new identities. These findings will be considered again and will play a crucial role within the next chapter, which deals with group formation. Especially the new identities have strong influence regarding the refugees' bonding, belonging and group formation. In this way, anthropological and sociological considerations can be combined with social psychological assumptions in a reasonable fashion, as social psychology will provide the theoretical foundation of chapter two.

Chapter II: Groups and consequences

Introduction

How and in what way groups are formed within refugee accommodations is the main topic of the second chapter of the thesis. It is also designed with the purpose to show between whom conflict may erupt within such settings or which groups may be possible opponents by speaking of hostility.

By talking about conflict and conflict causes, it has to be examined between whom such tensions may arise. The question rises, which potential groups are opposing each other and which lines are drawn when conflicts erupt. That is especially interesting in more or less confined places, like camp settings, as relatively impermeable spaces paired with a very heterogeneous composition of the inhabitants. As broached above, identity plays a major role in group formation, what is now going to be analyzed more in depth. Thereby, social psychology, especially the so called *social identity theory*, can be a helpful tool in order to understand such social mechanisms.

Furthermore, chapter two will go beyond the formation of groups and will also focus on the therefrom resulting consequences, namely the development of resentments such as prejudices, stereotypes and attribution errors.

In this chapter again, qualitative data gathered during the fieldwork in the Nuremberg refugee accommodations will enter the subsequent section. Mainly for illustrative and commentary reasons, the presented theoretical assumptions are going to be tested on the setting of the conducted fieldwork.

1. Group formation and membership

a) Social identity theory

Talking about group formation and social relations in general, the major findings of Henri Tajfel and John Turner (i.e. Tajfel & Turner, 1979; 1986; Turner, 1982) can be encountered. They developed the so called *social identity theory* and the *self-categorization theory* as its extension.

Society consists of individuals, but these in turn are splitting themselves up in social groups and categories with whom they interact and identify with (Finley, 2010, p.427). In this sense, people, as highly social beings, define themselves through group belonging, what can be considered as a human basic need (Baumeister & Leary, 1995), and also draw their identity from that:

“Social categorizations are discontinuous divisions of the social world into distinct classes or categories. Social identification can refer to the process of locating oneself, or another person, within a system of social categorization or, as a noun, to any social categorization used by a person to define him- or herself and others” (Turner, 1982, p.17/18.).

In other words, a person tends to think in boxes, which he labels in one way or another and is assigning people to these boxes or groups on the basis of certain traits and distinctions. Additionally, the person does the same for himself by excluding and including him from categories. The product of all the person’s social identifications equals, what is called his *social identity* (ibid., p.18). Social identity is defined as *“the individual’s knowledge that he belongs to certain groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of the group membership”* (Tajfel, 1972, p.31 cited in Turner, 1982, p.18).

This social identity constitutes a part of the person’s self-concept, or self-description. That includes *“terms that denote one’s membership to various formal and informal social groups, i.e. social categories such as sex, nationality, political affiliation, religion and so on”*, also described as social identity; and *“terms that are more personal in nature and that usually denote specific attributes of the individual, such as bodily attributes, (...), intellectual concerns, personal tastes”*, also described as personal identity (Turner, 1982, p. 18).

The salience of both social identity and personal identity can vary from time to time. *Social identity theory* argues that, at certain times and circumstances, the social identity acts almost without the personal identity and then people extract their self-concept or self-description almost entirely from their group membership (ibid., p.19).

Such group membership leads then consequently to two outcomes. First, it assists the person to orient himself through self-categorization and gives him content and meaning to his identity. Second, it facilitates group members to gain a positive sense of the self, which in turn motivates the person to become a member of such a social group that reflects something positive about himself (Finley, 2010, p.428). This aspiration results from the fact, that people inherently *“strive to develop, maintain and improve a positive social identity”* (De Dreu et al., 2014, p.2). Such a positive social identity, as well as the process of self-stereotyping, is achieved through group comparison. To be able to compare groups,

they have to be established. That happens through thinking in clear terms of *us* and *them*, rather in *I* and *me*, or categorization in a distinct in-group and out-group.

But as highly complex beings, individuals have many traits and attributes, which can constitute different possible in-group memberships. So the question arises, which membership turns out to be the most salient within camp settings. One basic type of how group loyalties are structured is the so called *pyramidal-segmentary type*, what refers to *“the membership of the individual in groups that are, in turn, segments of larger collectivities, so that each individual can correctly regard himself as a member of several units increasing in scope and exclusiveness up to “total society” itself”* (Le Vine & Campbell, 1972, p.43). To organize such a multiple membership, loyalties are ranked, either *parochial* (smaller, low level groups are more salient) or *universalistic* (larger entities have higher significance) (ibid., p.44). Which one is ranked higher depends on the circumstances. Combined with the previously analyzed fact, that a person defines himself through group membership and comparison with other groups, the person will choose the membership *“that will serve to distinguish him from members of other coeval groups at the level in the pyramid that he believes the person he is addressing has in mind”* (ibid., p.45). Edward Evan-Pritchard explains that as follows:

“If one meets an Englishman in Germany and asks him where his home is, he may reply that it is England. If one meets the same man in London and asks him the same question, he will tell one that his home is in Oxfordshire, whereas if one meets him in the county, he will tell one the name of the town or village in which he lives. If questioned in his town or village, he will mention his particular street (...)” (Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p.136 cited in Le Vine & Campbell, 1972, p.45).

Thus being abroad in a refugee situation may lead to a preference of both, rather social identity than personal identity for self-description, and consequently a more universalistic ordering of group memberships. That means, giving more importance and priority to larger entities, like countries or ethnicities, as indicators for group formation. That also fits with the findings above, that larger unifying entities, like home and origin, become more salient in times the own spatial situation gets liminal and unstable.

Additionally, a group formation on the basis of ethnicity and origin may be the faster and easier option in an otherwise chaotic and confusing new setting, that a refugee is thrown into. In this way, they quickly gain a sense of belonging to a distinct and easily recognizable group, which serves as a first orientation in that liminal world. *“Groups give a notion of collective identity that provides a sense of belonging, place and meaning, and this makes individuals feel grounded, connected and distinctive”*

(Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2014, p.65). Thus, as the imagination of home may serve as a *symbolic anchor*, the ethnic or national group, to which the person's membership cannot be questioned, may serve as first *solid anchor* within the new confusing circumstances.

Moreover, social identification and bonding within groups develops a certain group solidarity. This solidarity is expressed by mutual assistance or altruism, which is an intra-group rather than an interpersonal phenomenon, because the needs and goals of a fellow in-group member are perceived as the very own (Turner, 1982, p.31).

b) Fieldwork experience

Both observations and conversations with refugees and asylum seekers clearly showed that distinct groups are formed within the refugee accommodations in Nuremberg. These were formed primarily in connection with the created identities, what speaks for a universalistic ordering of the group memberships of the refugees. So, groups were based on larger entities, like nationality, i.e. the Ethiopians and Ukrainians, and ethnicity. For instance, Arabic groups, including Syrians, Iraqis and Arabic Iranians, or Kurdish groups, containing Kurds from Syria, Northern Iraq (Kurdistan) and Iraq. For the most part, these groups remained amongst themselves, which was confirmed by the social workers. But this could also be easily observed. These groups shaped the image of the accommodations, in the sense, that almost every visible crowd were homogenous groups in the above mentioned compilations.

Likewise, the interviews showed *group thinking* and the used language of the interviewees revealed such a clear division. They always talked in terms of *We* and *They*; *Us* and *Them*, by which the above mentioned groups were meant. Thereby, distinct in-groups and out-groups were formed and a clear pattern of belonging developed. During the interviews the self-description was disentangled from the personal identity and the social identity emphasized. They certainly saw themselves as members of the group and spoke of and about them in comparison with other groups. For instance, "*we are doing it like this; they doing it like that*", and so on.

Group membership and a kind of camaraderie may also be found in the high solidarity between in-group members. This solidarity ranges from borrowing salt from the neighbor to lending someone money, when he is no longer able to support himself or his family. For instance, to be seen on the already reported circumstances of *Yaser A.*, who had to borrow money from a friend within the accommodation because he has not got his payment from the job center for over two months. Without

help, he would not be able to care for himself and his son. This group spirit and willingness to help is even more astonishing if one considers that none of the people there has much to offer and already have struggles to care for themselves. So, even small gestures, like lending salt, has great effect and is highly appreciated by other group members.

One social worker explained me the group formation within the *Tillystraße*. For refugees, the *Tillystraße* constitutes oftentimes the first stop in Germany. To this time the refugees are very nervous and stressed. Everything is new, uncertain and they are not very well acquainted with the situation and what is coming next. Thus, they stay together as a group, which represents at least a minimal familiar setting or a first *solid anchor* serving as a place of retreat from which the new world can be scouted. Thereby, the group constitutes *a refuge within the refuge*. This is probably not only the case in the *Tillystraße*. Because the uncertainty is not vanishing, this familiar group, or this collective identity, is needed during the long asylum process and follows the refugee further on to other stations by remaining his or her *anchor*.

The sovereign may also contribute to group building. With best intentions in the planning of the sovereign, the refugees are often distributed to the rooms or chambers on the basis of their nationality or ethnicity. The social workers intend to give thereby the refugee this very anchor through familiar habits, language and lifestyle. For instance, in the *Tillystraße*, language was a major factor regarding the distribution of the refugees. The group dynamics are reinforced by that. So it happened that in the *Schloßstraße* partially almost whole floors, or at least several rooms next to each other, were occupied by people of the same nationality or ethnicity. That also reflects the wishes of several asylum seekers, who asked for sharing a room with their friends, which turned out to be almost entirely persons of the same nationality or ethnicity.

One major aspect regarding group formation is language. Grouping together was also based on the fact of speaking the same language. Because many asylum seekers only speak their language and have no sufficient knowledge of English, they more or less have to stay within their national or ethnic group. So, the first barrier built between national and ethnic groups is the language barrier. That especially isolated the Ethiopians and the Ukrainians, but also all other groups in general. That makes inter-group contact difficult and augments the prevailing group ordering. Many interviewees also identified this language barrier as one major point why they have little contact with other groups. But it would be too easy to make only the language barriers responsible for the group formation as it is. That would, for instance, not explain the separation of Kurds and Arabs in different groups, because many Kurds are able to speak Arabic. So, language constitutes an important factor, but is not sufficient to explain group formation in general.

But also political issues may influence group building within the accommodation. The formation of the Kurds has surely also political influences as well as speaking about Syrians. As *Obada A.* informed me, Syrians are not only separated between Syrians and Kurds from Syria, but also between political camps. So you can find *Assad* supporters but also supporters of the so called *rebels*, which in turn are building separated groups.

Summarized, a lot of factors have to receive attention while speaking about group formation. But clearly, group building is highly connected with the before analyzed creation of identity within the accommodation. So groups are often built upon national or ethnic origins. But also language, distribution and political issues has to be taken into account, which mostly serve as reinforcement of the already formed groups.

This group building also leads to reduced contact and minimal social exchange. Most interviewees stated that they have more or less contact and conversations merely with people of their own in-group. A *hello* in the shared kitchen is often the only interaction between these established groups, as the interviewed people stated. Here, inter alia, the language barrier has enormous influence. So, language is not only a factor for uniting people, but also to hinder inter-group contact. For example, *Mohammed M.* explained, that he has little to no contact with other groups, particularly not with the Ukrainians. He identified language problems as the reason, because he is not able to communicate with them.

This group formation has now certain consequences, like growing prejudices and stereotypes, to which the next section will turn.

2. Resentments as consequence

a) Prejudices, stereotypes and attribution error

The distinct formation of groups and with that categorization, plus the comparison because of the strive for a positive social identity, leads to in-group favoritism, or also called in-group bias, which is the “*tendency to favor the in-group over the out-group in evaluation and behavior*” (Austin & Worchel, 1979, p.38); and causes out-group derogation what is fertile ground for prejudices and stereotyping:

“A positive social identity is achieved by, first of all, in-group favoritism. One emphasizes the positive features and characteristics, of one’s own group. To some extent, a positive social identity is also achieved through out-group derogation: one downplays the positive features and characteristics, and emphasizes the negative features and characteristics, of relevant comparison groups” (De Dreu et al., 2014, p.2).

