

Experience of recognition, Recognition of experience

LIVED EXPERIENCES OF NEWCOMERS IN BERLIN



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lived experiences of newcomers in Berlin

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Preface

This research represents the final assignment for the completion of the two-years PLANET EUROPE Masters Program on European Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development. With this research, I aim to give a voice to the lived experiences of a group of people whose voices and experiences I think are not heard and listened to enough: refugees and asylum seekers, or as I rather call them, newcomers. As a former resident of Berlin-Kreuzberg I had the privilege of doing fieldwork in Berlin-Kreuzberg and Berlin-Neukölln in the spring of 2018.

I decided to do my research with newcomers in Berlin because of the protests by Refugee Tent Action from 2012 to 2014 and the diverse solidarity movement that is active there today. To me, solidarity means connecting with others to work towards a just society based on my own racism-critical perspective. This consists of a critical approach towards my own privileges, strategically using them to create space and shelter for those who are disenfranchised and struggle for their rights. While living in Berlin, I got involved with a solidarity organization called Schlafplatzorga, trying to organize sleeping places for newcomers. This positionality is what inspired and shaped my final research assignment.

I address this research to all aid workers, civil servants, activists, planners, policy makers, researchers and governmental bodies that work with refugees and asylum seekers and related themes. I hope this gives a deeper understanding of lived experiences of refugees and asylum seekers in Berlin. And although the aim was not to generate pointers for policy making, some important lessons can be drawn.

This research wouldn't have been possible without the help of my friends from Schlafplatzorga. I truly admire Schlafplatzorga's work and believe their ways of support offer forms of recognition to newcomers in ways that are very important, and unfortunately still too scarce in other areas of Berlin and other cities in Europe.

If you have any inquiries about this research, please do not hesitate to contact me.

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Abstract

The question central to this research is: *“What are the lived experiences of newcomers in Berlin, and how are different forms of recognition reflected in these experiences?”*

A case-study was conducted with nine newcomers in Berlin. A theoretical framework was built up out of the three dimensions of recognition as described by several key authors. To reveal what the lived experiences of newcomers are and what context they play out in a thematic structural analysis was applied to the interview transcripts. Newcomers’ experiences were first treated in a theme-by-theme fashion, followed by an analysis through the lens of recognition.

The results show that a lack of recognition is pervasive in all lived experiences, although more prevalent in some experiences than in others. A lack of recognition is especially reflected in experiences with the housing market. Newcomers’ experiences with establishing social relationships reflect a lack of recognition through approbation as newcomers feel unable to connect with locals. Newcomers rarely experience the opportunity to act as capable agents, reflecting a lack of recognition through rights and respect.

In addition, this research revealed the important role solidarity networks can have in the experiences of newcomers and the level of recognition in these experiences. Considering the variety of solidarity movements in some areas in Berlin, a comparative case study of several districts might lead to results that teach us how we can incorporate the strong sides of solidarity movements into the formulation of policies concerning newcomers in Berlin and Germany.

This research shows that contemporary policies fail to offer the “spaces” newcomers need, and it is recommended to look further into newcomers’ experiences, in order to incorporate these experiences in the formulation of policies that concern them. It’s recommended for future research to combine the study of local and district plans as well as policy implementation with a special attention to the implications of these plans for newcomer communities in Berlin.

Acknowledgements

I first want to thank *Dr. Olivier Kramsch*. You sparked a professional curiosity about spatial justice, solidarity and postcolonial thinking during one of your classes in the very beginning of my bachelors. During my masters, you challenged me to push this debate into my own discipline and apply postcolonial thinking in my own field of inquiry. When I said I wanted to go to Berlin, you went out of your way to make sure I landed on both feet there and supervised me during my internship. You always take time to talk about questions related to justice and keep me alert, while at the same time you allow my thoughts to be my own. You are one of the people who inspired this research interest from the beginning, and I am proud to call you my advisor and friend.

My gratitude also goes out to my supervisors, *Dr. Karel Martens* and *Dr. Kersty Hobson*. Whenever I ran into a trouble spot or had a question about my research or writing, you were only a skype call away. Despite the time differences and your busy schedules, I always felt there was room for you to coach me. You gave me the support, input and direction I needed, in your own unique ways. The faith you expressed in my academic competencies and the way you allowed this project to be my own empowered me to successfully complete my dissertation.

I want to acknowledge *my amazing PLANET EUROPE classmates*. You are a diverse and inspiring bunch of people and you taught me so much. A special thank you goes to you, *Chico*, for your comments on my writing and valuable conversations about this project, and for being such a great friend. See you in Brazil! And to you, *Lotte, Vanessa and Shelley*, for always making me smile through the frustrations that come with such projects and cheering me up with voice messages and postcards when I needed it most. We will meet again soon!

Last but not least, I acknowledge my friends from *Schlafplatzorga*, as well as *all of you who shared their story with me* for this research project. Thank you, for trusting me and teaching me about life in Berlin, and life in Berlin as a newcomer. I will carry your faith, your activism and your stories with me throughout my career.

Xeni Frencken

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Xeni Frencken', written over a light grey, textured rectangular background.

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1 – Introduction

Forced migration has become a fact in our globalizing, changing world. A variety of natural disasters, intra- and interstate conflicts and other existential threats have compelled many people to cross multiple national borders in search for a safer existence. To protect those displaced, a multiplicity of laws and principles have been developed. Some have outed the critique that in the case of Western European countries this seems to have resulted in increasingly restrictive and criminalizing practices, that are controlling the mobilities of people seeking asylum.

People who seek asylum in Germany, have to go through three separate socio-spatial phases. First, they are received in reception centers. Then, they have to wait for the results of their applications in assigned accommodations. Those accepted get an 'Aufenthalts-status' and are allowed to stay in Germany for a certain amount of time, but they are often moved to different areas than the one they resided in while waiting for the results of their application.

Those who's applications are rejected, are assigned to stay in deportation centers to await their deportation. Some of the people who are rejected, receive a particular legal status called '*Duldung*'. This Duldung-status tolerates their presence on German territory until their deportation, which can happen at any given time. This system of different camps and controls limits the movement of people seeking asylum, prohibiting them to work and restricting their freedom.

These rules and regulations severely affect refugees' quality-of-life, and the effect on their experiences seems to be hardly considered in the formulation of policies concerning forced migration in Germany. The aim of this research is to give a voice to the lived experiences of refugees, in the hope that they will be taken more seriously in the formulation of policies.

Drawing on my own experiences actively engaging to help refugees whilst I was a resident of Berlin-Kreuzberg in 2017, and on three weeks of intensive fieldwork in Berlin in 2018, I will discuss the experiences of newcomers and look at them through the concept of recognition. I feel that continuously referring to them as refugees or asylum seekers pushes a role on them, that has little to do with being a person in a new place, seeking to adjust to their new life and wanting to participate in society. This is why I choose to refer to refugees and asylum seekers with the term 'newcomers' in my dissertation from now on. My focus is on the experiences of newcomers I encountered in Berlin-Kreuzberg and Berlin-Neukölln. I collected data through observation and narrative interviews with newcomers, talking to them about the events and experiences that have been of importance to them since their arrival in Berlin.

1.1 – Protest as a medium to be recognized

From [October 2012](#) until today, newcomers in Berlin have protested the asylum procedures in Germany together with refugee- and activist- groups on different occasions and locations. Newcomers from all over Berlin occupied Pariser Platz in the heart of Berlin in 2012, until they were forcibly moved to Oranienplatz in the heart of Berlin-Kreuzberg. They held camp at Oranienplatz for two years: from the early protests in 2012 until the spring of 2014. Around the same time the protests began, the Gerhart-Hauptman Schule was occupied, which lasted until January 2018. It seems that for newcomers in Berlin - especially for those without homes or documents - protests have become their only means to address the problematic context they live in.

In the case of Berlin, the occupations ultimately were of little consequence. Despite several promises made over the past years to develop the Gerard Hauptman Schule into an 'alternative' refugee and immigration center, the school was evicted on the 11th of January of 2018. Hundreds of inhabitants of Berlin-Kreuzberg and Berlin-Neukölln, as well as several refugee and activist groups, protested against this eviction. The final clearance of the Gerard Hauptman Schule did not just force the school's inhabitants on the street. The protest was against the fact that people are being made invisible and making themselves visible has become dangerous, because of the racism of landlords and the unjust immigration politics of the German state.

"A state that offers isolated places in oppressing camps, threatens with deportation, that forces people to live on the street." (Activists speech at demonstration against the eviction of the school, 11th of January 2018).

In broad terms, these protests are shaped by the pursuit of basic human rights (Landry, 2015). There is still a rigid distinction made between German citizens and newcomers, as newcomers are being lumped together into one group of 'non-citizens' (Benhabib and Resnik, 2009). Not only does their presence in Germany undermine such distinction, the universal declaration of human rights also puts such a distinction into question. The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights articulates the equality of all people under the law, freedom of movement and the right to asylum.

I want to highlight here that the occupations of Oranienplatz and elsewhere in Berlin underscored, among other things, the need for a space in which newcomers are visible and can demand a change of the context they live in. **These protests became a stage and important medium to bring visibility to a population that previously was "invisible" to the public. They became a medium to be 'recognized' as worthy human beings, as opposed to being discerned as one separated group (Bado, 2015; Iveson and Fincher, 2011; Benhabib and Resnik, 2009).**



photo 1: Protesters on the roof of the Gerhard Hauptmanschule (source: Bild Zeitung, 2014)

1.2 – Understanding the situation of those affected by policies

Several external factors influence the context newcomers live in. Seen from the top down there are in first instance the laws and policies concerning them. Second, there are the discourses that determine the implementation of these policies enacted by the implementing actors, the civil servants and aid workers that work with newcomers on a daily basis. In addition, the discourses in policies and laws and the discourses of implementing actors, together with the media, determine the wider perception of newcomers in society and of themselves (Jacobsen 2006; Landry 2015).

Policies concerning newcomers, and the discourses determining their implementation, thus have the power to foster and preserve visibility and an unproblematic context in society. As policies fail to offer the spaces newcomers need, and newcomers try to take back agency over their context through protest, there seems to be a discrepancy between policy intentions and the experiences of newcomers in Berlin (Iveson and Fincher 2011). Planners, policy makers and implementing actors need to have an understanding of the situation of the people who are affected by the implementation of the policies they make. The lived experiences of newcomers in Berlin are of interest because we need to hear, see and understand - recognize - them, to be able to develop better policies.