According to the *categorization theory*, categorizing includes an inductive and a deductive aspect. Deduction means, *“a person is assigned some attribute on the basis of his category membership”* and induction refers to the *“assignment to a category of some attribute perceived to characterize an exemplary member”* (Turner, 1982, p.28). Simply put, inductive categorization is the claim that one alleged group member behaves as it is expected from the behavior of his group. *He is a member of group A, thus he has attribute number one and two.* In turn, deductive categorization is, that the behavior of one group member is inferred to all other alleged group members. *He has attribute number one and two, thus all members of group A, like him, have attribute number one and two.* In circumstances where the social group membership is salient, the processes of categorization are enhanced, as Tajfel’s *categorization law* implies:

“As category membership becomes salient, there will be a tendency to exaggerate the differences on criterial dimensions between individuals falling into distinct categories, and to minimize these differences within each of these categories” (Turner, 1982, p.28).

In this sense, categorization shares many features with generalization, what in turn is connected with prejudices, which is defined by Gordon Allport as *“an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization (...) directed toward a group as a whole or toward an individual because he is a member of that group”* (Allport, 1954, p.9 cited in Cuhadar & Dayton, 2011, p.276). Prejudices are taking shape in three ways, namely in cognitive structures and processes (i.e. beliefs and stereotypes), affects (negative feelings) and behaviors (social distance, discrimination and violence) (Cuhadar & Dayton, 2011, p.276).

So, from categorization, it is only a small step to the creation of stereotypes, as they are *“an exaggerated belief associated with a category”* (Tajfel, 2001, p.134). For social groups, stereotypes then can serve three psychological functions, namely social causality, justification and differentiation:

“It appears, from all these sources, that outgroup social stereotypes tend to be created and widely diffused in conditions which require: (a) a search for the understanding of complex, and usually distressful, large-scale social events; (b) justification of actions, committed or planned against outgroups; (c) a positive differentiation of the ingroup from selected outgroups at a time when such differentiation is perceived as becoming insecure and eroded” (Tajfel, 2001, p.140).

In the end, stereotyping leads to a “*homogenization and depersonalization*” of the members of the outgroup, only measured on their shared category characteristics and not perceived as individuals (Turner, 1982, p.28). That is what Herbert Blumer calls the “*abstract group*” (Blumer, 1958). But in-groups do not only link out-groups with certain stereotypes. They also attach rather negative than positive attributes and goals to the outgroup, what *attribution theory* describes as *fundamental attribution error*: “*the tendency of people to overemphasize dispositional, or personality-based, explanations for behaviors observed in others, while underemphasizing the role and power of situational influences on the same behavior*” (Korostelina, 2007, p.139). That fits to the desire of a positive social identity through out-group derogation, as positive characteristics are internalized and negative characteristics externalized and projected onto the out-group (ibid., p.139/140).

b) Fieldwork experience

As already analyzed, within the Nuremberg accommodations prevail a clear separation and thinking in groups. That consequently leads to certain stereotypes and prejudices, always on group level rather than individual level. It occurs a strong generalization and with that homogenization of the groups. For instance, Yaser A. does not want to have contact with other groups in general: “*They have a different mindset; their ways of thinking are too different*”. Besides general antipathy, it can also be found directed resentments against groups. Especially Farsi Iranians, Ukrainians and Kurds are often exposed to stereotypes. For example, Obada A. about Kurds: “*They think differently. They want to split up our country. They are very well capable of speaking Arabic, but as soon as somebody passes by a group of Kurds in the aisle, they switch to Kurdish that nobody understands them.*” But many interviewees were not that open to speak about their stereotypes and prejudices as Obada A. did. Oftentimes, they made clear that they dislike certain groups, but did not articulate reasons for that. Such as Tahir. As response to the question, if he has other friends than Ethiopians within the accommodation, he just gave a derogatory gesture and was not further explaining himself.

Again, also language may be a reason for creating resentments, as, for instance, *Mohammed A.* expressed. After implying with certain gestures that he dislikes Iranians and especially Ukrainians he just gave the answer: “*They are not willing to learn German*”.

One incident is enlightening while talking about stereotypes, which occurred approximately two weeks before my arrival. A group of Ukrainians were apparently not satisfied with how *other* people are using the shared toilets in the *Schloßstraße*. They were quick to accuse the Arab inhabitants (by which they meant everybody originating from the Middle East) as the culprits of the dirty sanitary facilities. Because of that, they pinned notes on the doors, which explained how *Arabs* should use the toilets in a proper way. That humiliated the addressed and caused annoyance amongst them. That incident shows clearly the stereotypical and prejudice afflicted thinking of the *pinner*s, which was expressed in a deductive form of categorization. Maybe one person, identified as a member of that group, was made responsible for the pollution. That was then in a generalizing fashion automatically transferred to the group level, in the sense, that all members of that out-group behaving like that. In this incident, also all three psychological functions of stereotypes can be identified. The *pinner*s (a) find an easy explanation for the partly unfavorable circumstances within the accommodation, (b) justify their humiliating action against the *Arabs* and (c) positively differentiate themselves from the perceived *dirty Arabs*. In accordance with *attribution theory*, with that, they attach the negative attribution (*Arabs* do not generally know how to use toilets/bathrooms properly; they are dirty people) to the out-group and make dispositional factors responsible for that and underemphasize possible situational influences, like over usage of the toilets, insufficient cleaning measures or age of the facilities.

Importance

The second chapter of the paper focused on how groups are established within refugee accommodations and how categorical thinking may lead to the creation of prejudices, stereotypes as well as attribution errors. It showed on which lines conflict may erupt, namely on group lines, which formation was highly influenced by the created new identities of the inhabitants. But also language, distribution and political issues influenced the group building. Additionally, it can be noted that inter-group contact was reduced to a minimum within the refugee accommodation, what in turn offered a fertile ground for the establishment of resentments against the perceived out-group.

Chapter two's importance for the further course of the thesis will be fully comprehensible, while talking about conflict dynamics within the following chapter. The formed groups are constituting the starting points of the *4-C Model* as well as the *5-C Model of Identity Based Conflict*. These are the lines conflict may erupt, induced through several reasons, which are analyzed in the following.

Chapter III: Conflict dynamics

Introduction

The next chapter of the paper commences with the question, if the heterogeneous accommodation setting is sufficient enough to create a competitive and hostile environment, which then in turn leads automatically to tensions or even violence between people or groups of people. To answer this questions, it is again *social identity theory*, what is going to be used, especially what the theory can say about the emergence of conflict. But also the so called *realistic conflict theory* may help with that, which, at first glance, looks exactly contradictory to the former one.

Further on, chapter three will show how these two theories may be combined, which is going to be exemplified by introducing the *4-C Model of Identity Based Conflict*. This model was conceptualized in order to deliver a possible approach how conflictual situations may erupt. But not fully fitting to the topic of the thesis, the model has to be altered. The focus lies thereby on the triggers of confrontation, and what role frustration, stress and arousal plays in the creation of aggression and violence and what conditions and aversive cues may be responsible for such negative feelings.

Moreover, the concept of displacement is going to be introduced, which is helpful to understand why conflict occurs between certain established groups.

Everything above combined will result in the end of the chapter in the development of the so called *5-C Model of Identity Based Conflict*, as the adjusted model to understand and explain conflictual behavior within refugee accommodations.

1. Social identity, conflict, and primordial accounts

Social identity theory takes the view, that merely social categorization leads to discrimination (Hewstone & Greenland, 2000, p.137). Thus, solely the presence of the out-group foments competitive and discriminatory responses from the in-group (Austin & Worchel, 1979, p.38; Billig, 1976). Competition in the sense, that people also favor the in-group regarding the distribution of goods and resources, which Tajfel and colleagues showed in a study. Within the study, groups were formed

randomly by the researchers. Afterwards, participants had to distribute rewards between pairs of other participants. The results unveiled the tendency, that (unknown) in-group members were given higher rewards than (unknown) out-group members (Hewstone & Greenland, 2000, p.137). In the authors' opinion, this *unfair* distribution, based on social identity, may in turn lead to conflict. Or as Karsten De Dreu et al. put it:

“Through positive social identity striving, groups and their members indirectly (through in-group favoritism) and directly (through out-group derogation) deprive out-groups of a positive social identity, of respectful and fair treatment, and of (access to) scarce resources. Social identity striving, in short, promotes intergroup conflict” (De Dreu et al., 2014, p.3).

Following the assumption of *social identity theory* would mean, that dynamics like group formation, in-group favoritism and out-group derogation have sufficient potential to create tensions, which may lead to conflict, or at least favor conflict situations. Taking now the situation within the refugee accommodation, that would mean that merely the presence of different nationalities and ethnicities, which are the factors around groups are built there, is enough to create inter-group conflict, hence inter-ethnic conflict. This inference brings to mind *primordial* accounts of ethnic strife.

For *primordialists* (inter alia Shils, 1957; Geertz, 1973) ethnic differences are ancestral and irreconcilable (Esteban et al., 2012, p. 859) and thus, ethnic conflicts are established because of long standing “*ancient hatreds*” (Toft, 2003, p.7). That would mean, ethnic strife is inevitable, especially within heterogeneous societies, which are then condemned to get involved in ethnic conflict: “*The primordial approach stresses that a salient social identity provokes conflict intentions and leads to violence*” (Korostelina, 2007, p.146/147). But such a conclusion does not explain why mixed societies have been living together peacefully since centuries, or why ethnic conflict occur at certain times after friendly co-habitation. Moreover, some studies revealed, that ethnic conflict is not more likely in diverse countries than in homogeneous ones (i.e. Wimmer et al., 2009).

So, *primordialism* as well as *social identity theory* can be seen as rather irrational explanations of conflict and are more value based accounts for tensions between groups. At first sight, contradictory to those are interest based explanations of conflict. Speaking about *primordialism*, that would be *instrumentalist* and *constructivist* accounts and regarding *social identity theory* that would be *realistic conflict theory*.

2. Realistic conflict theory and a combination of both

For proponents of *realistic conflict theory* (inter alia Brewer, 1979; Le Vine & Campbell, 1972; Sherif, 1966) merely the existence of distinct groups is not enough to create hostility. For them, “*group conflicts are rational in the sense that groups do have incompatible goals and are in competition for scarce resources*” (Campbell, 1965, p.287). That makes the source of conflict *realistic* rather than value based (Hewstone & Greenland, 2000, p.137). The most relevant premises of this theory includes: (a) inter-group conflict increases as perceived competition for resources increases; (b) the greater the in-group threat and conflict, the more hostility is expressed toward the source of the threat; and (c) when competition over resources is present, proximity increases inter-group hostility rather decreases it (Esses et al., 1998, p.701). For that, it does not require actual competition. Just the perception of resource competition is sufficient for creating inter-group conflict (ibid., p.701).

Moreover, *realistic conflict theory* states, that in-group prejudices become stronger when goals and interests are in opposition (Korostelina, 2007, p.139).

Realistic conflict theory was developed to explain group tensions on larger levels, like rival camps within states, who fight over interests such as power, influence or control over land or resources. Nevertheless, the theory has much to say about and may also be possible to apply to small scale environments, like, in the present case, refugee accommodations. For that, interests and resource competition have to be interpreted in a broader sense. Therefore, interests can cover everything from basic need satisfaction up to getting asylum applications granted. Additionally, resources can be scarce in the sense, that everything has to be shared and shortages may occur. To create competitive situations, the interests and goals, whatever they might be, have to be in a state of interdependence. If they are completely independent from each other, no conflict would arise (Deutsch, 2000 b, p.22/23).

As contradictory *social identity theory* and *realistic conflict theory* may seem, they both share similar aspects and may even be considered jointly. Both theories argue that misconceptions about the out-group are developed, what accentuate inter-group differences (Fisher, 2000, p.171). These misconceptions, which stem from both social identity and *real* conflict of interest, are often appearing together. Thus, in conflict, affect-laden identities and unequal positions and interests defined along those group boundaries are associated (Cuhadar & Dayton, 2011, p.276).

Social identity can fill in the gap of maintenance and development of group identity (Austin & Worchel, 1979, p.33,34). That was originally the idea behind the construction of the theory. *Social identity theory* should complement rather than replace *realistic conflict theory*, by highlighting group identification (Brief et al.,2005, p.831).

Jay Rothman (1997) argues, that the difference between identity based and interest based conflict is not clear: *“all identity conflicts contain interest conflicts; not all interest conflicts contain identity conflicts”* (Rothman, 1997, p.11 cited in Korostelina, 2007, p.146).

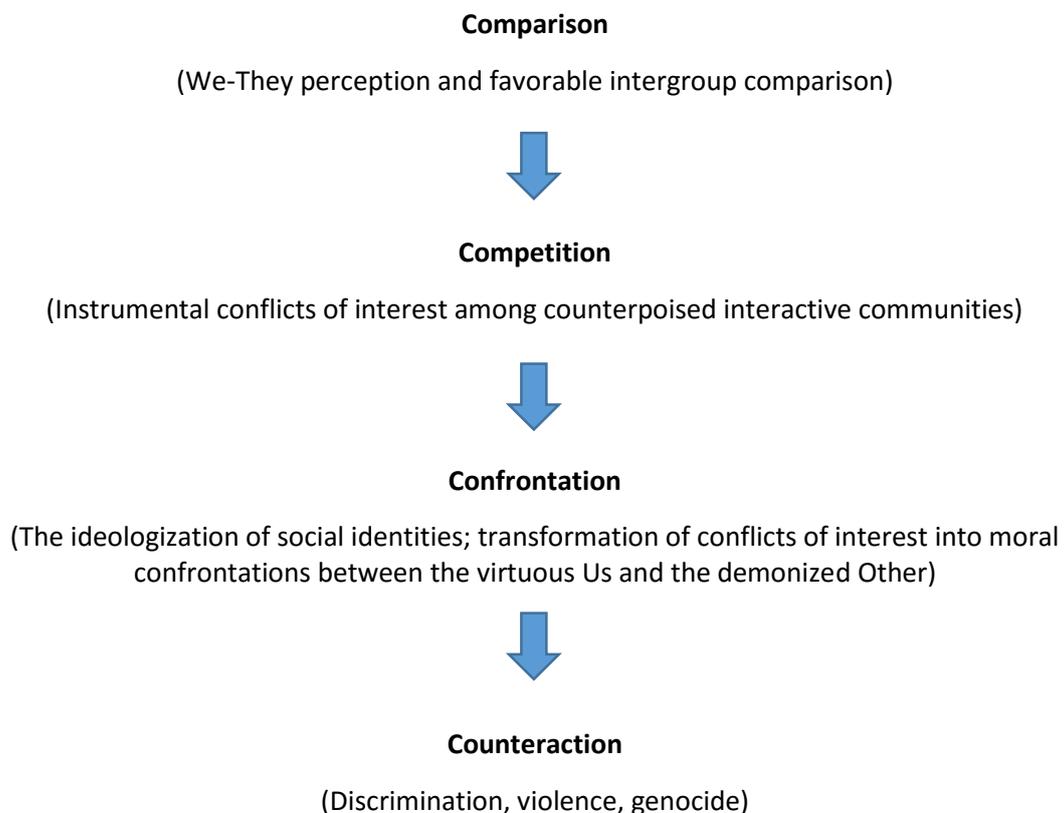
That both can go hand in hand and should preferably be considered together shows a study about the readiness of conflict behavior with Russian and Crimean Tatarian participants. The study reveals that both theories are not competitive and should be combined, but can give explanations for slightly different issues:

“Results show that explanations derived from social identity theory and realistic conflict theory are not necessarily competitive, but should be combined to understand the dynamics of group-intergroup evaluations, discrimination, and conflict. Group members on the one hand react on the basis of salient ingroup identity and on the other hand on the basis of interests. However, the readiness to fight against the outgroup goals is only an effect of interest, reflected in the attachment to the ingroup goals. Therefore, the salience of identity contributes only to the readiness to fight for ingroup goals and does not influence the readiness to fight against outgroup goals. So, the assumption of social identity theory that salient ingroup identity leads to intergroup conflict is only partly correct and cannot be extended to fighting against outgroups” (Korostelina, 2007, p.160/161).

How both theories can work together shows convincingly the so called *4-C Modell of Identity Based Conflict*. In consideration of some alterations, the now introduced model will subsequently serve as the foundation for the development of a model this paper proposes in order to give insights how conflict dynamics may look like within refugee accommodations.

3. 4-C Model of Identity Based Conflict

The *4-C Model of Identity Based Conflict* shows how a salient social identity and *real* interests have mutually effects on each other. The scheme, developed by Karina Korostelina (2007, p.147), can be summarized as follows:



The model was conceptualized in order to explain conflict in large-scale settings like wars and civil wars in nation-states. After a short summary the next section takes Korostelina's model as foundation and adapt it more fitting for smaller-scale situation as discussed in this paper. The model also identifies important instrumental traits, which are omitted here, due to reasons of relevance and scope of the paper.

The starting point forms the *comparison* of two or more groups, or as Korostelina describes it, the *We-They perception* (2007, p.147/148). For that, the assumptions of *social identity theory* can be taken. As already presented, a salient social identity favors a distinct formation of groups based on certain traits, which in turn are comparing each other to gain a positive social identity. With that comes in-group favoritism and out-group derogation, which serves as fertile ground for creating prejudices and stereotypes. But, following the model, that is not sufficient to create conflict between groups. In accordance with *realistic conflict theory*, a competitive environment has to be present regarding interdependent goals and interests. At the stage of counteractions, such a conflict of interests will consequently lead to a polarization of the groups and to increased importance of one social category (Korostelina, 2007, p. 150). At this point a transformation occurs from conflict of interest to conflict of identity. Now the previously created misconceptions about the out-group are solidified and become more salient. That concludes in the perception of “*positive We – negative They*” (ibid, 2007, p.152). This situation now can turn into conflict behavior and violence:

“Once a society has become divided into antagonistic groups, social identities become a cause of confrontation among groups competing not just for material advantage, but also for the defense of their security, beliefs, values and worldview that serve as the basis for ingroup identity” (Korostelina, 2007, p.152).

To explain conflict dynamics within refugee accommodations, the *4-C Model* has to be altered and thereby extended. Competition is not sufficient enough to cause a transformation from interest to identity based conflict within such a setting. Competition is going to be supplemented by what is called here conditions or circumstances. Therefore, inter alia frustration, arousal, stress and aversive cues and conditions are taken into consideration. Consequently, the later proposed model may look like the following: comparison – competition and **conditions** – confrontation – counteraction.

How competition, conditions and circumstances may pave the way for group confrontation and aggressive behavior is now analyzed in greater detail.

4. Triggers of confrontation

a) Frustration and aggression

According to the groundbreaking work of John Dollard and his colleagues (1939), aggression is linked to frustration in their so called *frustration-aggression hypothesis*. Frustration can be defined here as “the blocking of a sequence of goal directed behaviors” (Geen, 1990, p.32). They argued, frustration is both a necessary and sufficient condition for aggressive behavior (Jost & Mentovich, 2010, p.290) and, by that, they built up a causal relation between these two. In their view, aggression always presupposes the existence of frustration and, vice versa, frustration always leads to some sort of aggressive behavior (Dollard et al., 1939, p.338).

Despite being criticized for its over generalization, the *frustration-aggression hypothesis* has still its validity. But nowadays, it is not seen as the overarching explanation for aggressive behavior. Research showed that also other issues have influence on that, like valued ends, obedience or as reaction to horrible acts (Geen, 1990, p.33). However, although limited in its explanation potential, the correlation of frustration with aggression is insightful and can help to explain aggressive behavior to some degree.

Especially Leonard Berkowitz (inter alia 1962, 1969) is worth mentioning in this context, because of the author’s thoughts regarding the correlation of frustration and aggression. He proposes a reformulation, that frustration does not necessarily lead to aggression, rather it depends on to what degree feelings of frustration can generate increased arousal (Geen, 1990, p.35). Moreover, he recognizes the role of situational factors, in the sense, that frustration *just* produces a readiness to act aggressively and, for bursting out, it needs “*appropriate environmental cues*” or “*releasers*” (Alcock, 2001, p.603). Besides that, Berkowitz (1983, 1989) additionally sees *negative effect* responsible for the connection of frustration and aggression. That is the unpleasant feeling elicited by aversive conditions (Geen, 1990, p.38).

Research in psychology established a causal relation between stress and aggression (Sprague et al., 2011). Stress has influence on aggression because it triggers behavior, produces stimulus overload and creates negative feelings like annoyance, irritability and discomfort (Felson, 1992, p.2). That and Berkowitz’s *negative effect* in mind, Russel Geen (1990) expands the frustration – aggression relationship. He argues that, “*any significant change for the worse in a person’s situation may be sufficiently aversive to cause increased stress and arousal, and that the arousal thus engendered may activate and energize aggressive responses*” (Geen, 1990, p.38). That means, negative life chances may create such unpleasant feelings and stress, what in turn may trigger aggressive behavior. In Geen’s

opinion, this approach has the advantage to explain aggression from different standpoints and opens it up for other possible antecedents, inter alia environmental conditions (ibid, p.38).

Thus, frustration, stress, arousal, and significant life changes for the worse may trigger aggressive behavior. The following mentions a few aversive conditions, which create and reinforce such unpleasant feelings and may be interesting with regard to refugee accommodations and the refugee situation. While not claiming completeness and exclusiveness, all the following points are summarized in short and shall give an overview about important conditions relevant for the topic of the paper.

b) Aversive cues and conditions

One aversive condition may be a competitive surrounding. As competitive behavior occurs when only scarce resources are available, the fair distribution of these resources is of great importance. Thus, there is clearly a connection between competition and justice respectively equality.

Regarding justice, two types can be identified with relevance for this paper. First, procedural justice, which is “concerned with fair treatment in making and implementing the decisions that determine the outcome” (Deutsch, 2000 c, p.41). In other words, it touches the issue, if the procedures, which determine certain aspects of the people’s lives, are perceived as fair, intelligible and transparent. Second, distributive justice, “which is concerned with the criteria that lead you to feel you receive a fair outcome” (ibid, p.41). Thereby, people assess, if the distribution of the scarce resources follows clear rules, by which everybody gets his or her fair and equal share.

If people think they are exposed to perceived unfair treatment, both distributional and procedural, they feel grievance and deprivation. That is what Ted Gurr (1970) describes as *relative deprivation*; a “tension that develops from a discrepancy between the ought and the is” (Gurr, 1970, p.23), means people do not get what they deserve, at least in their perception:

“Relative deprivation which is defined as actors’ perception of discrepancy between their value expectations and their value capacities. Value expectations are the goods and conditions of life to which people believe they are rightfully entitled. Value capabilities are the goods and conditions they think they are capable of getting and keeping” (ibid, p.24).

The feeling of deprivation through perceived unfair treatment in a competitive situation leads consequently to stress, arousal and creates a frustrating environment.

Regarding *relative deprivation*, Gurr does not only refer to unequal treatment. People also feel a form of deprivation regarding the un-fulfillment of what they are capable of, so to speak, the disparity between aspiration and achievement (Murshed & Tadjoeeddin, 2009, p.97). If people think they are capable of doing and being more, it can be a very frustrating situation when people are thwarted and are not experiencing any progress.

Aversive conditions may also be physical environmental conditions (Geen, 1990, p. 56/80). Because possibilities are oftentimes limited to escape the physical environmental stressors, they can lead to chronic stress, which leads to feelings of helplessness and diminishes the perception of control over the situation (Pahlavan & Arouss, 2016, p.54).

There is an established tradition of relating unpleasant high temperatures with exaggerated aggressive tendencies (Anderson, 1989, p.74). But a heated debate subsequently erupted in the literature, as to whether there is a clear connection between heat and aggression. There is a common agreement that heat activates drastic reactions. The contentious issue is, if heat leads more to aggressive behavior or rather triggers escape. For instance, Paul Bell and Robert Baron argue, that aggression increases up to a point with increasing discomfort but then declines and the motivation to escape the situation becomes more dominant than motivation to aggress (Baron & Bell, 1976 cited in Bell, 1992, p.342). But for that, the possibility to escape has to be given. In this context, Geen elaborates, that people may get really uncomfortable in hot settings, where escape is not a realistic choice. In such situations heat and aggression may have a stronger connection (Geen, 1990, p.62).

Moreover, noise can have an influence regarding aggression. Noise contributes to aggression, in the way, that noise serves as intensifier by reducing the frustration tolerance of people (Geen, 1990, p.65). Thus, noise more or less reinforces the readiness for aggressive responses by reducing the person's ability to cope with the already tense situation. Therefore, the influence of noise again depends on how much the person is in control over the noisy situation (Krahe, 2001, p.86).

Crowding may also influence hostile behavior. Crowding is the subjective perception of people, whereas population density refers to the physical concept of numbers of persons per space unit (Krahe, 2001, p.86). Crowding occurs when an individual gets less space than is desired (Walden et al., 1981, p.207). Research concludes that crowding correlates with the readiness for aggression by creating negative effect and arousal, and that men tend to be more aggressive in crowded situation than women (see also Walden et al., 1981):

“Experimental evidence suggests that the aggression-enhancing effect of crowding is mediated by negative effected arousal elicited by the subjective perception by spatial constraint. Furthermore, it seems that men are more responsive to crowding than women in terms of aggressive behavior” (Krahe, 2001, p.86).