1.3 – Relevance of the experiences of newcomers in Berlin

There has been extensive research on the experiences of newcomers in Berlin and elsewhere with their access to health care services (Huschke, 2015). In addition, research on the everyday experiences of newcomers with their assigned accommodations (camps, Wohnheime) in Germany has been conducted (Fontanari, 2015). Assigned accommodations are often located on the periphery both physically and ideologically, so newcomers remain out of public life and sight, with limited access to amenities and social life (Bhimji, 2016; Bado 2015; Landry, 2015). Although many leave their assigned accommodations to live somewhere else and or to avoid deportation, it seems little research has been done on the lived experiences of newcomers in Berlin (or elsewhere) with their urban situations, including their life trajectories outside assigned accommodations.

In light of growing migration flows and the newcomers already in our midst, we are standing before complex choices. It is important that we cope with rising pressures and meet the rights and the needs of people. As newcomers move within cities and countries, their experiences do not, and have never, play out exclusively in assigned accommodations (Jacobsen 2006; Bhimji 2016; Yiftachel et al. 2009; Iveson and Fincher 2011). Newcomers' experiences play out in different parts and different networks in the city. To meet the rights and needs of people, we need a match between policy intentions and the lived experiences of the people whom these policies concern. Investigation into the experiences of newcomers can thus be of great potential value.



Photo 2: Placard in Berlin-Kreuzberg (source: photo taken by the author XF, 2018)

Translation: "When you roam the world, you will come to the conclusion that all progress is based on solidarity/affiliation/attachment and cooperation, decline, however, is the result of hostility and hatred."

1.4 – Research aim and questions

Flowing from the described framework and the case in Berlin, there are two things central to this research. The first aim is to map the lived experiences of newcomers in Berlin in order to identify what characterizes these lived experiences most. Secondly, the way different forms of recognition are reflected in these experiences will be highlighted. Combined with the described framework, the research aim is formulated as follows;

"To gain insight in the lived experiences of newcomers in Berlin as well as how different forms of recognition are reflected these experiences, with the aim to inform policy making on how to better incorporate the lived experiences of newcomers in policies that concern them"

The central research question to the formulated research aim is as follows:

What are the lived experiences of newcomers in Berlin, and how are different forms of recognition reflected in these experiences?

1.7 – Reading guide

After the first chapter, chapter two conveys on the notion of recognition and how key authors define different dimensions of recognition to finally present an overview in a conceptual framework. The third chapter discusses the methodological framework used for this research project by presenting the research approach, units of analysis, positionality of the researcher and the methods used for data collection. It concludes with a discussion on the limitations of this research. In the fourth chapter, the results of the analysis of the data are discussed in a theme-by-theme fashion, after which the lived experiences of newcomers are analyzed through the lens of recognition. In the fifth and final chapter the conclusions can be found, followed by a discussion of the policy relevance and a short reflection.

2 – Literature review

In this chapter, I explore the relevant literature relating to social justice and in particular the notion of recognition. In section 2.1, I discuss the notion of recognition. In section 2.2 until 2.7, I discuss recognition and its different dimensions as they are defined by a number of key authors. In section 2.7, the theory is related back to the case of newcomers in Berlin. In section 2.8, an overview of the different dimensions of recognition and my interpretation of them is given in table 1, forming the conceptual framework for this research.

2.1 – On recognition

As described in the introduction, this research progresses from the protests of Refugee Tent Action and newcomers and activist groups in Berlin. These protests brought visibility to a population that previously was invisible to the public and functioned as a medium for newcomers to be *recognized* as fellow, respected, human beings. Moving from these protests as specific starting point, this research focuses on recognition of newcomers in Berlin. I think the following quote from the book “Migrations and Mobilities” by Benhabib and Resnik (2009, p.1-2 cited by Landry) illustrates a division between two groups of people; citizens and non-citizens.

“A simplistic presumption is that citizens residing in a given nation-state are in a reciprocal relationship with that country, recognized as members entitled to rights, protection, material support, and political loyalty. Noncitizens – lumped together into an undifferentiated whole – sit outside that circle of rights and obligations”
(Benhabib & Resnik, 2009 p. 1–2 cited by Landry, 2015 p. 400)

A society without social struggle demands more than a fair distribution of goods. If we perceive newcomers as equal to us, worthy of help and with the same human rights and individually personal features, the discussion on whether we can or should give them the needed resources will change. In contrast, a negative recognition of their identity and way of life leads to a lack of allocation of power and resources and the basic human rights of people with stigmatized identities will not be met (Bado, 2015; Honneth & Fraser, 2003; Yiftachel et al, 2009; Iveson and Fincher, 2011).

Even when conflicts of interest over material goods can be solved, a society possesses normative deficiency when some of its members are systematically denied the recognition they deserve (Anderson, 1995). 'Members of society' refers to all persons present and participating in society, those who might not be legal citizens are still considered members of society. Members of society who are considered non-citizens, and/or identify with marginalized or sub-altern groups, systematically are denied recognition of their status as persons, dignity, culture, way of life and their physical integrity is often violated. This devaluation and stigmatization of some identities and ways of life has been found to be a common injustice in cities (Dikeç, 2001; Yiftachel et al, 2009; Iveson and Fincher, 2011; Harvey, 2012).

Much has been written on just cities and the different dimensions of urban (in)justice. Dikeç (2001, 2009), Fraser (2003), Honneth (1996, 2003), Harvey (2003; 2012), Marcuse (2014), Purcell (2002; 2009), Yiftachel, Goldhaber, Nuriel (2009) and others explain the right to the city and how we can define and work towards just cities. Different dimensions of urban justice can be identified in these writings: Redistribution, Recognition and Encounter (Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Iveson & Fincher, 2011; Yiftachel et al, 2009).

I will start with the dimension of Recognition as interpreted by Honneth (1996, 2003). Social struggles are situated by Honneth as the struggle to establish relations of *mutual* recognition. His emphasis on the importance of social relationships for recognition and identity formation makes ordinary human experience, rather than theory, the point of reference for insight in social struggle.

2.2 – Honneth's reflection on Recognition

Honneth (1996) identifies three intersubjective conditions for identity formation. The three modes he identifies can only be realized through recognition by someone whom one also recognizes. This means self-realization depends on the establishment of *relationships* of mutual recognition, going *beyond* love and friendships. Honneth (1996) includes legally institutionalized relations of universal respect for the autonomy of persons, as well as networks of solidarity and shared values in which the particular worth of each member of a sub-community can be acknowledged.

In addition to love, law and ethical life as described by Hegel in 1807, Honneth suggests that the possibility for identity formation depends on self-confidence, self-respect and self-esteem. What Honneth's Dimensions of recognition have in common, is that they involve a dynamic process in which individuals experience they have a certain status. This can be a status as an object of concern, a responsible agent or a valued contributor to shared projects. He emphasizes that relating to oneself in such ways, always involves experiencing recognition from other members of society. In brief summary, according to Honneth our attitude towards ourselves always emerges in encounter with others attitude towards us.

A person's self-confidence, self-respect or self-esteem can be violated by forms of exclusion, insult and degradation. The emotional reactions that follow experiences of exclusion etc. provide the practical basis for social critique. When it becomes clear such experiences reflect the experiences shared by many others, a potential for collective action aimed at expanding social patterns of recognition emerges. Social movements play a crucial role in uncovering forms of exclusion, insult and degradation to be typical of an entire group of people.

Love and self-confidence

This dimensions of recognition through Love and self-confidence is sustained by relationships that facilitate the development and maintenance of the basic relation to ourselves. This can be parent and child, adult love relationships or friendships. According to Honneth, the self-confidence dimension is not related to a high estimation of our own abilities but depends on the fundamental capacity and possibility to express our desires, hopes and needs without fear of being abandoned. In addition to a lack of facilitating relationships, the ability to access and express one's own needs can be affected by violation of bodily integrity directly or indirectly inflicted by others, such as rape or other physical trauma. Honneth argues that this, together with the need for love and concern, captures something that is universal in different cultures and historical contexts. In any human community or society, the capacity to trust our own sense of what we need and the possibility to express this safely, is a precondition for self-realization. It's universality through different contexts and cultures separates 'Love and self-confidence' from other dimensions of recognition.

Rights and self-respect

The relation-to-self in Rights and self-respect is mediated through interaction, in this case organized in terms of legal rights. It has a strong Kantian element, emphasizing that we owe to every individual the recognition and respect for their status as agents capable of acting on the basis of their own reasons, being the author of their own political and moral laws. Seen from the individual, this is the sense one has of themselves as a responsible agent, capable of public participation. The importance of rights for self-respect is that they can ensure the opportunity to exercise our capacity as responsible agents. A person without rights might be able to have self-respect, but the fullest form of self-respecting and autonomous agency can only be realized when an individual is recognized as someone who possesses the capacities of a morally responsible agent and 'legal person' (Honneth, 1996; 2003).

Solidarity and self-esteem

Solidarity and self-esteem what we feel it is that makes us special, unique and 'particular' individuals, this should be something we see as valuable. The sense that someone has nothing to offer shows a lack of self-esteem. This links individuality and self-esteem, illustrating how people who are considered members of a denigrated group have enormous difficulties to be perceived as anything different then in stereotypical ways. Honneth is not trying to argue that the elimination of degrading cultural images of e.g. racial minorities does provide esteem directly. But the elimination of such cultural images can establish conditions that allow members of those groups to get recognition for their own contributions to society. The framework for esteeming each individual is embedded in the entire society, not just one subculture. The conditions for Solidarity and self-esteem are determined by what dominant public discourse deems as worthy contributions to society.

Solidarity is a contemporary decisive factor for a person to be perceived in a new light through advocating for their value i.e. social struggle. The values endorsed by a community or society are an unpredictable result of social struggles that lack the universality of legal rights, which makes this dimension of recognition so unique.

2.3 – Fraser's Parity of Participation

In response to earlier social theory on recognition and theory on redistribution, Fraser (1990) introduced the idea of parity of participation. Fraser argues that recognition and redistribution should be seen as a two-dimensional concept, equal parts in an overarching framework. On the one hand Fraser explains that there is an *objective condition*, meaning the distribution of resources has the possibility to foster peoples' independence and (political) voice within society. On the other hand, the *intersubjective condition* eliminates public discourses and institutionalized patterns that deny some (groups of) people to have an official status as equal interaction partners in political life.

Fraser draws a large amount of focus to political life and redistribution, treating the capacity for political participation as a 'good' that can be 'distributed', or not. Yet, recognition seems more complex then two-dimensional, and might come *before* the possibility of gaining participative capacity in political life. This is exactly Honneth's critique to Fraser's reflection on recognition. Honneth argues that Fraser's reflection puts too much of a focus on redistribution, seeing participation as a 'good' (Honneth in Honneth & Fraser, 2003, p. 259). It does not converge sufficiently with his assumption that recognition is a *condition* for such participation.

Like Honneth, it is stressed here that we should allow for differentiated forms of recognition in all facets of the life of marginalized groups, in order for the members of these communities to be recognized as equal members of society. The complexity of recognition can't be captured by seeing it as a two-dimensional concept with a heavy focus on political participation. Because this research aims for a reflexive examination of different categories of recognition and want to capture the complexity of recognition for newcomers in Berlin Frasers theory of Parity of Participation won't be applied in this research.

2.4 – Bado & Ricoeur's reflection on recognition

Bado (2015) puts recognition of shared humanity on the forefront of advocacy for the protection of forcibly displaced people. His reflection is based on Ricoeur's (2005) three attributions of recognition. Taking shared humanity as a point of reference puts a focus on confirming someone's own capacity for responsible agency and establishing mutual understanding in social relationships. I think Bado aims to illustrate that recognizing one's self is not just about individual features, nor is it just about relationships, rather recognition is based on all that is common between people and their relationships.

Bado emphasizes that in relation to working with newcomers, the notion that recognition is based on what is common between people is particularly interesting. From his point of view, recognition is not focused on features that divide us, such as ethnic identity, citizenship, race, etc. Rather, it is based on shared humanity and requires the 'help' of other people: we can recognize ourselves as worthy human beings but also need another level of recognition called "mutual recognition", such mutual recognition arises from relations between (groups of) people (2015, p.599). This social embeddedness resonates with Honneth's argument about recognition being a societal matter. Yet, Bado's emphasis on the use in relation to newcomers is what differentiates his reflection from Honneth and makes his reflection of particular interest for this research.

Bado (2015) formulates his reflection on recognition in light of the most important difficulty newcomers face today: they are often categorized and set apart through laws and other particular statuses, which finally have them appear to be different from the citizens of the countries they inhabit. He argues that, if everyone could recognize themselves through what they share with all humanity, newcomers would have better chances to receive treatment that acknowledges their status and dignity as human beings. With regard to the implications for advocacy for newcomers and policy making, he states the re-occurring theme for a recognition-based advocacy could be a phrase such as "Refugees are like us" or "refugees share the same humanity with us" (2015, p. 600).

Bado (2015) grounds his reflection on Ricoeur's (2005) forms of recognition; mutual approbation, rights-based recognition and social esteem. Like Honneth, Bado focuses on the capacity for individual responsible agency, individual experience and social relationships. For Bado, recognition means *"discovering what makes up our common humanity and belonging to the same human family."* (2015, p.600)

Mutual Approbation

This form of mutual recognition is reached through relationships between people. These relationships, or strong emotional attachments, can be formed among a small number of people such as a family and/or a group of friends. In a relationship or attachment that fosters mutual approbation, individuals

in the relationship validate their needs mutually and recognize themselves as well as the other as likely creatures with similar needs. The opposite of mutual approbation would be attachments that violate a person's physical integrity in any way or deny the person approbation or support, indirectly affecting the person's self-esteem. The experience of humiliation in situations where approbation is refused or withdrawn, influences an individual's way of "being-with" others. E.g. the individual can feel like others look down on them, like they are unimportant, as if they are nonexistent even.

Social Esteem

As a form of recognition, social esteem is based on the notion that people need recognition of how their individual qualities and competencies are a significant contribution to society or to the life of others. It is different from self-respect or self-confidence, because it is a matter of things related to the idea of social esteem such as social comparison, consideration and prestige. Ties of personal dependence decide a person's importance in the eyes of others, but also in how they perceive themselves and that other. E.g. the person has the opportunity of helping others, recognizes that others can help them, another person can enrich their social life, feels like her or she can enrich the life of others.

Rights-based recognition

This form of recognition can be reached through universal respect and the recognition of our own responsibility towards other people: *"we can only come to understand ourselves as the bearers of rights when we know, in turn, what various normative obligations we must keep vis-à-vis others"* (Ricoeur, 2005, p. 197 cited by Bado, 2015 p.599). Rights-based recognition can be generalized to the societal level, as it is institutionalized in the form of the legal recognition of basic human rights of all people. A lack of universal respect can occur in different spheres of rights. Humiliation through the denial of welfare rights is a different kind of humiliation than a denial of civil or political rights. E.g. the denial of citizenship, the denial of social welfare, the denial of permission to work.

2.5 – Iveson and Fincher's urban planning perspective on Recognition

Iveson and Fincher (2011) take a different approach reflecting on recognition. Coming from an urban planning perspective, they argue that recognition is about the establishment and maintenance of relations or boundaries between groups of people. This can take the form of identifying an (ever) expanding list of groups of people in society that have "special needs". As a reaction to the – in their words – heavy focus on distribution and participation they emphasize that in order for planning to make meaningful contributions to just cities, a focus on the broad social goals of planning is evenly crucial.

According to Iveson and Fincher (2011) the danger of identifying such groups and boundaries between people, is that identity groups are in fact internally differentiated, and their 'protection' and differentiation can prevent the members of a group from being themselves. This resonates with Axel Honneth's argument (in Fraser & Honneth, 2003) in which he describes that any individual most likely identifies with more than one identity group and should be free and able to do so. Preset or made up borders can prevent a successful identity formation process.

In line with the emphasis of Honneth (2003) on the fact that any individual should be free to identify with more than one identity group, *encounter in planning* is a further exploration in response to the critiques of identity politics that can arise in pursuit of recognition. Encounter states that public policy should not reify identity groups, rather, urban inhabitants must have opportunities to adopt any

identity through encounter. Iveson and Fincher (2011) argue for *convivial* encounter “*where those sharing urban spaces have the opportunity to build shared identifications with one another as strangers rather than as members of a particular identity group.*” (p. 412)

2.6 – Yiftachel et al: recognition types in Urban Planning Policy

Like Iveson and Fincher, Yiftachel et al (2009) explored the notion of recognition in the context of urban planning policy. They claim that to study the interaction between identity formation and urban policy, terms like ‘identity’, ‘diversity’, ‘difference’ and ‘multiculturalism’ are often too vague and get confused in urban literature. The main argument they make is that recognition can have a positive or a negative effect for those effected, and it should be studied critically.

Because of the opportunity for recognition to foster or decrease social and spatial justice, it should be viewed as a continuum. Especially in “*situations of ethnic, national, religious and racial conflict, in which dominant groups are keen to reinforce the difference of weakened groups in order to perpetuate their disempowerment*”, Yiftachel et al (2009, p.124) warn that certain types of recognition may lead to ‘othering’, which in turn leads to unjust political consequences for the people affected. Governing bodies therefore should be aware of the damaging possibilities of recognition.

They aim to offer a conceptual way forward by sketching a continuum of recognition types. They analyzed the overall impact of spatial policy on the main ethnic communities in the Beer Sheva region. They combined the study of local and district plans with a special attention to the implications of the plans for the Russian, Mizrahi and Arab communities in Beer Sheva and conducted interviews with policy makers and in-depth interviews with members of the communities. According to the conceptual scheme they developed out of this, affirmative, hostile and indifferent recognition form the main “ideal types” that can assist in the analysis of the interaction between urban policy and people’s identity.

Affirmative recognition

Affirmative recognition is based on the recognition of a group’s identity, including recognition of their cultural and material needs and aspirations, followed by a fair and suitable allocation of power and resources. There are two main sub-types of affirmative recognition: proportional and privileged. These types reflect a group’s power and importance within the urban (policy) arena. Proportional affirmative recognition often enables fair, equal multicultural relations and inter-group integration in the city. However, such proportional affirmative recognition of certain groups can cause tension with marginalized groups, who want to object the privileged position of the affirmed group.

To give an example of affirmative recognition, I will summarize the case of Planning for Russian immigrants in Beer Sheva as described by Yiftachel et al. The consideration of Russian immigrants in Beer Sheva’s Urban Development plans has been shaped by a friendly attitude. They were allocated generous distribution and affirmative recognition, and there is an outspoken, long-term expectation of complete Russian integration in the Israeli-Jewish culture and society.

The main focus had been the rapid provision of assigned temporary and permanent housing. Landscape had been “russified” with signs, institutions, catering and a cultural Russian enclave had taken form, financially supported by Beer Sheva authorities. Several local parties have been formed by Russian immigrants, and Russian professionals have been elected to seat in city hall in 2006. Within a

decade, the costs for Russian immigration and integration were outweighed by the economic benefits and Russian communities have risen into the city's middle class. This should be seen, however, in the larger Israel/Palestinian context, as Israel has not adopted separate Russian-language education or autonomous institutions. Part of the Russian immigrant autonomy is created "from below" by the community itself, through business, market, cultural events etc. Even the largest portions of the community who are not at all religiously Jewish, are expected to integrate fully into Israeli-Hebrew culture.

Indifferent recognition

Indifferent recognition refers to a passive existence of a certain group in urban policy and its implementation. The groups specific identity and associated needs and demands, and the official acceptance of the group's members as equally members of the urban society are not recognized. This leads to implicit, covert discrimination as there are no clear categories about their existence as a group. In addition, the latter prevents the setting of legitimate collective goals. Such indifferent recognition can range from benign indifference to marginalizing indifference. Marginalizing indifference is most typical for a city like Berlin, where the promise of individual mobility often leads to problems within a certain group.

To give an example of indifferent recognition, I will summarize the case of the treatment of the Mizrahim Jews in Beer Sheva, as described by Yiftachel et al. The Mizrahim arrived in Beer Shiva in large numbers during the 1950s and 1960s, after the establishment of the state of Israel and the resulting state of conflict between Israel and the Arab states. Most of these Mizrahim Jews were assigned accommodations by the state, first in temporary camps and later in urban centers on the periphery of cities. Although Beer Sheva accommodated the largest number of Mizrahi immigrants, the recognition extended to them was condescending and marginalizing.

The inclusion into the Israel 'project' was premised on their Judaism, but at the expense of a denial of their Eastern and Arab cultural relation. Most of the Mizrahim were forced to westernize, secularize and de-Arabize. Many aspects of their identity, such as language, dress, music, way of living and even religion, were forbidden and ridiculed through public discourse. Although many other minorities have moved up into the middle and even upper class in Israel, large groups of Mizrahim remain stigmatized within the inner-city neighborhoods. There is a noticeable overlap between working in lower-middle class positions and the Mizrahim ethnicity.

Hostile recognition

Hostile recognition refers to the negative framing of a groups demands and needs, it constructs the group and its identity as a threat or burden to the dominant perception of a 'good' city. This can vary from implicit to explicit hostility. The consequences of such hostility vary depending on the size of the group and setting, but usually this leads to opposition, hatred, polarization and spaces of informal development. Especially when national or religious minorities with strong historical claims to the city are subject to this type of recognition it has high levels of conflict.