Especially intruding personal space may give people the feeling of crowdedness. The penetration of the personal space results in discomfort, arousal and the longing for the reestablishment of acceptable distance (Geen, 1990, p.72). This can create serious problems in places of confinement, as observed in prisons:

“One of the most important “pains of imprisonment” inmates suffer is the severe constraint on their personal space. The prison experience involves forced, largely unwanted interaction with other inmates in an environment in which escape from this interaction is all but impossible (...) However, in prisons that utilize open dormitories (...) there is no escape because interaction is forced twenty-four hours a day” (Leger, 1988, p.167).

Crowding often comes along with secondary effects, which influence the well-being. By reducing the personal space of people to a minimum, fundamental needs may not be fully satisfied. For instance, sleep deprivation may occur in situations where a lot of people have to share rooms or the like. Sleep deprivation produces negative effects, can lead to loss of self-control, creates problems in decision making and mood regulation, and increases the tendency to blame other people for problems (Kahn-Greene et al., 2006).

General belief suggests a clear link between alcohol and aggression. Indeed, research recognized alcohol as a risk factor regarding domestic violence and group violence, such as rioting and vandalism (Krahe, 2001, p.70). However, no causal or direct link could be established between alcohol and aggressive behavior. Alcohol is rather responsible for a lack of impulse control and lowering a person’s

frustration level, which can indirectly lead to violence. Thus, aggression in conjunction with violence requires the presence of certain situational features, such as provocation or prior frustration (ibid, p.70; see also Gustafson, 1985).

Under certain circumstances, former witnessing and exposure to violence may also result in aggressive behavior in forms of psychological illnesses, especially post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Besides depression, social reclusion, a sense of guilt and suicidal attitude, the main symptoms of PTSD include impulsiveness, hyper-arousal, violence and aggression (Bagic & Bagic, 2002, p.624):

“People suffering from PTSD are not able to move on and rebuild their lives, suffering the lingering oppression of their exposure to violence. Numbing and dissociation constitute psychological defenses against the devastating effects of systematic violence. But the dissociation of the feelings associated with traumatic events leads to aggressive and impulsive behavior that cannot be controlled” (Cottam et al., 2006, p.29).

Thus, a person’s reactions after traumatic events can be either depression and apathy, or in some situations extreme arousal as far as uncontrolled violent and aggressive behavior towards him- or herself or others.

The above illustrates some conditions, which favor aggressive responses to unpleasant settings. Frustration, stress, changes to the worse and all the mentioned aversive conditions may lead to aggressive actions by creating a very uncomfortable environment for people. But hostility is not the necessary consequence, e.g. also lethargy may be a consequence or with that related, the well documented *dependency syndrome* among refugees (Turner, 2010; Horst, 2006). It depends on how much the person is in control over the situation and what alternatives to aggression are available, such as escape and other coping strategies. Frustration mostly occurs because of the feeling of helplessness and inability to change the aversive situation. If then no other means are available to handle the stressful setting, violence and aggression may be the last resort. Additionally, drugs and mental illnesses may function as amplifiers, but do not constitute independent conditions for aggression. Moreover, only the combination of two or more factors often have the ability to create such an unpleasant environment for people to create hostile behavior. All the more are present, the alternatives to aggression are diminished and hostile behavior becomes more likely.

5. Displacement

Frustration and pent-up anger has to be released, what gives then the person a kind of satisfaction. Aggressive acts are reducing the anger of the person, whether or not the level of frustration is reduced. If the frustration continues, aggression is likely to occur again (Gurr, 1970, p.34). It gives the person a certain “*cathartic relief once the aggression has been released*” (Jost & Mentovich, 2010, p.291).

Aggression is logically directed at the perpetrator of frustration and unpleasant circumstances. But sometimes it is impossible to take action against him or them. May it be because the agent of frustration is amorphous, indeterminate, too powerful or unavailable (Vaughan & Hogg, 2014, p.351/352). Then the aggression may be displaced at people or groups, which have nothing to do with the uncomfortable circumstances in the first place. The suitable out-group for displacement has visibility and can be easily distinguished from the in-group through, for example, customs, skin-color etc. (Le Vine & Campbell, 1972, p.120). In this way, groups may serve as *scapegoats* against which prejudices are already established: “*it is socially undesirable to behave violently towards others in the absence of justification, but prejudicial attitudes can be used to justify (or rationalize) the expression of hostility*” (Jost & Mentovich, 2010, p.291). Thus, through displacement all three already mentioned psychological functions of stereotypes come into play, namely causality, justification and differentiation (Tajfel, 2001, p.140). The unpleasant circumstances can be easily explained, aggressive actions against the stereotyped out-group are justified and the own in-group is clearly differentiated.

6. 5 C-Model of Identity Based Conflict

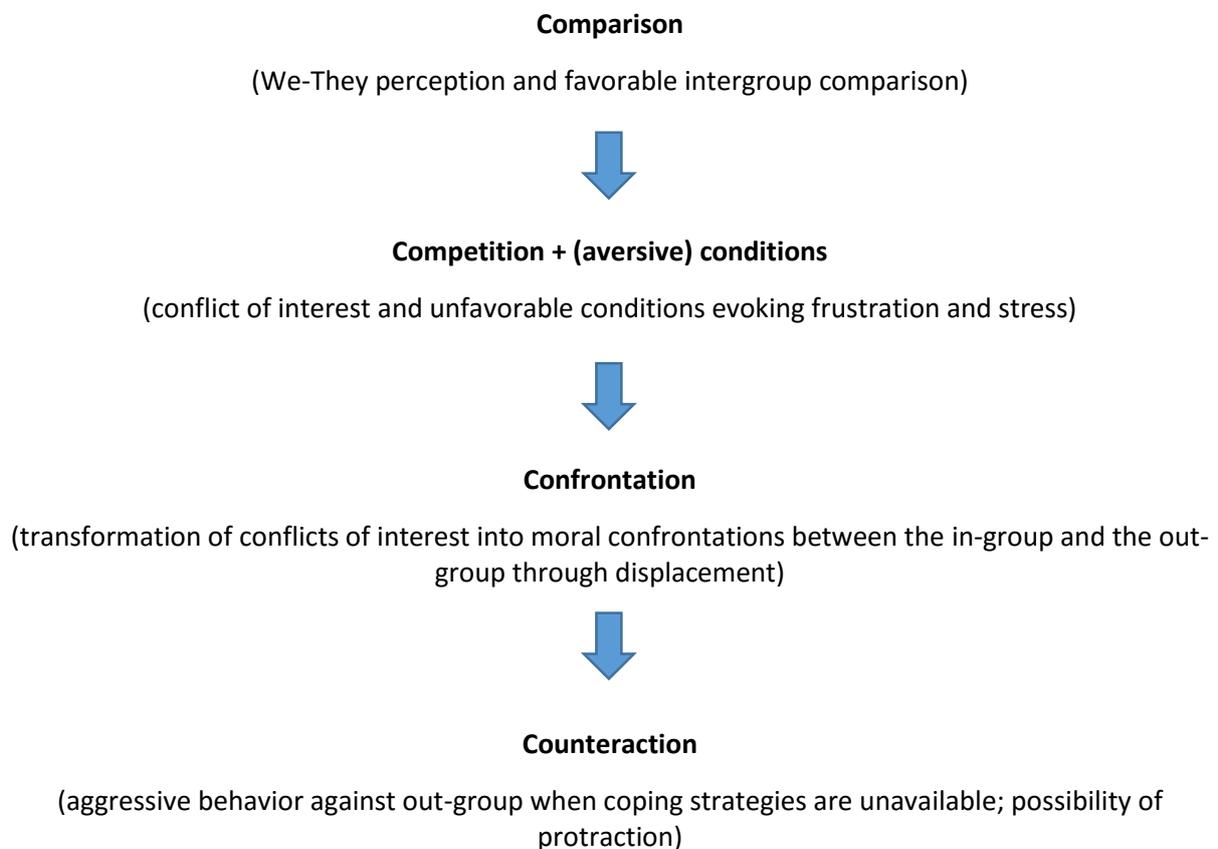
To explain conflict dynamics within refugee camps and accommodations, a model is now going to be proposed, which constitute an alteration of Korostelina’s *4-C Model of Identity Based Conflict* (2007, p.147), by adding another C, namely (*aversive*) *conditions*. What follows is a short introduction of the model, which is going to be illustrated more in detail afterwards.

In accordance with the original model, the initial point is *comparison*. That means, the presence of two or more distinct groups within the accommodation, which compare each other and which harboring certain prejudices and stereotypes against each other. These groups are also in a competitive

relationship, in the way, that they are sharing limited space and scarce resources, which leads in accordance with *realistic conflict theory* to a conflict of interest. But that is not sufficient enough to create tension between groups in this particular setting. Also present unpleasant circumstances, in the form of aversive conditions play a part in the creation of confrontation between the groups. Concerning refugee accommodations, some of these circumstances are negative life changes, frustration, arousal, and stress evoked through deprivation and physical environmental conditions, such as heat, noise and crowding. The feelings of frustration and stress are also reinforced through alcohol use and psychological illnesses, especially PTSD. Through frustration and stress induced anger is then displaced at the group, which is already labeled with certain prejudices and stereotypes. The perception of "*Positive-We – Negative-They*" (Korostelina, 2007, p.156) is created respectively reinforced. In this way a transformation occurs from rather interest based conflict accompanied by competition and aversive conditions to more identity and value based conflict. Now the traits on which group formation are based become more salient and constitute the lines conflict in the form of aggressive and violent action may erupt, if no suitable coping strategies are available.

When conflict burst out, protraction is possible, that means conflict can perpetuate itself through certain processes. Those can be *self-fulfilling prophecies* and *autistic hostilities*, summarized by Morten Deutsch (2000 b, p.26): the former describes the process "*wherein you engage in hostile behavior toward another because of a false assumption that the other has done or is preparing to do something harmful to you*"; which lead to hostile self-engagement what in turn provokes the other. This can escalate in mutually reinforcing *self-fulfilling prophecies*, called *folie a deux*. The latter involves breaking up contact and communication with the effect, that possible misunderstandings and misjudgments cannot be resolved.

Condensed, the proposed model looks like the following:



The presented model contradicts *primordial* and *social identity theory* assumptions, in the way, that the mere presence of in-group and out-group is not sufficient to create conflict and violence between them. Indeed, social identity helps to explain the formation of groups and the creation of prejudices and stereotypes, but as the study about the readiness to fight of Russians and Crimean Tatars showed, it cannot explain the fighting against out-groups (Korostelina, 2007, p.160/161). For that, more *realistic* reasons are influential, as *realistic conflict theory* predicts. Still not enough, the model includes environmental and situational factors, which influence the readiness to act aggressively against the out-group. Thus, a comprehensive picture is established, showing the merger of social identity traits, *realistic* reasons for conflict, and situational factors, which all contribute to the creation of an aversive environment, where aggressive behavior may burst out.

Importance

Chapter three states, that merely heterogeneous settings are not sufficient to create conflictual tensions. Rather more *realistic* sources of conflict have to come into play, as *realistic conflict theory* assumes.

The section also claims, that *social identity theory* and *realistic conflict theory* can work simultaneously as it was exemplified on Korostelina's *4-C Model*. This model was then utilized as the foundation for the creation of the conceptualized *5-C Model of Identity Based Conflict* in order to fit best with respect to the topic of the thesis.

Thereby, triggers of confrontation were in the center of attention. Especially the connection between frustration and aggression. In conclusion, it can be said, that frustration, stress, arousal, and significant life changes for the worse have the potential to trigger aggressive behavior. Moreover, some relevant aversive conditions were presented, which may inter alia be responsible to create or reinforce such unpleasant feelings. In this context, it was particularly stressed, that besides justice and the feeling of deprivation, also physical environmental conditions such as heat, noise and crowding, can contribute to the creation of unpleasant and conflict inducing surroundings. Additionally, the influence of alcohol and mental illnesses were taken into account.

Next, the *5-C Model* is applied to refugee accommodations supplemented by former research and insights acquired through the conducted fieldwork.