As a case of hostile recognition, the Bedouin Arab representation in urban regional planning of Beer Sheva is described by Yiftachel et al. Although the Bedouin are the indigenous inhabitants of the region, they only exceptionally and randomly appear in policy and planning. This has forced the Bedouins to

form their own institutions and villages, which in turn were not recognized by the state. In 1977 a Council for Unrecognized Villages was formed to combine the different communities around Beer Sheva, and several NGO's stepped in to support a new form of 'insurgent planning'. Now it is no longer possible to see the Bedouins as intruders or outsiders and their needs are heard continuously in administrative circles and the media. Nine of the 45 unrecognized Bedouin villages have been recognized, but no infrastructure has been allocated to them yet. Despite repeated Arab demands to re-open a Beer Sheva Mosque built by the Ottomans for Muslim Worship, the city refuses to do so, claiming that the region has enough mosques in Bedouin villages and Beer Sheva is now a Jewish city with the right to preserve its urban character. Hostile recognition and indigenous planning practice have clashed the past years, leading to a polarization between the Bedouins and authorities, with little progress made towards resolving this conflict.

2.7 – Complexity and the focus on experiences of newcomers

The theoretical categories as described above are a useful source of inspiration to think about the multiple dimensions of recognition, but they should only be applied as 'aids', as the experiences of individuals may not neatly fall into the different categories. Their application requires reflexive examination of societal norms that characterize recognition principles (Honneth & Fraser 2003; Yiftachel et al 2009; Iveson and Fincher 2011; Bado, 2015).

In addition to reflexive examination of the categories of recognition, capturing the complexity of recognition as experienced by newcomers should be done with a lot of care. Only if we allow for differentiated forms of recognition and recognize newcomers as full individuals and members of society, they can get better chances to receive treatment that acknowledges their status and dignity as human beings (Bado, 2015).

Migration patterns undermine the rigid distinction between citizens and non-citizens as explained in section 2.1, because they constantly re-shape internal and external borders and form different identity groups (Landry, 2015). The first protests by Refugee Tent Action as well as the ones up until the beginning of this year were shaped by the pursuit of basic human and civil rights. Although in the current situation, newcomer-protesters can never completely escape their situation of 'waiting' to become citizens, the protests ended their isolation from the rest of society as local residents offered solidarity, support and cooperation.

The public occupations became a statement about *more* than the recognition of basic human rights of newcomers. Indirectly, it became a statement about their lived experiences in the urban space they inhabit and the interaction with others within this space (Landry, 2015). As newcomers no longer resided in their assigned accommodations but on a central square in Berlin, the protests formed the social and political foundations for the recognition of a new identity.

2.8 – Conceptual Framework

This chapter presented a brief account of a number of leading conceptualizations of the notion of recognition. The cited authors have different, but partly overlapping, accounts of what recognition encompasses. The remainder of this thesis will draw on the different dimensions of recognition as interpreted by Bado (2015), Honneth (1996) and Yiftachel et al (2011). The key components of each of these conceptualizations are found in Table 2. Based on a critical reading of the relevant works, the researcher sought to integrate the perspectives in a conceptual model encompassing three dimensions of recognition.

Recognition through human rights and respects (abbreviated as RR)

The researchers interpretation of 'recognition through human rights and respect' is formulated in a way that combines rights-based recognition, rights and self-respect and affirmative recognitions. Based on the recognition of and opportunity for a person to exercise his or her basic human rights and to act as capable, responsible agents.

Recognition through approbation (abbreviated as RA)

The researchers interpretation of 'recognition through approbation' combines the similarities of mutual approbation, love and self-confidence and hostile recognition. Based on relationships in which a person is validated as equal human being and can express their desires, hopes and needs without fear of harm or abandonment.

Recognition through social comparison (abbreviated as RS)

The researchers of 'recognition through social comparison' combines the similarities of social-esteem, solidarity and self-esteem and indifferent recognition. Based on whether or not a person's competencies are recognized as a significant contribution to society and/or the life of others.



photo 3: Police at the eviction of the Gerhard Hauptman Schule in 2014. (source: Bild Zeitung, 2014)

Table 1: Different dimensions of recognition as defined by a number of key authors, combined into the dimensions employed in this research

Bado	Honneth	Yiftachel et al	Dimensions as interpreted by Xeni Frencken
Rights-based recognition	Rights and self-respect	Affirmative recognition	Recognition through human rights and respect (RR)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Universal respect - Legal/Institutionalized form: basic human rights - A lack of this can occur through <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * denial of welfare rights * denial of civil rights * denial of political rights <p>i.e. the denial of citizenship, the denial of social welfare, the denial of permission to work.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sense a person has of themselves as a responsible, capable agent - Mediated through interaction - Organized in terms of legal rights <p>i.e. The opportunity to exercise our capacity as responsible agents.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Recognition of cultural, material needs and aspirations - Fair & suitable allocation of resources and power - proportional – privileged affirmative recognition. <p>i.e. Consideration of a certain group with a friendly attitude: generous distribution and affirmative recognition; expectation of complete integration in local culture and society.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Opportunity to act as / sense of themselves as a responsible agent - Recognition of and opportunity to exercise basic human rights - A person can only come to understand and claim his rights, when he can understand his normative obligations in relation to others - Respect of other persons when interacting - Self-respect - (denial of) the right to work, (denial of) social welfare, experiences opportunity to act as a capable, responsible individual, feeling able to fulfill wants or needs
Mutual Approbation	Love and self-confidence	Hostile recognition	Recognition through approbation (RA)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reached through relationships - In a relationship that fosters mutual approbation, needs are mutually validated, recognition of equal creatures with similar needs. - Opposite are attachments that violate physical integrity, deny approbation or support, affecting self-esteem. <p>i.e. individual feels like others look down on them, like they are unimportant, etc.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Capacity and possibility to express desires, hopes & needs - without fear of abandonment or harm. - Can be affected by violation of bodily integrity <p>i.e. rape or other physical trauma that is directly or indirectly inflicted by others.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Active negative framing of demands and needs, as a threat or burden to the dominant perception - leads to opposition, hatred, polarization and spaces of informal development. <p>i.e. a group is seen as intruders or outsiders, only exceptionally and randomly appears in policy and planning, this leads to a polarization between the minority group and authorities</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Approbation means; to approve or sanction - This form of recognition is fostered through relationships in which the individual is validated as equal human being with similar wants and needs. - Desires, hopes & needs should be able to be expressed without fear of harm / abandonment - Negatively affected by violation of physical integrity, denial of support/approbation that affect a persons self-esteem such as physical threat, violence - individual feels equal to others, important – versus – individual feels like others look down on them, they are unimportant
Social Esteem	Solidarity and self-esteem	Indifferent recognition	Recognition through social comparison (RS)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - people need recognition of how their individual qualities and competencies can significantly contribute to society or the life of others. - social comparison, consideration and prestige. <p>i.e. person has the opportunity of helping others, recognizes that others can help them, another person can enrich their social life, feels like he or she can enrich the life of others.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What we see that distinguishes us from others, must be something we see as valuable - a lack of self-esteem would be the sense that one has nothing to offer. - determined by what dominant public discourse deems as worthy contributions to society - social struggle & solidarity movement: a person can be perceived/perceive themselves differently through advocating for the need to recognize their value. <p>i.e. the elimination of degrading cultural images of racial minorities.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Passive existence of a certain group in urban arena. - Not recognized as equal members in society - Demands and Needs are not officially recognized, not taken seriously - Aspects of a groups identity are ridiculed, stigmatized or forbidden. <p>i.e. assigned accommodations in temporary camps, later on the periphery of cities. Recognition extended is condescending/marginalizing</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - individuals' competencies are recognized as significant contribution to society and the life of others - individual sees what distinguishes them as valuable aspects and competencies - Social struggle / solidarity movement: person can perceive themselves and be perceived differently through advocating for the need to recognize their value - Aspects of a persons identity are respected – versus – ridiculed, stigmatized - Person has the opportunity of helping and enriching the lives others, and sees the help of others as something that can enrich their own (social) life – versus – feels they can't do anything and uncomfortable with the help of others

The interpretation of the three dimensions of recognition as described above and summarized in Table 1 will guide this study of the experiences of newcomers in Berlin. These interpretations of the dimensions of recognition are formulated in a way that is easier applicable to an individual's situation or narrative, they combine the similarities of the descriptions of these different dimensions as described by Bado (2015), Yiftachel et al (2009) and Honneth (1996) in the three left columns.

Many 'other factors' then the dimensions of recognition may have an effect on the experiences of newcomers in Berlin, for instance their financial means, educational level, age, disability etc. 'Distribution' is included in the conceptual model, referring to the discussion on a fair distribution of resources and how I think this discussion will change once we perceive newcomers as equal, individual human beings. For more on the discussion about distribution, see section 2.1, p. 7, after the quote by Benhabib & Resnik.

Figure two presents a graphical representation of these different factors and their relationship with the lived experience of newcomers. As stated before, the focus of this research is on the interrelationship between different forms of recognition and the lived experience of newcomers in Berlin.

Conceptual Model

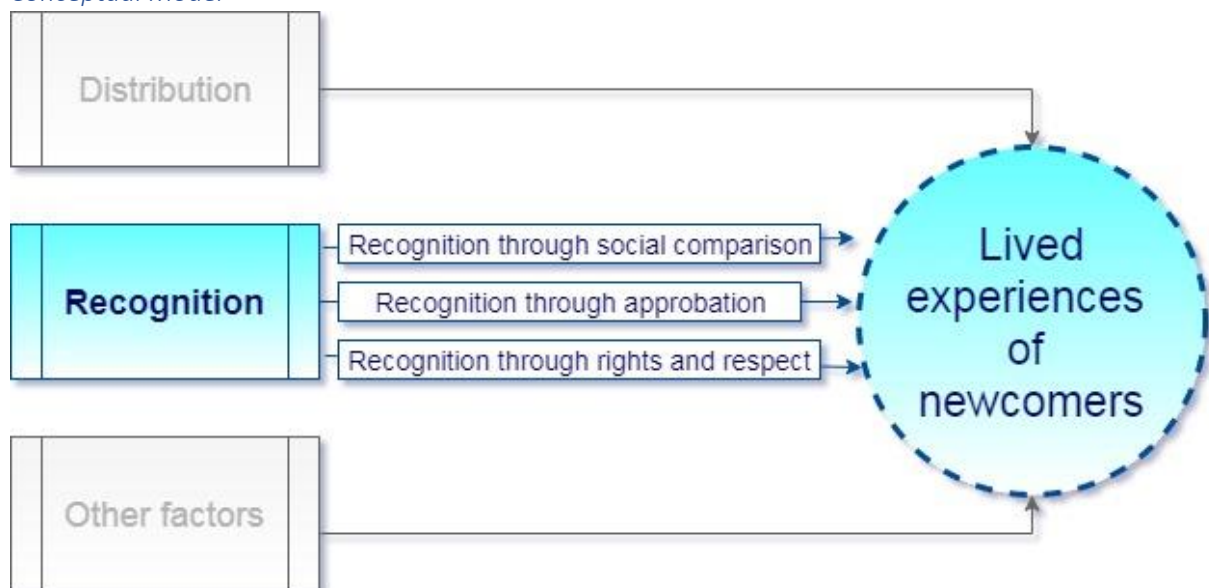


Figure 2: conceptual model with the concepts to be researched in blue (source: author with draw.io, 2018)

3 – Methodology

To answer the question “What are the lived experiences of newcomers in Berlin, and what role do different forms of recognition have in shaping these experiences?” nine newcomers in Berlin were interviewed to hear about their lived experiences in Berlin. The following sections will convey on the research strategy and methods, in section 3.3 the selection of the research population for this study will be described and substantiated. Section 3.4 will convey on the collection and analysis of data. Section 3.5 will then convey on the themes that emerged from the data, followed by the discussion of the researchers positionality.