Chapter IV: Conflict dynamics within refugee accommodations: application of the 5-C Model of Identity Based Conflict

Introduction

After conceptualizing the *5-C Model* in chapter three, the model is now going to be applied to refugee accommodations within chapter four. Step by step, the model is going to be played through, beginning with the comparison of certain in-groups. This part merely reflects the findings from chapter two considering group formation, which in turn is partly based on chapter one.

This is followed by an in-depth analysis of the competitive surrounding of refugee accommodations and prevailing aversive conditions, such as heat, noise and crowding. Moreover, the findings of chapter one are going to be picked up again on this point, especially regarding the refugees' liminal situation, as well as their social nakedness accompanied by dependency, the feeling of uselessness, and boredom.

In order to support this part own qualitative findings of the conducted fieldwork are going to be used to exemplify, illustrate, and comment on assumed theoretical considerations. Besides that, external quantitative data will find its way in the analysis, more precisely, while talking about post-migration stress and mental illnesses among encamped refugee populations.

By following the presented model further, the chapter will examine the possible transformation from more interest based conflicts to value based conflicts within refugee camp settings, again exemplified on qualitative data gathered during the fieldwork. Additionally, to conclude the chapter, some limitations of the model are going to be presented.

1. Comparison

Refugee accommodations are relatively impermeable spaces with very heterogeneous composition of their inhabitants. As the thesis already unveiled, the Nuremberg accommodations are filled with distinct groups, which are formed primarily on the foundation of the created identities based on nationality (e.g. Ethiopians and Ukrainians) and ethnicity (e.g. Arabs and Kurds). But also language,

administrative refugee distribution, and political issues influenced the group formation process by reinforcing more or less the given allocation. Moreover, strong *group-thinking* and solidarity between in-group members can be detected. Clear *We-They* perceptions are prevailing, what leads to group comparison through the strife for a positive social identity. Additionally, fieldwork revealed only minimal contact and social exchange between the groups. All that combined has the consequence, that stereotypes and prejudices has been built up, rather on group level than individual level.

2. Competition and aversive conditions

Conflict of interest, frustration, stress and life changes to the worse may be triggers of confrontation. Within the setting of refugee accommodations all these conditions can be found.

a) Major life changes and liminality

Speaking about frustration, stress and aversive conditions, it is important to take a breath and look at the initial situation in which most of the refugees find themselves when coming to the camp. This is necessary to set emotions and feelings into the right perspective.

Before arriving at the camps in Europe, most of the refugees have been through terrible events in their home countries, such as war, persecution or famine, and carrying with them awful experiences, which they were exposed to during the flight. Everything they were used to, changed oftentimes rapidly and they found themselves in a situation with no control over and where they are completely reliant on other people. Refugees are carrying these major life changes with them now in every situation and are also shaped by them.

The camp life is determined by uncertainty in every aspect. Besides being oftentimes uncertain about the well-being of family members, either on the way or back home, it is unclear for asylum seekers, if they are allowed to stay, if they have to move or if they are even repatriated. The refugee's state of liminality washes away every stabile anchor, which the refugee could hold on in his or her former life. The predominant situation leaves him naked, exposed to forces he has no influence on, in a country where he is not accustomed to the language, rules, way of life, and culture.

As far as frustration and stress is linked to arousal, major life changes, like the experience of atrocities and flight, as well as the refugee's situation of liminality may lower the threshold by which negative feelings turn into such aversive emotions. What might be banalities for someone else, may have higher impact on refugees in such an uncomfortable situation.

b) Progress and deprivation

In accordance with Gurr (1970), relative deprivation does not only occur because of the perception of unfair treatment, but also when people cannot meet their capabilities and are not experiencing any progress in their life.

As the detailed analysis in the first part of the thesis showed, the separation of zoe and bios creates an unfulfilled position for refugees, in which their former full life atrophies to bare human life. Despite the effort to bring back social and political life, they are not able to stop the process of victimization, imposed on them by the sovereign. Their felt and lived helplessness demonstrates best the dependency of refugees. The *not standing on the own feet* constitutes severe problems for many refugees and undermines their self-perception of being able to care for themselves respectively for their families, spouses etc. A phenomenon, also recognized by Turner (2010), what he labeled as "*UNHCR as the better husband*" (ibid., p.66). Moreover, the refugees are not able to cope with the bureaucracy. Sometimes, even with the help of the Red Cross, the barriers are too high to surmount. This applies in particular to very sensitive and arousing issues like family reunification. Many refugees despair of the complicated and sometimes inscrutable system, which could be seen during the open hours of the Red Cross. It has happened, that people yelled at the staff because they did not understand, for instance, why they cannot bring their child immediately to the doctor or why they are not receiving their overdue financial support. For instance, a person got angry, threw his important documents through the room and stormed out. Thus, through dependency and "*being at the mercy of powerful external forces*" (Turner. 2010, p.82) the refugee's nerves are oftentimes on the edge what sometimes leads to high arousal and anger.

Also thwarting the political life may lead to feelings of arousal. As mentioned, besides showing some kind of political actions, the refugees have also a strong *internal political life*. But at the periphery of society, there is no room for politics, which is, by borrowing Simon Turners expression, perceived as bad participation (Turner, 2010, p.54/55). In refugee accommodations, political engagement cannot find complete expression which may contribute to the unfulfilled position of the refugee.

Besides un-fulfillment and helplessness, the feelings of “*impotence and uselessness*” (Agier, 2008, p.53) play a major role in the creation of deprivation, in the sense, that refugees are experiencing no progress in their life. Condemned to idleness, the refugee is not allowed to work or find anything else to feel recognition and being useful. By eking out a miserable existence, life is determined by boredom and uselessness. They are stuck in the contemporary position without progress for months and even years. As demonstrated, even receiving asylum does not really change the unpleasant refugee situation. Although, now free to move and to take a job, it is extremely difficult to do so.

Several studies support the role which uncertainty, perceived uselessness and impotence play regarding the creation of a frustrating and stressful environment. Concerning refugees in Australia, Ingrid Sinnerbrink et al. (1997) found out, that the most stressful post-migration problems refugees are facing, include the uncertainty of being sent home, delays in the asylum process, and employment issues, such as unemployment and being not allowed to work. Derrick Silove et al. (1998) come to similar findings by reporting, that post-migration living difficulties, which cause serious to very serious stress among Tamil asylum seekers in Australia, were inter alia delays in processing refugee applications (55%), no permission to work (45%), separation from the family (63%) and fears of being sent home (68%). Moreover, Cornelis Laban et al. (2005) conducted a study about the living conditions of Iraqi refugees in the Netherlands. Refugees who stayed longer than six months in refugee accommodations expressed stress in relation to post-migration problems, such as uncertainty about the future, no permission to work, loneliness and missing the family. Time played a crucial role in researchers’ findings, in the sense, that such problems were most stressful for refugees, who lived longer than six months in the accommodation.

c) Competition and deprivation

The camp setting constitutes an interest conflict inducing competitive surrounding, in the sense, that everything has to be shared and no surpluses are available. Everything is calculated down to the last detail, may it be space, food rations, or financial support. But competition and interests are here not only considered in terms of scarce resources but also regarding improvement of the situation, possibility to get asylum, and the like. Thus, fairness plays a focal part, both distributional and procedural. If perceived un-fairness is given, people feel deprived, which consequently may lead to

frustration and stress. To some degree, deprivation could be detected within the Nuremberg accommodations.

Procedural justice was an issue regarding two points, which are highly salient for the asylum seekers. Firstly, some people complained about the system which decided who gets asylum and who not. Thus, enviousness arose especially towards Syrians. To that time, Syrians got relatively easy asylum and their application process took just a couple of weeks. In comparison to that, the asylum processes of people originating from other countries can take several months up to a year. Not least, Ethiopians and Ukrainians for instance, who have a very small chance to get asylum at all. People perceived the asylum procedure as highly unfair by privileging some groups and excluding others. This perception paired with a lack of understanding how the process actually functions, led to feelings of deprivation by some groups of asylum seekers. Secondly, the transfer from one accommodation to another was also an issue of grievance. The refugees desire to get from emergency accommodations, as to be found in the *Tillystraße*, to shared accommodations, such as the one in the *Schloßstraße*. That constitutes the next preferred step to improve the living conditions. Despite following rules, in which order people are allowed to transfer in *better* accommodations, some asylum seekers perceived that procedure as sometimes random and unfair, which led to arousal and anger.

Moreover, deprivation occurred because of perceived unfair distribution, which is primarily a problem in the *Tillystraße* rather than in the *Schloß-* or *Peterstraße*. That is because in the emergency accommodation food rations are given in form of three meals, whereas in the other two facilities, people receive merely financial support and are food wise responsible for themselves. So, as social workers reported in the *Tillystraße*, it took place that some people articulated the opinion of being disadvantaged regarding the amount of food distributed to them. Thus, sometimes quarrels occurred during the dispensation of food. Additionally, in the emergency accommodation, every refugee receives a minimal support of 130 Euro per month, except spouses. They are getting less, which is explained by shared expenses of couples. This distribution system was also highly criticized by affected asylum seekers.

d) Heat, noise and crowding

Moreover, physical environmental conditions have an influence on the creation of an unpleasant surrounding, especially heat, noise and crowding.

The fieldwork was conducted during spring time. That means the climate was very mild and moderate. But in the summer month temperatures can rise to an uncomfortable level, especially considering the given circumstances. In the *Tillystraße*, for instance, people are housing in a provisionally reconstructed hall with no insulated walls and roof for cooling. In summer the hall is heating up easily, what is paired with body heat of several hundred people. This can push the temperature to an unbearable level. The same can be said for the room in the main building where the meals are distributed. This place has no windows and it was even in spring time very warm. Thus, it can be imagined, how it is during the summer, occupied by hundreds of people. Along with high temperature comes also smell, which might then contribute to the already unpleasant environment to the worse.

In the shared accommodation in the *Schloßstraße* is a constant level noise. Children are running and playing in the aisles and in the yard, of which some inhabitants complained about. Additionally, the walls separating the rooms are very thin, thus you can hear what your neighbor is doing all the time. During the time of the fieldwork, the complex was renovated what generated a steady construction noise. This level of noise can be multiplied within the emergency accommodation in the *Tillystraße*. More people and less separated rooms amplify the level of noise people are exposed to. Thus, life there is accompanied by a noisy environment with almost no possibility to get away from.

Crowding is a major issue, especially regarding the emergency accommodation in the *Tillystraße*. 700 people living there within a tight area, if fully utilized, as it was during the summer of 2015. For instance, the canteen, which was totally overcrowded during the summer, that people even had to eat on the floor because all seats on the wooden benches were occupied, as a social worker reported. Additionally, all sanitary facilities reached their limits which resulted in over usage and severe contamination. The social worker compared the situation with a music festival, which lasts for months.

Especially the lack of private space constitutes a problem. The rooms in the hall, which are composed of provisionally set up walls, host up to 10 people and allow no place of retreat for the individual. The people are constantly surrounded by other people (mostly strangers) and they share every minute with each other. That situation also influences the well-being of the person through, for instance, sleep deprivation, what can easily be assumed when a person has to spend every night with nine others.

The *Tillystraße* is no special case as the interviews revealed. For example, *Obada A.* narrated about an emergency accommodation in Schweinfurt. He explained, that people had to sleep close together on the floors, so that it was even impossible to walk through. Thus, he had to ask people to stand up or slide aside in order to pass by.

In the *Schloßstraße* the situation was a bit more relaxed, what does not mean that the inhabitants did not perceive the arrangement as crowded. Also here, people have to share relatively small rooms, which was a reason for complaints. In comparison to the *Tillystraße*, the *Schloßstraße* offers a bit more space per person, but still no private space for most of the inhabitants. That is a problem, because every person had his or her own daily rhythm. Some waking up earlier than others, going earlier to bed, having lunch and dinner to different times of the day and so on. Mostly, people complained there about dirty kitchens and sanitary facilities, which can be traced back to over usage. For example, *Yaser A.* reported: *“The shower and toilets are a catastrophe. They are always dirty. You are cleaning them and after five minutes they are dirty again”*.