3.1 – Ontology

Working from an interpretivist research philosophy, this research puts focus on the researcher as a social actor, appreciating the differences between people. The emphasis in this research is on understanding the beliefs, values and attitudes in the minds of those involved in the situation. There is no claim that the values held by the researcher conducting the research do not, or should not, enter the research process or observations. Positionality and subjectivity do not undermine the value of research, rather, they can - when acknowledged - be a strength in coming to a new focus and new solutions to research problems (Haraway 1988; Farthing 2016).

3.2 – Epistemology

As opposed to positivist epistemology this research will be conducted from a more constructivist epistemological position as described by Farthing (2016) and others. There is something distinctive about the social world, people possess consciousness, can reflect on their situation and make sense of the world they live in. Rather than making assumptions about interpretations, this research tries to pay attention to the way people understand and give meaning to their actions and experiences.

3.3 – Research strategy

This research aims to obtain knowledge and information about a complex subject: the lived experiences of newcomers in Berlin. As it tries to gain insight in the nature of specific timespace defined experiences, we call this a case study. It will gain further insight in the lived experiences of newcomers in Berlin and how different forms of recognition are reflected in these experiences, based the conceptual model that flow from the theories discussed in chapter two.

Because of the complexity of the concept of lived experiences and recognition, the needed information can only be obtained through interviews that leave interviewees considerable freedom to talk about issues at hand in a way that suits them most. In-depth interviews can offer deep insight in feelings and opinions about significant events and people in the participants lives (Pavlish, 2007). In addition, this form helps to understand the context of their experiences, feelings and opinions.

Insight in newcomers’ experiences and the way different forms of recognition are reflected in them, has the possibility to bring their experiences and needs to the attention of scientists, planners, policy makers, and or implementing actors in Berlin. When their lived experiences become a central feature in future research and development of policies concerning them, this changing discourse lays ground for substantive policy change (Jager et al 2001; Owens and Cowell 2011).

Contact with activists and searchers from Schlafplatzorga (see section 3.3) and other activist and supporting groups in Berlin-Kreuzberg revealed that the lives of newcomers in Berlin do indeed play out in a much wider context then inside assigned accommodations. Therefore, the data for this research were collected through a case-study in Berlin-Kreuzberg and Berlin-Neukölln.

In-depth interviews

Usually in-depth interviews focus more on the interview partners thoughts, feelings, experiences, ideas and preferences than on factual data like age and gender or the precise sequence of events.

In-depth interviews are open-ended interviews and leave opportunity for the interviewer to explore particular themes or responses further. Unlike a structured interview, open-ended interviews do not limit interview partners to a set of pre-determined answers. This allows for discussion of issues that the researcher may not have considered.

As this research focuses on the experiences of individuals, it aims for an interview design that allows interviewees to speak completely in their own 'voices'. Newcomers in Berlin have different lived experiences, based on their individual and collective morals, individual characteristics, particular circumstances etc.; i.e.. norms, values, attitudes. When asked about 'morals', feelings or opinions, people will often not be able or may be hesitant to answer (Pavlish, 2007; Lindseth & Norberg, 2004). But their unique stories or 'narratives' produce "truths" about their socially located lives and identities.

"Narratives reveal experiences of real people in real situations, struggling with real problems"
(Hatch & Wisniewski, 1995, p. 127)

It therefore is possible to collect interesting data about lived experiences that reveal the feelings and opinions of people, although these will not be explicitly expressed, through narrative inquiry. Clandinin (2006), Elliot (2005), Lindset and Norberg (2004), Pavlish (2007) and Wengraf (2013) have identified narrative inquiry as a suitable method for studying lived experience.

Narrative Interviews

Many people like telling stories and will provide narrative accounts of their experiences in research interviews, when encouraged to speak their own 'voice'. This encouragement is created using everyday language. People are most likely to elicit narratives when asked simple, open questions that relate to their life experiences. In narrative interviews, the researcher can appear to be passive when this is not the case: the focus is on listening and supporting the story telling of their interview partner. By interrupting the interview partner, the researcher would 'condition' them to provide a different type of, or less, information.

The introduction of a narrative interview is kept as general as possible and during the first 'phase' of the interview there is as little 'exploring' done as possible. Follow up questions about the first story are asked by the researcher *only* once the interview partner has finished his or her initial story (answer). During the first phase, an initial narrative could be encouraged by the researcher through asking a first question, i.e.: *"I am collecting stories for a research project and hope you can tell me yours. Can you tell me your story, the events and experiences that have been important since you came to Berlin? Begin wherever you like. I will just listen and maybe take some notes, I won't interrupt you."*

Narratives can further be elicited through asking the interviewee to describe memories, anecdotes or particular incidents and or people in their past and present lives (Pavlish, 2007). Questions in narrative interviews ask about events and are *open*. They won't be questions about feelings or opinions, rather, they let the interviewee tell a story that potentially reveals what they felt and thought (Wengraf, 2013). Example questions could be: Do you remember how this all happened? Why did you make those changes? Can you tell me about the location where this took place? Who were the people involved?

For the production of meaning it is important to capture all details of the interaction, such as laughter, pauses, changes in voice or speed etc. Therefore, the narrative interviews will be recorded.

Selection of the research population

The research population of newcomers in Berlin was selected through adaptive snowball sampling as described by Thompson and Collins (2002). Because urban refugee populations of different nationalities can be clustered in certain areas, such an adaptive pattern can help with sampling. This can decrease the bias problem in other sampling methods among populations that are unevenly distributed or hard to reach. The sampling design is adapted based on observations made during the research.

The sampling started with Schlafplatzorga. Schlafplatzorga tries to organize temporary shelter for homeless and or illegalized migrants in Berlin (Schlafplatzorga, 2017). Their main activity consists of holding shifts three nights a week at the KUB in Berlin. Their area of work is Berlin-Kreuzberg and Berlin-Neukölln. Once a month Schlafplatzorga hosts a solidarity kitchen with vegan food, where newcomers that seek support as well as supporters -the people who offer temporary sleeping places - can come to eat, meet and talk.

Being a member of Schlafplatzorga allowed the researcher to talk with people encountered through their activities, identifying the first interview partners among the newcomer population in Berlin. The research started with two newcomers in Berlin-Kreuzberg. From there more contacts with participants within the target group were made, following non-probabilistic adaptive snowball sampling as described by Thompson and Collins (2002).

3.4 – Data and Analysis

To answer the question central to this research, interviews and their transcripts were used. Literature, interviews, transcripts and observations were analyzed to gain insight in the lived experiences of newcomers. The results of this analysis are described in chapter 4.

Nine newcomers in Berlin were interviewed. Seven of these interviews took place in a one-on-one setting. One interview was with a young, heterosexual, couple from Syria, who got married here in Berlin and were interviewed together at their home. Two of the interviews were conducted in January, after the research proposal and ethics protocol were accorded, before the finalization of the conceptual framework and narrative interview method. All interviews were recorded and later transcribed. In addition, notes of observations made during and right after these interviews were included in the transcriptions to create a better context of what was said.

Clandinin (2006), Elliot (2005), Lindset and Norberg (2004), Pavlish (2007) and Wengraf (2013) have identified narrative inquiry as a suitable method for studying lived experience. The emphasis is on essential meaning, narrative interviews that are tape-recorded and transcribed produce texts to be interpreted. The aim is not to focus on what is 'factual', rather the focus is on the meaning of the experiences. Narrating is the act of storytelling, when someone narrates a lived experience, and this is transcribed, an autonomous text that expresses its own meaning and can be analyzed is produced.

Thematic structural analysis

To analyze each transcript, it was first read as a whole, after which a thematic structural analysis was applied. Thematic structural analysis allows for a greater understanding of the experiences of newcomers and patterns in their stories can be determined. Themes that emerge from the codes were

formulated, disclosing meaning. The themes were not imposed from the theory but emerged from the transcripts. Later, the themes were related back to the dimensions of recognition. This structural thematic analysis, performed through coding pieces of text, was repeated several times to uncover the meanings of the narratives about experiences gathered through the interviews (Farthing 2016; Lindset & Norberg 2004; Clandinin 2006).

The coding was done by hand, marking two to five lines of text to identify key reflections, images, words or concepts. The analysis was adapted as themes and ideas emerged. Codes were formulated as clear and concise as possible, stating what the marked texts are about and what the boundaries of the code are, so the researcher could know when they occurred in the transcripts. Transcripts were read and re-read, checking the codes validity and consistency. The complete codebook can be consulted in appendix C.

From the codes, patterns emerged that allowed for the identification of themes and sub-themes, i.e. certain topics, certain experiences. Frequency of a code, or a code only occurring when other certain factors are at work, helped to identify themes. Each theme had to be defined in such a way that it can be understood by others what the theme is. In chapter four the themes that emerged from newcomer's experiences are described, illustrated with quotations from the transcripts. How different dimensions of recognition are reflected in these experiences is described in the last section of chapter four.

3.5 – Themes that emerged from the coding

During the analysis, ninety-three codes were used. From these codes, patterns emerged, and thirteen sub-themes were identified. Together, these sub-themes formed six themes of which five are discussed in chapter four. The themes discussed in chapter four are formulated and chosen from the variety of sub-themes and codes, because of the emphasis newcomers put on these themes, and the frequency of occurrence of related codes during the analysis of interview transcripts. In addition, these themes reflect activities and events in the daily lives of newcomers, that can help to bring visibility to the everyday experiences of newcomers with their new urban situations combined with their individual personal characteristics. The complete codebook can be consulted in appendix C.

Table 2: overview of themes and related sub-themes (ST)

<u>THEMES</u>	RELATED SUB-THEMES 1-13 (ST)				
experiences with (finding) living arrangement	Finding living arrangement when you are 'different' (ST 12)				
experiences with establishing social relationships	establishing social relationships (ST 6)	emotions: positive versus negative (ST 10)			
experiences with feeling and acting as a capable individual	acting independently versus needing the help of others (ST 8)	Feeling able to use and/or develop professional competencies (ST 13)	German language is the key (ST 11)	threat of deportation (ST 1)	

experiences with being perceived in a certain way by others	experience with being perceived by others in a certain way (ST 7)	Conflict situations (ST 5)	experience with official institutions (ST 3)	emotions: positive versus negative (ST 10)	experience of asylum procedure (ST 2)
experiences with alternative support and solidarity networks	Supported by alternative support/solidarity networks (ST 9)	emotions: positive versus negative (ST 10)			
experiences with work and study	Feeling able to use and develop professional competencies (ST 13)	experience with official institutions (ST 3)			

3.6 – Ethics

The population of newcomers in Berlin can be identified as a ‘vulnerable’ population. Some newcomers in Berlin might try to keep a low profile to not attract attention from authorities. They might have concerns about the motives for this research, my trustworthiness or concerns about exposure when they are hiding in fear of deportation. This can result in difficulties to come into contact with the research population.

The use of qualitative methods is based on a relationship of trust between researcher and respondent, particularly narrative interviews are based on such relationships of trust. Therefore, several things were done to increase the level of trust.

- Participants were informed about the purpose, methods and intended use of the research.
- Anonymity of participants is to be respected.
- Harm to participants or the researcher were avoided, whether physical or psychological
- Participants in the research could only participate voluntarily
- The independence of the researcher was made clear

To make my independence clear I emphasized that I was conducting the research as a student in Planning and Urban Geography, *not* as a supporter of Schlafplatzorga or for any other organization. I tried to take the consideration of ethics further than assessment by the ethical board, trying to consider ethics at every point in this research. How ethics were considered in practice during this research is described the last box of the ethical approval form in Appendix A (ESRC Framework for Research Ethics 2012; Farthing 2016).

3.7 – Positionality

Being a former resident of Berlin-Kreuzberg and friend of Schlafplatzorga shaped the contact with research participants as well as my political positionality. Conducting research in a city that I have come to know quite well, presented opportunities to share my social and cultural capital with newcomers. I know my way around Berlin, have my own social networks and speak the German language. As a supporter of Schlafplatzorga, I could try to help newcomers to find sleeping places, translate conversations or documents and introduce them to people and organizations in my network.



*Photo 4: Solidarity space and store in a squatted building in Berlin-Kreuzberg
(Source: taken by the author XF, April 2017)*

To me, solidarity means connecting with others to work towards a just society based in my own racism-critical perspective. In light of my engagement with Schlafplatzorga and other solidarity networks, this consists of a critical approach towards my privileges, strategically using them to create space and shelter for those who are disenfranchised and struggle for their rights. This shaped my research from the beginning, and consciously and unconsciously must have influenced the questions I asked during my fieldwork and analysis.

Responsibility and reflexivity about how narrative inquiry has the ability to shift the experiences of the people I engaged with in this research is important. The same accounts for the texts produced in this research project, and how they are presented. Even though I am aware of my positionality and presumptions, I think I can only be aware of certain aspects of my subjectivity. Critical reflections can help to become more aware of this and present my research in an effective way.

Although I could not commit to continuous or long-term engagement during and after my fieldwork, because I was no longer living in Berlin-Kreuzberg at this time, I did have the chance to engage actively in solidarity work with Schlafplatzorga in 2017 and the beginning of 2018. Because I was actively engaged in creating space and shelter for newcomers, I had to make clear to interviewees that the conversations for my research were in no way a means to help them get shelter or support.

For the most part I think I succeeded to clearly communicate the purpose of the interviews with all participants, stressing from the first moment of contact and also in contact through third persons that I *just* wanted to hear their story for my research project and there would be no further interventions after the interview. In addition, I would stress that I was conducting the research as a student in Planning and Urban Geography, independently, *not* as a supporter of Schlafplatzorga or for any other organization. During or after the interview I informed most of them about organizations I know in Berlin, like the Medibüro and KUB, who support with medical help, counseling, language courses and

paperwork. In some cases, I encountered participants again during the shifts at Schlafplatzorga. I did not favor them during the shift. Nonetheless, contact with participants was a bit different after they had shared their experiences with me.

3.8 – Limitations

Social life is constantly evolving. The way people think about and give meaning to their actions changes, the objects of social understanding change over time. A constant reflexive examination is needed to prevent preset borders and ideas from compromising the chances for individual identity formation.

Although qualitative methods produce important data and analysis, they are not easily generalizable. Problems raised by the lack of representative, generalizable data should be considered in this research. Looking at the research aim and questions, the aim is to obtain insight in the lived experiences of newcomers in Berlin and how these reflect different forms of recognition. Such knowledge is concrete, practical and context depended and of value for a meaningful understanding of their reality. Generalization of this study can be of value, generalization can apply to relevant cases in which the same conditions covered by the claims made in this case study exist (Flyberg, 2006).



photo 5: Fence with little lock over Landwehr canal (source: taken by the author XF, October 2017)

4 – Research Results

In this chapter I will discuss the results of my analysis in relation to the theory as previously discussed in chapter two. Note that not all findings of the research fit in this chapter. Please see the codebook in appendix C for a detailed overview of all codes. This chapter will begin with presenting the demographics of the respondents and the main themes that emerged from their experiences in section 4.1. In section 4.2 till 4.6 the main themes are explained and illustrated with quotes from the transcripts in a theme-by-theme fashion. In section 4.7. newcomers' experiences are related back to the different dimensions of recognition as interpreted in chapter two.

4.1 – Main themes

Eight in-depth narrative interviews with nine respondents were conducted in this research. The sample of respondents was collected through snowball sampling, which started with Schlafplatzorga. The sample contained a variety in age and ethnicity, but all respondents had some relation to Berlin-Kreuzberg and Berlin-Neukölln because they were living, working and/or studying there. My interview partners came from Damascus and other areas in Syria, as well as varying countries in West-Africa. Respondents from Syria usually had a different status then respondents from West-Africa, which defined their experiences in different ways.

Table 3: demographics of respondents

Respondent	Gender	Age	Status	Country of origin
TSCP 1	Male	30	Duldung	Cameroon
TSCP 2	Male	21	Bleibe	Damascus
TSCP 3	Male	30	Duldung	Mauritania
TSCP 4	Male	37	Bleibe	Damascus
TSCP 5	Female	25	Bleibe	Damascus
TSCP 6	Female & Male (married couple)	24 & 26	Bleibe	Damascus
TSCP 0.1	Male	26	None	Algeria
TSCP 0.2	Male	20	Duldung	Libya

**TSCP = Short for transcript*

When asking the respondents which events and experiences had been of importance to them since arriving in Berlin, several themes kept re-occurring throughout different conversations. The five main themes that will be discussed are:

- Experiences with finding living arrangement
- Experiences with establishing social relationships
- Experiences with feeling and acting as a capable individual
- Experiences with being perceived in a certain way by others
- Experiences with alternative support and solidarity networks.

The argumentation for the choice of themes can be found in section 3.5.

The complete codebook can be consulted in appendix C.



*photo 6: newcomer youth in Berlin-Kreuzberg
(source: taken by the author XF, january 2018)*

4.2 – Experiences with (finding) living arrangement

Newcomers experienced it was hard to find and maintain a sleeping place or suitable living arrangement. Often, they related this to some feature that made them different than others. A lack of financial means, their ethnicity and their legal status were all mentioned as obstacles for finding a suitable place to live as well. Obtaining a suitable place to live was described as an important aspect in itself, associated with personal freedom and the opportunity for personal development. Newcomers preferred to not rely on the help of others for their living arrangement.

Most respondents had left their assigned accommodation or hadn't gone to live there in the first place. They had different motivations for this related to recognition. Most of them said they wanted more out of life than waiting in a camp during the asylum application, often located on the periphery, or outside, of Berlin. Others had been assigned to deportation centers and came to Berlin hiding from deportation. Most of them felt they weren't able to make friends nor find a job while staying in assigned accommodations. They had acquaintances in Berlin that could support them in more ways than they had the chance of being supported while staying in a camp. Respondents reported the food there was bad, the living conditions were cramped, and they weren't able to study German because of a lack of a quiet place to study.

A female respondent who used to work via a company based in Berlin-Neukölln, explained what it was like for her and her family when they first came to Berlin in 2014. They were assigned to stay in a hostel that temporarily served as accommodation for newcomers, in the center of Berlin. *"We lived in a hostel in one room and that was tough; my dad, my sisters, my sisters' children... As soon as we were in Jobcenter and got our residence permit, we started to look for an apartment. That was hard, because the landlords don't want people who come from Jobcenter and don't have an employment contract. And we were all still in Jobcenter and we didn't have a job yet. Then we found an estate agent who offered us an apartment in Spandau. And we said, okay, it may be Spandau, but we are in Jobcenter. So, we moved there. From Mitte to Spandau, and that was really really tough too."* (Female from Syria, 24 Y/O, Bleibe-status, translated by XF). Although this assigned accommodation was located in the center of Berlin, when they searched for accommodation themselves this woman and her family realized that home owners in Berlin would rather not let an apartment to newcomers who were supported by Jobcenter. The Jobcenter has to provide a basic income as well as support for jobseekers in Germany. After six months this family finally found an estate agent who offered them an apartment in Berlin-Spandau, an old town west of Berlin that merged with the city during the 20th century. Despite arriving in the center of the city, this family ended up on the periphery of Berlin after all.

It was important for newcomers to find suitable living arrangement. They wanted to live somewhere else than their assigned accommodation, one of the reasons was they felt controlled there. A young man from Syria narrated about the time he found a flat share with the help of a local *"it was so much better as the home where I always had to show my papers and where there was so much control at the doors. I lived there until I found this flat share where I am now ... It changed so much to move in here. With these young people, it's simply completely different. Through my flat mates I met so many other people, friends. We can understand each other."* (Male from Syria, 21 Y/O, Bleibe-status, translated by XF). He felt like he didn't have the opportunity to move in and out his assigned accommodation independently, due to the controls at the doors. His motivation to move to a flat share with a woman and her child was to be free of controls. The quote shows how moving into a flat share and out of

assigned accommodation can have a positive impact for newcomers and even creates the possibility to establish social relationships.