Besides heat, noise and crowding, the condition of the buildings may have also a negative effect. For instance, in the *Schloßstraße* it is not unusual for power cuts to occur, which leaves the dwellers without light, hot water or the possibility to cook. Moreover, during the fieldwork, the heating system was defect, what meant that for approximately five days the radiators were not functioning.

e) Alcohol

The use of alcohol or sometimes other drugs is a problematic issue within the accommodations. Problems occurred frequently in the presence of alcohol use. A social worker in the *Tillystraße* said, that alcohol is strictly forbidden on the area. Refugees under alcohol influence are not allowed to enter the accommodation. He justified this decision with the strongly increasing conflict potential alcohol brings along. Similar descriptions reported another social worker, who also used to work in an emergency accommodation. He mentioned that alcohol was a huge problem, because most of the times brawls occurred in the nighttime after alcohol had been drunk. The refugees are also aware of this. So reported *Abdel A.*, that during his time in an emergency accommodation, aggression and violence took place oftentimes in connection with alcohol and drug use.

f) Mental Illnesses

Mental illnesses are widely spread among refugee populations, resulting from witnessing and exposure to violence and atrocities. A study with refugees in Australia in the 1990s revealed, that over 78 % of

the participants reported exposure to a major trauma related to persecution or organized violence in their home country (Sinnerbrink et al., 1997, p.467). Another study showed that refugees were witnessing a high number of traumatic events. The study concluded, that every person experienced between seven and fifteen traumatic events (Carswell et al., 2011, p.107). Such experiences can create severe mental illnesses. According to a study, in the year 2006, 10% of the refugees in Western countries suffered from PTSD and among children 11% (Cottam et al., 2006, p.29). These studies reveal that mental illnesses may have an impact on conflict potential within refugee accommodations.

The conducted fieldwork cannot make statements or comments regarding this matter. To be sufficient, it would need a whole investigation on its own and would exceed the competences of the author. But it can be stated, that mental illnesses play a role regarding frustration and arousal and that is very likely an issue in every refugee accommodation.

3. Confrontation and counteraction

In summary, many traits are responsible for creating a very unpleasant environment within refugee accommodations through creating stress, frustration and arousal. These factors in turn can lead to aggressive behavior and violence between the inhabitants. After experiencing very negative major life changes, the refugees find themselves in a competitive environment characterized by scarce resources and conflict of interest. They are feeling deprivation through both, perceived unfair treatment and the experience of no progress regarding their situation. Especially helplessness, uselessness, and impotence are recurring feelings of refugees in their precarious and liminal status of life. Furthermore, they are exposed to partly unbearable physical conditions, such as extreme heat, noise and above all crowding with all its negative effects. The use of alcohol and the development of mental illnesses, such as PTSD, worsen the situation by lowering the coping threshold, which makes hostile behavior more likely. Especially the perceived loss of control over the situation, as seen regarding the asylum process, transfer rules, and bureaucracy, and the cumulation and combination of aversive factors increases the likelihood of aggressive events, reinforced by offering hardly possibilities to escape from. Thus, frustration and stress is piling up and sometimes burst out in an uncontrollable fashion. Moreover, it can be noted, that emergency accommodations, such as the *Tillystaße*, are creating worse living conditions than shared accommodations, like the *Schloßstraße*.

Aggression was oftentimes directed at what is called here out-groups. That means, in many accommodations in Germany, conflict erupted on the lines on which groups were formed, as shown before, primarily based on ethnicity and nationality. That can easily lead to the misperception that more *unrealistic*, value based reasons are responsible for group conflict. But as this paper proposes, these are not the initial reasons for conflict. Rather a transformation takes place from interest based conflict, highly influenced by aversive situational conditions, to a more value based conflict. Such a development can be explained by displacement of aggression. During the refugee experience, only an abstract and intangible perpetrator can be made responsible for most of the stress and frustration inducing circumstances, such as the asylum or distribution system. Thus, a *scapegoat* is needed, oftentimes in the form of the out-group, against already established resentments, prejudices, and stereotypes are held. These negative connotations are then reinforced or further developed, which also delivers a simple explanation for the complicated and messy situation, serves as justification for the hostile acts, and helps to differentiate the own in-group from the out-group even further.

Several indications for that proposition could be found during the data collection. Mostly, daily life struggles were held responsible for aggressive behavior, rather than value based reasons e.g. inter-ethnic problems. The social worker in the *Peterstraße* for instance reported, that primarily everyday situations cause problems between the inhabitants. To exemplify that, he named noise, tidiness and different sleeping hours as the number one troublemakers, which are highly related to the above mentioned aversive situational conditions. To a similar conclusion came a social worker in the *Tillystraße* by explaining the development of conflict situations. His observations show, that normally, it starts with issues of the daily life, e.g. the distribution of food or usage of showers and toilets. Thereby, disputes occur, may it be because of perceived unfair treatment or lack of tidiness. Those disputes then oftentimes blew up to political arguments. That shows clearly a transformation from conflict, erupted because of situational conditions, to value based conflict. That reflects not just the opinion of social workers. Also refugees made similar experiences. *Obada A.*, for instance, reported about the emergency accommodation in Schweinfurt, that especially dirty sanitary facilities were subjects of dispute. Vice versa, an Ethiopian inhabitant in the *Peterstraße* narrated, that there are hardly problems between the asylum seekers and refugees. In his opinion, that is because the rooms feature own kitchens and bathrooms. He sees problems taking place, where these facilities have to be shared with a lot of people.

4. Limitations

The proposed model highlights the role of aversive conditions regarding the creation of hostile situations. The presented examples show that refugee accommodations and the situation of refugees can create a frustrating and stressful environment, which can serve as trigger for aggression and violence. But the here analyzed conditions conduct no definitive list and the model per se does not demand a comprehensive and exclusive explanation for violence within those accommodations. Rather it places emphasis on oftentimes forgotten situational factors, especially in political debates. It implicates a multi-layered and multifaceted picture of conflict causes, what reflects the multi-layered and multifaceted lives of asylum seekers within refugee accommodations. In this sense, also solely value based conflicts may be found. They can explain just the minority of aggressive incidents, what does not mean to ignore them completely. It is hardly surprising that brought along conflicts from war-torn countries may influence conflict potentials in refugee camps. For instance, *Obada A.* decided to avoid supporters of *Assad* and Iranians (perceived supporters of *Assad*) in order to prevent conflict situations.

Moreover, since summer 2015, we speak about millions of people migrating to Europe. Indeed, but very few, fanatic nationalists and religious extremists can be found among them. They can push the salience of value based issues, which can create conflict even with the absence of interest conflict and aversive conditions.

It would also not reflect reality to suggest that violence only occur between in- and out-groups. Sometimes violence is not directed, may it be in situations where the arousal becomes so intense, that the pressure has to be released against the next object or person, without apparent reason. The model does also not directly explain aggressive behavior against women and children, as it focuses on groups. But the model could also say something about that, as frustration and stress most certainly play a role in domestic violence.

Importance

The in chapter three conceptualized *5-C Model of Identity Based Conflict* was now applied to the situation in refugee accommodations. As shown above, the refugee camp experience can be a very frustrating, stressful, and arousing one, which in turn can induce aggressive behavior or violence. In

this sense, the model proposes, that ethnicity and nationality are not primarily the reasons for conflict within refugee accommodations. Rather more realistic causes serve as explanation regarding the outbreak of hostility.

Why this hostile behavior is than directed towards the perceived out-group, which is characterized mostly by ethnic or national traits, can be explained by the model further on, through the concept of aggression displacement. Thereby, a transformation takes place, from a rather *realistic* conflict to a more value based conflict, with the perceived out-group as perpetrator.

Despite the potential to understand and explain aggression and violence within refugee accommodation settings, the model has to admit certain limitations, which were also presented.

The conclusions drawn from this model can now say something about the research question, namely, if a separation of asylum seekers and refugees on the basis of their ethnic background and origin is a reasonable and desirable tool in order to prevent violence in accommodations for refugees.

C) Implications on the question of separation and possible approaches

I. Implications

Indeed, as the fieldwork showed, groups are formed primarily on the basis of nationality and ethnicity. With that comes certain created or reinforced resentments, such as stereotypes and prejudices. It cannot be denied that conflict is likely to burst out on these established lines, what can easily lead to the misconception of a simple solution to the problem, such as separating these groups from each other. In particular cases, that might be a reasonable tool to prevent violence, as sometimes values are enough to create tensions between groups. But to declare that a general solution for the violence *problematique* in refugee accommodations is misleading and would most likely not prevent the majority of occurring aggressive behavior.

As the paper proposes, ethnicity and nationality are not primarily the sources and reasons of conflict, rather its manifestations. A separation on the basis of ethnicity and origin would thereby not tackle the roots of the problems. It would only fight the symptoms of conflict not its causes.

Causes can be found rather in the frustrating and stressful environment of refugee accommodations, which would not disappear in ethnic and national homogeneous accommodations. Refugees would still struggle with inter alia life changes to the worse, uncertainty, competition, dependency and aversive conditions, physically or psychologically.

Group dynamics would still take place in the new homogenous settings. Refugees would still categorize themselves and the people around them, but would create groups based on other traits and characteristics than ethnicity and origin, to gain a positive social identity. People would choose other groups to which they allocate themselves, by scanning their portfolio of possible in-group memberships. Only salience and loyalties would be ranked differently. This process would then also automatically lead to resentments against the new established out-groups. Thus, only a shift would take place, but conflict dynamics would recur, in the sense, that aggression would be displaced, but this time, directed to another perceived out-group.

Such a separation, or the mere discussion about it, would also create false impressions and would direct discussions in wrong directions. Ethnicity would then be considered as problematic and

conflictual. It would evoke the image of the impossibility of co-habitation of different ethnicities and nationalities. One incident can be taken as exemplification, how such discussions can lead to a distorted picture and false conclusions. One day, the ambulance had to come to the accommodation in the *Schloßstraße*, because a child was sick and had to see a doctor immediately. In that very moment an elderly German couple passed by the complex. They saw the ambulance and their first reaction was a headshake and the statement, that refugees again fighting each other.

Multicultural thinking would be declared a failure. In such a logic, all integrational efforts would be doomed to fail, too. It would repeat mistakes in the past were migrants were ghettoized, which led to more problems in the long run. One social worker in the *Tillystraße* got to the heart of the issue and expressed disagreement regarding such a separation. He argued that it would complicate integration because refugees would not learn from the beginning how to deal with a heterogeneous and multicultural society.

Besides that, it would cause a huge logistical effort and would activate a morally questionable discussion, namely which city or area has to take the perceived *undesired* groups of *aggressive* refugees. Through a pick and choose procedure, refugees would be traded and shifted back and forth.

II. Possible approaches

As proposed, a separation based on ethnicity and origin might not help to reduce violence. In order to do so, the actual causes and triggers, such as frustration, stress, uncertainty and aversive conditions have to be combated and reduced. It follows a description of measures about what can be done to improve the situation for refugees in accommodations. It gives an overview of possibilities and what direction should be taken. They are not fully developed and ready for implementation. They should rather be seen primarily as an impulse towards what can be done and what might be useful to reduce aggressive behavior and violence.

1. Physical and psychological conditions

As a study showed (Laban et al.,2005) most of the problems occur or are rigidified after a stay of six months in refugee accommodations. Additionally, frustration and stress constitute a problem rather within emergency accommodations than shared accommodations. Thus, the aim should be to avoid mass housing as far as possible and to enable a transfer of asylum seekers from emergency to shared accommodations as soon as possible. Moreover, the accommodation should provide enough private sphere for every individual, so that he has a private place of retreat in order to escape noise and crowding.

To reduce or treat mental illnesses like PTSD, more social workers and especially psychological support is needed. Many refugees require professional help to overcome their mental problems. Only that can help them to deal with the aversive refugee situation properly. Most of the tasks are taken over from volunteers. Without undermining their work, more professional personnel are needed to manage the serious mental problems some refugees suffer from.

2. Dependency, full life and progress

Refugees should be handed out monetary support rather than support in kind as soon as possible after arrival. Exactly the opposite is demanded by some politicians in Germany to the date this paper was conducted. Monetary support gives the refugee self-determination back, at least to some degree. They can control how to use the money on their own and gives them some kind of decision making, even if it is just about *banal things* in life. Moreover, it can help to reduce competition among refugees, in the sense, that everybody gets the same and is responsible how to use it.

Additionally, structures should be open for the participation of refugees. That can happen maybe through the foundation of a refugee council per accommodation. In this way they have a say in the organization of the daily life, gives them responsibility and a way to get active. In connection with that, asylum seekers should be given the opportunity of an occupation. That may be low payed occupations, such as community work or internships. Through that, refugees are given the opportunity to get active,

boredom is reduced and they can contribute to the society to which they will belong in the future (at least for persons with a positive outcome of their asylum process).