Although all respondents experienced difficulties in the search for suitable living arrangement, those interviewed with a Bleibe-status usually had secured an apartment or a flat share at the time the interviews were conducted. Those staying in Berlin illegally, or with a Duldung-status, were moving around much more, only staying off the street with the support of Schlafplatzorga or other locals. One man described how he discovered quite soon after arriving in Berlin, that his foreign ethnicity combined with his illegal status made it impossible for him to find a place to rent. *"While I got to Berlin, I discovered that particularly for foreigners that are non-German or non-European it is a nightmare, difficult, to actually get a place to sleep. When you are documented if you are foreigner and it's difficult to find a place, what more when you are undocumented? Some house owners are just not 'comfortable' with foreigners ... Of foreigners they don't like the smells of the food, the tones, music, how they look. So, there are tons and tons of issues that keep house owners from actually giving homes to foreigners. What you do doesn't even really matter, its where you come from that matters."* (Male from Cameroon, 30 Y/O, Duldung-status). This quote shows how newcomers become excluded from the housing market, through the interaction with home owners. Because newcomers are not seen as equally fit to rent, an interaction of exclusion towards the respondent is mediated. The lack of citizenship combined with a foreign ethnicity seem to be what prevents home owners from recognizing newcomers as someone who would fit their standards for a possible tenant.

The need to secure a roof over their head led newcomers to rely on others or to do things with and for others that made them feel very uncomfortable. A young man from Libya who had been sleeping on the street for a while after arriving in Berlin described: *"One night, this is funny, one night I went out and I was like, exhausted of sleeping outside. And then I went to a bar and then I get back with a lady to her place, with an age of my mom. To have sex. But my purpose was not sex. I felt so disgusting. But I just, I just wanted a warm place. And then while I was there, I googled how to get places in Berlin when you are in a situation like mine, and I found Schlafplatzorga."* (Male from Libya, 21 Y/O, Duldung-status, assigned to stay three hours away from Berlin). This man needed a break from staying on the streets and misled a woman to have sex, which had an impact on how he felt about himself. After this experience this young man did find a place to stay in a flat share with the help of Schlafplatzorga, but because he was in Berlin illegally he had to leave to place after a few months. *"Because I was arrested by the police because I don't have papers. And they said they may keep an eye on you and if they find out that you're being with us, we will have problems with the Landlord. They were nice, super friendly. They asked me to move out. And I said yes."* He got arrested because he was asked for his papers and could not present any, and the other people in the flat share felt it was too much of a risk to let him stay there longer.

Not having your own place to stay, depending on others and constantly moving around showed to be a tiring, uncomfortable experience for newcomers. Upon arrival there is often the feeling of happiness to have arrived somewhere with the possibility of receiving support. By the time I talked to them, respondents described a tiredness of moving around and feeling excluded. One man from Mauritania was never on the streets, but when asked how it was for him to move from place to place he shared something which illustrates the situation of newcomers in Berlin quite well. *"Yeah, I feel I just move between two places. It's okay, but it's not okay. I think that if you have something for your own then*

you will be more free, you know... I really, really want a place of my own. But it's not easy. Imagine if I take an apartment and I have no work and no ausweis and then one day the owner comes and then... it's complicated. That's why I couldn't take an apartment in Berlin. But I want to have just for myself. And if I have, one day, I can invite friends there too." (Male from Mauritania, 30 Y/O, Duldung-status)

This quote shows the respondent would rather have his own place than having to move between places, but he decided to not look for a place for himself because he was denied citizenship and permission to work. Although he feels it would be good if he had a place for himself, where he can invite people over and feel freer, he is unable to act on this due to a denial of citizenship and lack of work.

A young man from Algeria, who never applied for asylum in Germany because he felt it would lead to him being deported, described a similar experience. *"For me it was too much because I moved like 6 times in 4 months from one room to another, seeing people's books and stuffs. you know? That was why at some point I wanted to leave. Accept that, actually, I would take myself as a lucky guy. Since I came to Berlin, all the luck that I missed in my life, I got it here ... I got a couple of offers to rent, but I couldn't. I always have to rely on someone else that I can stay in his place for free. Which is, I mean, all the people I was staying with were totally okay and they were totally happy for me to be there with them and they felt comfortable and I also felt the same. But at one point I always felt strange."* (Male from Algeria, 26 Y/O, never applied for asylum)

As this quote shows, the respondent felt unequal to the locals he depended on for a place to sleep. He seemed to be unable to express his feelings of displacement to them. This respondent had a social support network in Berlin to fall back on, which is why he came to Berlin in the first place. He even got offers to rent, but he couldn't act on these offers independently because he didn't have the financial means. His self-esteem in comparison to others seemed to be negatively affected, to an extent that made him want to leave Berlin. Such a lack of social esteem occurs when a person feels uncomfortable having to rely on other people's help because they feel they can't give back.

4.3 – Experiences with establishing social relationships

Social relationships, such as friendships or relations with family and other acquaintances or the absence thereof, was another subject frequently talked about by newcomers when they narrated about their experiences since arriving in Berlin. Coming to a place where you don't know any or only a few people was reported as frightening and/or exciting, even by those who saw themselves as very sociable and outgoing. The instance and possibility of people ignoring or refusing them was very present in the stories of newcomers.

The importance of establishing social relationships for newcomers is emphasized in the following quote from the transcript of an interview with a couple from Syria. They knew each other from the time they were young in Syria. And they managed to get married and find an apartment together in Berlin after fleeing from Syria and having been assigned in different parts of Germany. Having secured a relationship and life together, allowed them to focus on other things. There is also an emphasis on the fact that they are 'in this together'. *"Some people don't have anything. Their family is still in Syria, they fear they will get hurt, they don't have a legal status. At least for me and her, I know her, we live together, and we are in this together. We have fulfilled our wish to be and to stay together by getting married and moving in together, and now we can focus on the other things we want"* (Couple from Syria, 24 & 26 Y/O, Bleibe-status). The way the couple perceives their relationship illustrates how the

establishment of social relationships allows newcomers to focus on other important aspects of life. Although this couple didn't succeed to establish any relationships with locals, their experience is shaped positively by the equal relationship they have with each other.

Whether or not newcomers knew if they were going to stay in Berlin at the time of the interview, relationships were important. A male respondent from Algeria who never applied for asylum, explained that the social relationships that he had in Berlin, made him feel lucky and supported. This seemed more important to him than his struggle with depending on others for a sleeping place, his lack of work or his financial situation. "Accept that, actually, I would take myself as a lucky guy. I was supported in Berlin, before being in Berlin. Since I came to Berlin... all the luck that I missed in my life, I got it here. Since I came I didn't have to do anything, people was waiting in the U-Bahnhof and I could go straight to a house and since then I got to know people. Accept the economic problem that I am having, everything is going well for me. Accept the work and the state thing, which I don't really care about." (Male from Algeria, 26 Y/O, never applied for asylum). Although the respondent struggled with his illegal status and the fact that this left him with no right to work nor to social welfare, the relationships that he had in Berlin before coming there and relationships he had built since his arrival had positively shaped his lived experience. Not only did his acquaintances help him to secure a roof over his head and other support from the moment he arrived in Berlin, he felt that the luck he missed before coming to Berlin, he got it there. This seemed to give him so much self-esteem or self-confidence that he described everything was going well for him, in spite of his troubled situation.

Newcomers described cultural events in Berlin as important for their experience since their arrival. Such events were places where it was easier to establish social relationships. Quotes like the one here, show that although respondents didn't talk about it with so many words during the interviews, they did experience cultural differences and the sense of being with people from their own culture at a cultural event made them feel comfortable. *"We had a cultural event from an area from Senegal and you see and hear about Africa and you feel much more comfortable. And there are people from that area and it's really enriching. It permits you to get back to the roots and revitalize and get energy again. And also, to meet people who have actually gone through the asylum procedure and stress. And they give you courage, they tell you how it went for themselves, and that in the course of time you meet friends and then finally they get into something interesting and they get documented, and then they get relief from the asylum procedure. So, sometimes when I have the opportunity of joining I don't hesitate, because it's an opportunity for me to eradicate stress and you also meet people who are kind, encourage you. They know it's difficult, they have gone through it, but try to keep on, hopefully you will meet someone along the way who will help you."* (Male from Cameroon, 30 Y/O, Duldung status). Because of the context at a cultural event, the respondent immediately felt he went back to his West-African roots together with others. The activities and the people there encouraged him, and he even felt like people he would meet there might be able to help him further along the process. His lived experience was positively shaped by these cultural events and the contacts he established there.

A woman from Syria, who had been a fan of the German football team (die Deutsche Mannschaft) since being a little girl, had hoped to meet people in Berlin who were also a fan, so she could watch all the games with them. Unfortunately, she had struggled to find them and events nor meeting people during German lessons had led to meeting fellow football fans. *"There were some nice events in the assigned accommodation, with food and drinks and for Christmas and with gifts for the kids... But no*

one likes soccer like I do. And then we moved to another neighborhood. Not even in the German course people are interested to watch soccer. So now I watch by myself. I don't have many friends... First, I was busy with the German course every day. Then, I had the mini jobs. Now I have no job and no school, and I watch the matches at home. I am searching for a good education. I have to wait and see what the next steps are." (Female from Damascus, 25 Y/O, Bleibe status, translated by XF). The quote shows how she felt her everyday life kept her from engaging in activities where she could find likely minded people, she ended up watching the matches at home by herself.

There was one respondent who emphasized how he managed to utilize his time in the assigned accommodation to make friends. He explained he actively participated in any event that was organized and organized his own birthday party there as well. He felt it was important to be engaged with whatever was offered to him and whom he met along the way. *"There were decent people in the camp as well. I'm still in touch with some of the people I lived with in the camp. I trust them. We cook Arabic food together. I threw my first birthday party in Germany in that room there, to celebrate my Bleibe-status and my recovery."* (Male from Damascus, 36 Y/O, Bleibe status, translated by XF). His engagement even led to an invitation to a wedding of a gay couple he became friends with; *"I got invited to a wedding of a gay couple I know. I like to dance, but there I was shy. I am a good dancer, Arabic dancer. But your dancing here is different dancing. When I dance Arabic dance at an Arabic event it is just a different experience."* The quote shows how he experienced that it felt very different to dance at that wedding, then it felt to dance at events of his own culture.

4.4 – Experiences with feeling and acting as a capable individual

A narrative that occurred quite often in the stories of respondents, was a general feeling of not being able to do anything or feeling like they could not do what they wanted or needed to do. Although this was sometimes related to one of the other main themes, for example not feeling able to find and keep a sleeping place or suitable living arrangement, it came up as a general feeling as well. This occurred so frequently that it is highlighted and discussed as a separate theme here.

Related to feeling and acting as a capable individual, almost all the respondents said that they felt that learning the German language was "the key" to be able to act independently. This narrative was often mediated through interaction with official institutions, "If you speak our language we will be able to help you". A woman from Syria explains: *"German is a complicated language, with long words. I might have to repeat one word in my head a hundred times to remember it. At Jobcenter they say you have to know the language or you have to bring a translator. But I only had time to study German C1 for three months, that is not sufficient. But German language is the key!"* (Female from Damascus, 25 Y/O, Bleibe status, translated by XF). The quote shows how on the one hand, newcomers felt learning the language was really important, while on the other hand they didn't seem to get sufficient time to make it their own.