Liminality should be reduced. That can be done most simply with shortening and accepting the asylum process, which would give refugees the certainty of being allowed to stay. But at least, the way in a *normal* life should be simplified for people with granted asylum. Now, as the fieldwork revealed, these people hardly find a flat or occupation and therefore staying in their liminal position up to one year longer. At this point, they could be better supported.

3. Bureaucracy

The red tape and excessive legislation should be abolished or at least reduced due to simplify the bureaucratic barriers for refugees. Bureaucracy should be designed more transparent and understandable. That would relieve refugees from a lot of stressful moments and would take the feeling of no control and randomness to some degree. One first step in this direction could be to hire more translators and to offer more professional consultancy, which would make it easier for asylum seekers to face the complicated regulations and legislations.

4. Enhanced inter-ethnic contact

No separative measures should be taken, rather inter-ethnic contact enhanced. Despite some criticism (e.g. Putnam, 2007), convincing research over decades (inter alia Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) concludes, that augmented inter-group contact helps to reduce resentments and to loosen fixed perceptions about other groups:

“Living together and sharing a living environment might cause some daily annoyances, but getting to know people from other ethnic minority groups increases knowledge and understanding of the others’ habits. Once “we, from one ethnic group” become acquainted with “them, from other ethnic groups” and vice versa, people actually tend to reduce their intergroup prejudices, thereby overall and over time improving intergroup relations, even experiencing each other’s company to be enriching in social terms” (Gesthuizen et al., 2014, p.75).

Indeed, as *social identity theory* suggests, proximity of two or more groups can lead to prejudices and stereotypes. But that can only be said in an environment where groups share merely space with each other and have no or minimal contact with each other. Exactly such a situation could be found during the fieldwork. Enhanced inter-ethnic contact may be reached by offering more joint activities, like social clubs or, as mentioned before, joint participation in decision making. That may help to bring the groups together and to reduce resentments, what in turn removes the justification for aggressive actions against the out-group. For instance, a social worker in the *Tillystraße* reported about an established women’s club, which increased contact with positive effects among the women with diverse background in the accommodation.

Additionally, through rapprochement of the groups joint interests may be detected, what can break the predominant group and identity structures within the accommodations. That means, groups may be built up primarily based on interests rather than ethnicity, what Agier calls *inter-ethnic relations* in conjunction with the creation of identity within refugee camps (Agier, 2002, p.335) and what already has been witnessed during the fieldwork to some extent. Thus, it is necessary to support and expand such already established inter-ethnic tendencies.

5. Improvement of language skills

For almost all mentioned possibilities for reducing aggressive tendencies, language skills play a major role to be fruitful and effective. In this case, it is inevitable to learn German. May it be to get a job and experience progress in life, to better handle bureaucratic obstacles, or to enhance contact between groups which speak different languages. Thus, everything possible should be done to enable and simplify the access to language schools. That would also include groups, like Ethiopian and Ukrainian

asylum seekers, who are not allowed to attend language classes because of their limited chance to get asylum in Germany.

The implementation of all mentioned possible approaches require more financial commitment and political will. Without, most of the causes of aggression cannot be reduced or eliminated. Besides improved material support, it requires also a change of view on refugees. Away from considered a burden and even being undesired to recognize and especially realize and utilize the potential refugees can constitute. It should also be kept in mind, that the process of integration already starts in the accommodation. Here, the foundation can be laid for a smooth and positive integration of asylum seekers into society. All here presented possible measures may be more expensive and complicated in comparison to a separation based on ethnicity and origin. But it is unlikely that such a separation is helpful to resolve violence, the actual payoff is less, and may lead to protracted problems for society in the future.

D) Conclusion and final thoughts

The thesis asked, if a separation of asylum seekers and refugees on the basis of their ethnic background and origin is a reasonable and desirable tool to prevent violence in accommodations for refugees. In conclusion it can be said, that such a separation is not very likely to prevent violence and aggressive behavior, at least in most cases.

In order to come to this result, the paper started with camp life per se and what this exceptional place does to the camp dwellers. It was investigated that refugees and asylum seekers are facing a liminal state of being, what creates social and cultural nakedness, which characterizes the refugee experience. Despite minor success in developing social and political life to some extent, refugees are reduced to bare life and with that comes victimization, dependency, impotence and perceived uselessness. Additionally, the refugee situation creates a "*problematique of identity*" (Ager, 2002, p.322), what refugees confront with enhanced attachment to the home country and with creation of new identities.

As the paper showed, these new developed identities play a key role in the formation of groups. Within the analyzed refugee accommodations, these groups are based primarily on ethnicity and nationality, what also creates a fertile ground for the establishment of certain resentments like prejudices and stereotypes against the perceived out-group. This part was conducted to elaborate on possible opposing groups regarding violence within refugee camps.

After that followed the investigation of conflict dynamics. It was demonstrated, that merely the presence of different groups alone is not sufficient to create conflict. Rather *realistic* causes have to come into play, such as competition over scarce resources and conflict of interest. Moreover, it was made clear, that both approaches can function hand in hand and occur oftentimes simultaneously. How that can work exemplified the so called *4 C-Model of Identity Based Conflict*.

By taking this model as foundation, an own model was proposed and tested, named *5 C-Model of Identity Based Conflict*. This alteration of the original model added aversive conditions as precipitating factors regarding confrontation. It was proposed that frustration and arousal inducing conditions should be not neglected while speaking about conflict causes. Those conditions include competitive circumstances, deprivation regarding unequal treatment, physical situational factors as well as alcohol and mental illnesses serving as amplifiers. On this point, the in chapter one worked out liminal situation of refugees played also its role by establishing a frustration inducing situation considering major life changes and deprivation regarding thwarted progress in life. According to the model, this feeling of

frustration is then displaced to the established out-group, what transforms a more realistic conflict into a rather value based conflict.

In this sense, it was established that the presence of different ethnic groups is not responsible for creating a hostile environment. That in turn means, that a separation of these groups does not tackle the roots of the problems. It would only fight the symptoms of conflict not its causes. Bearing that in mind, some ideas were introduced how to approach the issue. Thereby, it was proposed that inter alia enhanced inter-ethnic contact may solve the problems rather result in one.

But all reasonable approaches require more financial commitment and political will. That makes them unlikely to be implemented, especially considering the contemporary political situation in Europe and Germany. With populist parties on the rise, promised easy solutions, like such a separation, will be heard, although being highly ineffective in all likelihood.

Appendix

Informants

Abdel A.:

Abdel is 26 years old and an Arabic Iranian. He is now three months in Germany and shares a room with three Arabic young men in the *Schloßstraße*. They are between 19 and 29 years old, originating from Iran and Iraq. Back in Iran, Abdel worked in a supermarket owned by his brother and drove taxi. He speaks very good English. Abdel A. is an asylum seeker and does not receive education in any form.

Ethiopian in *Peterstraße*:

He is 19 years old and arrived Germany alone over one year ago. Now, he lives in the *Peterstraße* and shares a room with two other Ethiopians. His dream is to become a mechatronics engineer. He speaks English very well. His status and education in Germany is unknown to me.

Guran:

Guran is 25 years old and originates from Iraq. He characterizes himself as a member of the Kurdish minority living in the city of Kirkuk. Back in Iraq, he earned his living as a cook. Guran lives in Germany seven months now. He shares a room with two other Kurdish young men, also from Iraq. Considering the short period of time in Germany, he speaks German very well, but understands hardly English. Guran is an asylum seeker and attends a language school.

Mohammed A.:

Mohammed is 24 years old Syrian and flew from the city of Aleppo. His occupation was described by him as partly law student and partly waiter. He hardly speaks English and has some minor knowledge of German. Mohammed's flight route led him over Greece, Serbia, and Macedonia, before he finally arrived Germany. He lives in Germany six months now, three of them in the *Schloßstraße*. There, he shares a room with his brother. Another brother of him lives with his family next door. He also has

two sisters in Germany, living in Leipzig and Dortmund. Mohammed A. is an asylum seeker and attends a language school.

Mohammed M.:

Mohammed is 19 years old, originates from Syria and characterizes himself as Kurd. Back in Syria, he was a student of engineering. Moreover, he has very good English skills. His flight route commenced in Turkey. There, Mohammed stayed for two years in the city of Izmir. Then, he continued his way to Germany over Greece, Bulgaria, and Austria. Finally, Mohammed reached Southern Germany. He has been living in Nuremberg since a couple of months now. In the *Schloßstraße*, he accommodates a room with his brother and another Kurd from Syria. Mohammed M. is an asylum seeker and attends a vocational school.

Obada A.:

Obada is approximately 30 years old and from Syria. He speaks English very well. According to his narratives, he had to flee from his home country because of persecution by the Assad regime. Obada found his way to Europe along the so called Balkan route. He lives in Germany for six months now. His first stations in Germany were Mannheim, Schweinfurt, Aschaffenburg and finally Nuremberg. In the *Schloßstraße*, he shares a room together with his wife and his three months old baby, which was born in Germany. Some of his family members also found the way to Nuremberg, including his sister and her husband, his mother as well as the mother and brother of his wife. Obada is a recognized refugee, attends a language school, and found an apartment for him and his family outside the refugee accommodation.

Tahir:

Tahir is between 30 and 40 years old, comes from Ethiopia and arrived Germany with his pregnant wife. The baby is now four months old and was born in Germany. The family has been living in Germany since six months and shares a room together in the *Schloßstraße*. He hardly speaks English and has no knowledge of German. Tahir is an asylum seeker and does not receive education in any form.

Yaser A.:

Yaser is 43 years old, comes from Damascus, and arrived Germany with his ten-year-old son. He calls himself a businessman and speaks very good English. In total, Yaser has been living in Germany since nine months. Since ten weeks, he has been sharing a room in the *Schloßstraße* with his son. Yaser A. is a recognized refugee and attends a language school.

References

- Agamben, G. (1995): *Homo Sacer. Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Stanford, CA: *Stanford University Press*.
- Agier, M. (2002): Between War and City. Towards an urban anthropology of refugee camps. *Ethnography*, 3 (3), 317-341.
- Agier, M. (2008): *On the Margins of the World. The Refugee Experience Today*. Cambridge, UK: *Polity Press*.
- Agier, M. (2011): *Managing the Undesirables. Refugee Camps and Humanitarian Government*. Cambridge, UK: *Polity Press*.
- Alcock, J.E. (2001): Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis, in Craighead, W.E. & Nemeroff, C.B. (eds.): *The Corsini Encyclopedia of Psychology and Behavioral Science*, third edition, vol. 2. New York: *John Wiley & Sons Inc*.
- Allport, G. (1954): *The Nature of Prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: *Perseus Books*.
- Anderson, B. (1983): *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: *Verso*.
- Anderson, C.A. (1989): Temperature and Aggression. *Psychological Bulletin*, 106 (1), 74-96.
- Arendt, H. (1958): *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Cleveland, OH: *The World Publishing Company*.
- Augé, M. (1995): *Non-Places. Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*. London: *Verso*.
- Austin, W.G. & Worchel, S. (1979): *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. Monterey, CA: *Brooks-Cole*.
- Bagic, D. & Bagic, J. (2002): Violent behavior and post-traumatic stress disorder. *Current Opinion in Psychiatry*, 15, 623-626.
- Bailey R. (2009): Up against the Wall: Bare Life and Resistance in Australian Immigration Detention. *Law Critique*, 20, 113-132.
- Baron, R.A. & Bell, P.A. (1976): Aggression and heat: the influence of ambient temperature, negative effect, and a cooling drink on physical aggression. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 33, 245-255.
- Baron, R.A. & Richardson, D.R. (1994): *Human Aggression*, second edition. New York: *Plenum Press*.
- Baumann, Z. (1990): Modernity and Ambivalence. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 7, 143-169.
- Baumeister, R. & Leary, M. (1995): The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 117 (3), 497-529.
- Bell, P.A. (1992): In Defense of the Negative Effect Escape Model of Heat and Aggression. *Psychological Bulletin*, 111 (2), 342-346.

- Berkowitz, L. (1962): *Aggression: A social psychological analysis*. New York: *Mc Graw-Hill*.
- Berkowitz, L. (1969): The frustration-aggression hypothesis revisited, in Berkowitz, L. (ed.): *Roots of aggression: A reexamination of the frustration-aggression hypothesis*, 1-28. New York: *Atherton Press*.
- Berkowitz, L. (1983): The experience of anger as a parallel process in the display of impulsive “angry” aggression, in Green, R.G. & Donnerstein, E. (eds.): *Aggression: Theoretical and Empirical Reviews*, vol.1: *Theoretical and Methodological Issues*, 103-133. New York: *Academic Press*.
- Berkowitz, L. (1989): The frustration-aggression hypothesis: An examination and reformulation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 106, 59-73.
- Billig, M. (1976): *Social psychology and intergroup relations*. London: *Academic Press*.
- Brewer, M.B. (1979): In-group bias in the minimal intergroup situation: A cognitive-motivational analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 86, 307-334.
- Brief, A.; Umphress, E.; Dietz, J.; Burrows, J.; Butz, R.; Scholten, L. (2005): Community Matters: Realistic Group Conflict Theory And The Impact Of Diversity. *Academy of Management Journal*, 48 (5), 830-844.
- Blumer, H. (1958): Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position. *The Pacific Sociological Review*, 1 (1), 3-7.
- Campbell, D.T. (1965): Ethnocentric and other altruistic motives, in Le Vine, D. (ed.): *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation*, 283-311. Lincoln, NE: *University of Nebraska Press*.
- Carswell, K.; Blackburn, P.; Barker, C. (2011): The Relationship between Trauma, Post-Migration Problems and the Psychological Well-Being of Refugees and Asylum Seekers. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 57 (2), 107-119.
- Cottam, M.; Husby, J.; Lutze, F. (2006): Slow genocide: The dynamics of violence and oppression in refugee camps and American ghettos. A paper presented at the annual meetings of the International Society of Political Psychology, Barcelona, Spain (to be found online: <http://libarts.wsu.edu/isic/research/pdf/slow-genocide.pdf>; last visited: 08/07/2016).
- Cuhadar, E. & Dayton B. (2011): The Social Psychology of Identity and Inter-group Conflict: From Theory to Practice. *International Studies Perspectives*, 12, 273-293.
- De Dreu, C.K.W.; Aeldering, H.; Saygi, O. (2014): Intergroup conflict and negotiating settlement, in De Dreu, C.K.W. (ed.): *Social conflict within and between groups*. New York: *Psychology Press*.
- Deutsch, M. (2000 a): Introduction, in Deutsch, M. & Coleman, P.D. (eds.): *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*. San Francisco, Ca: *Jossey-Bass*.
- Deutsch, M. (2000 b): Cooperation and Competition, in Deutsch, M. & Coleman, P.D. (eds.): *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*. San Francisco, Ca: *Jossey-Bass*.
- Deutsch, M. (2000 c): Justice and Conflict, in Deutsch, M. & Coleman, P.D. (eds.): *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*. San Francisco, Ca: *Jossey-Bass*.
- Diken, B. (2004): From refugee camps to gated communities: biopolitics and the end of the city. *Citizenship Studies*, 8 (1), 83-106.

Dollard, J.; Doob, L.W.; Miller, N.E.; Mowrer, O.H.; Sears, R.R. (1939): Frustration and aggression. New Haven, CT: *Yale University Press*.

Easterbrook, S.M.; Beck, E.E.; Goodlet, J.S.; Plowman L.; Sharples M.; Wood C.C. (1993): A Survey of Empirical Studies of Conflict, in Easterbrook, S.M. (ed.): *CSCW: Cooperation or Conflict?* London: *Springer*.

Edkins, J. & Pin-Fat, V. (2005): Through the Wire: Relations of Power and Relations of Violence. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 34 (1), 1-24.

Eller, J.D. (1999): From Culture to Ethnicity to Conflict. Ann Arbor, MI: *University of Michigan Press*.

Esses, V.M.; Jackson, L.M.; Armstrong, T. (1998): Intergroup competition and Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Immigration: An Instrumental Model of Group Conflict. *Journal of Social Issues*, 54 (4), 699-724.

Esteban, J.; Mayoral, L.; Debraj, R. (2012): Ethnicity and Conflict: Theory and Facts. *Science*, 336, 858-865.

Evans-Pritchard, E. (1940): The Nuer: a description of the modes of livelihood and political institutions of a Nilotic people. Oxford: *Clarendon Press*.

Fassin, D. (2005): Compassion and Repression: The Moral Economy of Immigration Policies in France. *Cultural Anthropology*, 20 (3), 362-387.

Felson, R.B. (1992): Kick'em When They're Down: Explanations of the Relationship between Stress and Interpersonal Aggression and Violence. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 33 (1), 1-16.

Finley, S.A. (2010): An identity-based understanding of intergroup conflict. *Contemporary Justice Review*, 13 (4), 425-441.

Fisher, R.J. (2000): Intergroup Conflict, in Deutsch, M. & Coleman, P.D. (eds.): *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*. San Francisco, Ca: *Jossey-Bass*.

Foucault, M. (1986) (translated into English by Miskovic, J.): Of Other Spaces. *diacritics*, 16 (1), 22-27.

Friedman, J. (2002): From roots to routes: tropes for trippers. *Anthropological Theory*, 2, 21-36.

Geen, R.G. (1990): Human Aggression. Milton Keynes: *Open University Press*.

Geertz, C. (1973): *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: *Basic Books*.

Gellner, E. (1983): *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca, NY: *Cornell University Press*.

Gesthuizen, M.; Savelkoul, M.; Scheepers, P. (2014): Ethnic diversity and dimensions of in-group solidarity, in De Dreu, C.K.W. (ed.): *Social conflict within and between groups*. New York: *Psychology Press*.

Gupta, A. & Ferguson, J. (1992): Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference. *Cultural Anthropology*, 7 (1), 6-23.

Gurr, T.R. (1970): *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton, NJ: *Princeton University Press*.

Gustafson, R. (1985): Frustration as an important Determinant of Alcohol-related Aggression. *Psychological Reports*, 57, 3-14.

Hewstone, M. & Greenland, K. (2000): Intergroup Conflict. *International Journal of Psychology*, 35 (2), 136-144.

Horst, C. (2006): Transnational Nomads. New York: *Berghahn Books*.

Jansen, S. & Löfving, S. (2007): Introduction: Movement, violence, and the making of home. *Focaal-European Journal of Anthropology*, 49, 3-14.

Jost, J. & Mentovich, A. (2010): Frustration-aggression hypothesis, in Le Vine, J.M. & Hogg, M.A. (eds.): *Encyclopedia of group processes & intergroup relations*, 292-292. Thousand Oaks, Ca: *SAGE Publications Ltd*.

Kahn-Greene, E.T.; Lipizzi, E.L.; Conrad, A.K.; Kaninori, G.H.; Killgore, W.D.S. (2006): Sleep deprivation adversely affects interpersonal responses to frustration. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 41, 1433-1443.

Kibreab, G. (1999): Revisiting the Debate on People, Place, Identity and Displacement. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 14 (4), 384-410.

Korostelina, K.V. (2007): *Social Identity and Conflict: Structures, Dynamics and Implications*. New York: *Palgrave*.

Krahe, B. (2001): *The Social Psychology of Aggression*. Philadelphia, PA: *Psychology Press*.

Krug, E.T.; Dahlberg, K.L.; Mercy, J.A.; Zwi, A.B.; Lozano, R. (2002): *World report on violence and health*. Geneva: *World Health Organization*. (to be found online: http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/42495/1/9241545615_eng.pdf; last visited: 12/07/2016).

Laban, C.; Gernaat, H.B.P.E.; Komproe, I.; Tweel van der, I.; De Jong, J. (2005): Postmigration Living Problems and Common Psychiatric Disorders in Iraqi Asylum Seekers in the Netherlands. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 193 (12), 825-832.

Leger, R.G. (1988): Perception of Crowding, Racial Antagonism, and Aggression in a Custodial Prison. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 16, 167-181.

Le Vine, R.A. & Campbell, D.T. (1972): *Ethnocentrism: Theories of Conflict, Ethnic Attitudes, and Group Behavior*. New York: *John Wiley & Sons Inc*.

Malkki, L. (1992): National Geographic: The Rooting of People and the Territorialization of National Identity among Scholars and Refugees. *Cultural Anthropology*, 7 (1), 24-44.

Murshed, S.M. & Tadjoeeddin, M.Z. (2009): Revisiting the Greed and Grievance Explanations for Violent Internal Conflict. *Journal of International Development*, 21, 87-111.

Owens, P. (2009): Reclaiming "Bare Life": Against Agamben on Refugees. *International Relations*, 23 (4), 567-582.

Pahlavan, F. & Arouss, M. (2016): Does Exposure to Noise Lead to Decreased Regulatory Abilities and Increased Aggression? *Journal of Behavioral and Brain Science*, 6, 53-80.

Pettigrew, T.F. (1998): Intergroup Contact Theory. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 49, 65-85.

Pettigrew, T.F. & Tropp, L.R. (2006): A Meta-Analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90 (5), 751-783.

Pollak, M. (2000, 1990): L`experience concentrationnaire: Essai sur le maintien de l`identé sociale. Paris: *Metalié*.

Puggioni, R. (2014): Against Camps' Violence: Some Voices on Italian Holding Centres. *Political Studies*, 62, 945-960.

Putnam, L. L. & Poole, M. S. (1987): Conflict and negotiation, in Jablin, F.M.; Putnam, L.L.; Roberts, K.H.; Porter, L.W. (eds): Handbook of organizational communication, 549-599. Newbury Park, CA: *SAGE Publications Ltd*.

Putnam, R. (2007): E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and community in the twenty-first century. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 30 (2), 137-174.

Ramadan, A. (2013): Spatializing the refugee camp. *Royal Geographical Society*, 38, 65-77.

Rothman, J. (1997): Resolving Identity-Based Conflict in Nations, Organizations and Communities. San Francisco, CA: *Jossey-Bass*.

Sherif, M. (1966): Group conflict and cooperation. London: *Routledge*.

Shils, E. (1957): Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil Ties: Some Particular Observations on the Relationships of Sociological Research and Theory. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 8 (2), 130-145.

Silove, D.; Steel, Z.; Mc Gorry, P.; Mohan, P. (1998): Trauma exposure, postmigration stressors, and symptoms of anxiety, depression and post-traumatic stress in Tamil asylum seekers: comparison with refugees and immigrants. *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavia*, 97, 175-181.

Sinnerbrink, I.; Silove, D.; Field, A.; Steel, Z.; Manicavasayer, V. (1997): Compounding of Premigration Trauma and Postmigration Stress in asylum Seekers. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 57 (2), 107-119.

Sprague, J.; Verona, E.; Kalkhoff, W.; Kilmer, A. (2011): Moderators and Mediators of the Stress-Aggression Relationship: Executive Function and State Anger. *Emotion*, 11 (1), 61-73.

Tajfel, H. (1972): La categorisation sociale, (English translation) in Moscovici, S. (ed.): Introduction a la psychologie sociale. Paris: *Carouse*.

Tajfel, H. & Turner, J.C. (1979): An integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict, in Austin, W.G. & Worchel, S. (1979): The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations. Monterey, CA: *Brooks-Cole*.

Tajfel, H. & Turner, J.C. (1986): The social identity theory of intergroup behavior, in Worchel, S. & Austin, W.G. (eds.): Psychology of Intergroup Relations. Chicago, IL: *Nelson-Hall*.

Tajfel, H. (2001): Social Stereotypes and Social Groups, in Hogg, M.A. & Abrams, D. (eds.): Intergroup Relations. Philadelphia, PA: *Psychology Press*.

Toft, M.D. (2003): The Geography of Ethnic Violence. Princeton: *Princeton University Press*.

Turner, J.C. (1982): Towards a cognitive redefinition of the social group, in Tajfel H. (ed.): *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*. Cambridge, UK: *Cambridge University Press*.

Turner, S. (2010): *Politics of Innocence. Hutu Identity, Conflict and Camp Life*. New York: *Berghahn Books*.

Turner, V. (1967): *The forest of symbols*. Ithaca, NY: *Cornell University Press*.

Vaughan, G.M. & Hogg, M.A. (2014): *Social Psychology*. French Forest, Australia: *Pearson Australia*.

Verkuyten, M. & Martinovic, B. (2014): Minority identity and host national identification among immigrants, in De Dreu, C.K.W. (ed.): *Social conflict within and between groups*. New York: *Psychology Press*.

Walden, T.A.; Nelson, P.A.; Smith, D.E. (1981): Crowding, Privacy, and Coping. *Environment and Behavior*, 13 (2), 205-224.

Wimmer, A.; Min, B.; Cederman, L. (2009): Ethnic Politics and Armed Conflict: A Configurational Analysis of a New Global Data Set. *American Sociological Review*, 74, 316-337.

Yinger, M.J. (1994): *Ethnicity: Source of Strength? Source of Conflict?* Albany, NY: *Suny Press*.