Respondents who reported about a threat of deportation more frequently, experienced a sense of uselessness and dependence more often. Especially for those staying in Berlin illegally, life in Berlin could get confusing. The following quotes are illustrative for the situation of young men who told their story of staying in Berlin illegally. A young respondent from Libya reported that he moved from his assigned accommodation to Berlin in order to *"to say fuck them, fuck their rules. They say those laws are to serve humanity, but they are against humans."* He felt that the rules for newcomers didn't work

form them and that *“there are no borders. I should be able to live wherever I want to live. If you stay in one place the whole of your life. It's like being in an empty room the whole of your life, you don't see anything.”* Later in the interview he also reported that he felt conflicted *“I don't know how I feel anymore. Sometimes this thing gets so interesting. That I'm having friends and people that I care about, and they care about me. That I love, and they love me. And I couldn't make those friends in Z*****u, where I am supposed to stay legally. So, I feel like being at risk, and then at the same time I feel surrounded with love.”* (Male from Libya, 20 Y/O, in Berlin illegally). These quotes show how the respondents' reasons were related to recognition. He put himself at risk by being in Berlin, because he wanted to be free of the rules and he felt he would not be able to establish the same kind of relationships in the small town three hours away from Berlin, where he was assigned to stay. Yet, he seemed to doubt his own reasoning and didn't know how he felt anymore.

The newcomer from Algeria who never applied for asylum because he felt it would just lead to him getting deported, reported that he felt useless and he did not have a plan. He said that he felt that dying might be a better option than his feelings of uselessness. *“Sometimes I feel like I'm useless, I can't do anything. I can't live in Algeria, that's why I left, I can't imagine myself back in Algeria. And then I came here. I am in Europe since 2013, and I can't... I'm not having a plan like you said. So, maybe, I need to die *laughs*, and, yeah... which is a plan, that may be my plan.”* (Male from Algeria, 26 Y/O, Never applied for asylum). This quote shows how big an impact the sense of feeling and acting as a capable individual has on newcomers. Something also prevalent in the story of a man from Mauritania who has a Duldung-status and is in Berlin to hide from deportation. *“I just can stay here, you know. Maybe they look at my situation. Maybe I can go back to my country, or maybe I can go to another country or not. Maybe, I was thinking about that. I know it is not a good situation, but I have no choice. And I don't know how to do nothing. I can't do nothing about that.”* (Male from Mauritania, 30 Y/O Duldung-status). The quotes uncover how newcomers often did not see an opportunity to act as a responsible agent and or claim their rights. On the one hand they had established social relationships in Berlin that they felt they couldn't establish somewhere else. On the other hand, the fact that they were constantly at risk and felt unable to improve their own situation had them doubt their very existence.

It was previously mentioned that newcomers experienced strong controls in assigned accommodations. Such controls could be stressful and shape experiences with feeling and acting as a responsible, capable individual. *“In the home there were inspections every day. We always had to clean our room. We weren't allowed to have visitors. Only downstairs, at reception. Only there we could meet people. They were afraid of people staying the night there. And they came every day. The kitchen had to stay clean. Your phone was not allowed to lie on the table. You couldn't leave a glass or a plate somewhere, even if it was clean. They would come into your room always. And when you didn't clean everything you would get a warning. And then you were thrown out. Gone. It was stressful.”* (Female from Syria, 24 Y/O, Bleibe-status, translated by XF). The quote shows how newcomers seemed to be perceived as people inclined to break the rules, and their personal autonomy was put below the need for controls.

A young man from Syria who had a Bleibe-status and had recently moved to a new flat share, made many new friends and he reported something that shows how the opportunity to act as a capable, responsible individual can have a positive effect, even if this opportunity takes place in a very particular context. Although the respondent said to have had a rough start, not at all understanding what his

peers in Berlin saw in the club-life or electronical music, his experience had changed because of a new skill he acquired. He had got into DJing via a friend. *“Yeah, I wanted to learn it, after I saw it with a friend. It’s just so much fun. I can do... Imagine your favorite song comes on, and then another one of your favorite songs, and another. I just play all my favorite songs. I can decide everything myself. And the 1st of May I will play at a party.”* (Male from Damascus, 21 Y/O, Bleibe-status, translated by XF) . Since someone taught him how to work the DJ equipment, the young man feels like he can fulfill his want and needs, at least where it comes to music. DJing gives him a sense of himself as a capable agent. Learning and doing something very particular shaped his lived experience positively. This is very different compared to the lived experiences of other newcomers in Berlin who participated in this research.

4.5 – Experiences with being perceived in a certain way by others

Respondents reported that the way they were perceived by others had an influence on their life in Berlin. This was in the context of comments and actions of others, messages in the media and conflicts with others. Respondents experienced physical threats because of an aspect of their identity. Although newcomers described Berlin to be a welcoming city, they struggled with how they were perceived by others in the context of their work, asylum procedure and communication with official institutions and implementing actors as well.

A man from Mauritania who was in Berlin without a work and residence permit, reported he loved Berlin because *“here it seems you don’t have no problems. Accept with Foreigners’ Registration Office or the police, then everything is really bad again. In a big town like Berlin, you see you are welcome.”* But he felt people perceived him differently because he had to rely on their help *“if you have no right to do nothing you can’t do anything for yourself and people have to help you, always. I feel bad about that because... they will feel, and I feel, that you can’t do anything for yourself. People don’t know what to do when you ask them, no peoples like it.”* (Male from Mauritania, 30 Y/O, Duldung-status). This uncovers how feelings of dependence on others are related to how newcomers feel others perceive them. This respondent felt that people didn’t like it that he asked for their help.

The public perception of newcomers did not just affect their individual stories. Newcomers emphasized the relation between their everyday experiences and the general public perception in Berlin and Germany. A couple from Syria highlighted several times that the way they were being perceived was as much a problem for them on a day to day basis *“People all think that people from Syria don’t have money, cars, homes. We are not seen as normal people. You know. When I wear clothing with a brand they go ‘oh, wauw’. But that is totally normal for me, we have Zara and Gucci in Syria too”* as it was a problem for all refugees in Germany *“it’s not just a problem for us. For all people who apply for asylum here, it’s frightening. The media all speak about what is up with the asylum, what are the asylum seekers doing here? There are no problems in the German media, accept the refugees, you know? The media say that is the reason for all problems in Germany. That there is no real war in Syria, that we should be sent back. But we are people, not animals. That is a problem.”* (Couple from Syria, 24 & 26 Y/O, Bleibe-status, translated by XF). Looking at the way this young couple experienced how they were perceived by others, we see that on the one hand, they notice in their everyday life they are perceived differently, and they have to explain that they are normal people too. On the other hand, they fear what the effect of the negative public perception of asylum seekers will be in the future. This affects their esteem on a day to day basis and leaves them scared for the future.

Such fear was not entirely unfounded. One woman explained how she experienced she got a different treatment at work, because she wears a hijab as a sign of her Muslim faith. *“I was the only refugee working there. And the chef came to me, and she said, ‘You have to watch out’. The others made mistakes as well, but she didn’t tell them that. With the others she sometimes explains something. But me, she tells me to watch out. She speaks louder. And I said, okay, no problem. Then another woman came. Like me, she wears a hijab. And she got a bad treatment as well. I thought about quitting, but then I thought: ‘there are so many people like this, and I already worked somewhere else and got the same treatment. If I say something about them having a problem with people who wear a hijab, then I have to stay home.’ And I don’t want to stay home. I want to work, to learn.”* (Female from Syria, 25 Y/O, Bleibe-status, Translated by XF). The woman felt discredited and treated differently in her work, because she wears an expression of her Muslim faith. She wanted to stand up for herself, but she didn’t. She thought she would get the same treatment in other places and it would leave her with no possibility to work at all.

Experiences with being perceived in a certain way by others are shaped by the stigmatization of an aspect of newcomer’s identity, which leads to a different treatment of newcomers. A man from Cameroon shared the feeling that he was generally excluded in a lot of places *“When you are alone there sometimes are ... you just feel like you actually need to move with somebody. It beats my imagination that here essentially, everywhere, you need someone of another color to move with you so that you can get your things (re-)facilitated. There are places that because of your color, alone, you can’t get there. But if you have another person with you who is not colored, you don’t have any problem.”* He revealed what kind of effect exclusion and racism can have on newcomers. It causes stress and is a difficult topic to talk about. One newcomer from Cameroon would rather try to forget about it than talk about it, although these experiences were stressful for him *“On a normal day if I experience bad... If I experience racism, I won’t talk about it. You will just discover that I am stressed, but I won’t talk about it. And I will try to forget about it.”* (male from Cameroon, 30 Y/O, Duldung Status, assigned to stay right outside Berlin). Note how he emphasizes with the beginning of the first sentence of this quote, how he experiences racism ‘on a normal day’. Racism and exclusion were not the exception for newcomers in Berlin.

Newcomers were very aware that they were among people who saw them as outsiders, as something different. A male respondent seemed to want to prevent stigmatization by asking others on the train if it would bother them when he spoke Arabic. Sometimes people responded positively, but other times they looked at him like they were angry, or he was filthy. *“Sometimes on the train, when I speak Arabic or want to speak Arabic, I will ask the others: ‘Excuse me, does it bother you when I speak Arabic?’ Because I know my language is different, with the ‘G’ etc. It can be scary for you. And then they say ‘no, it’s all right, I find the Arabic language very interesting’. But of course, not all people. There are people who look at us as if they are angry with us, or as if we are filthy. But then, other people smile. And about the people who look angry with me, I think... *snaps his fingers* ...I don’t think about that. I just try to forget them.”* (Male from Damascus, 35 Y/O, Bleibe-status, translated by XF). This illustrates how Arabic language, an aspect of newcomers’ identity, is perceived by a newcomer himself as something that can be frightening to others. Although others friendly commented they find it interesting when he speaks Arabic, in a way, this still frames it as something particularly different. The need to speak in Arabic mother tongue is recognized, but not as something equal to the need to speak

German. Although this man too tries to not think about negative experiences, he did have and remembered them. The man from Cameroon reported *"there are some people who will still feel that this is their country. They feel that everything belongs to 'them' and that you are kind of not supposed to be here."* When he experienced racism, he would *"do everything not to talk about it in my quest to forget about it."* (Male from Cameroon, 30 Y/O, Duldung-status). Although newcomers experienced exclusion and racism regularly, mostly they didn't express anger or fear about this during the interviews. They just took it as something given. Only the couple from Syria, quoted in the beginning of this section, expressed their fears very clearly and lifted this to a more general level, a fear for the future of all newcomers in Germany.

4.6 - Experiences with alternative support and solidarity networks

Encounters with different institutions were a central thread in the stories of newcomers in Berlin. Often the support they experienced positively, was not related to official institutions or measures. Important support and understanding they reported, came from locals and alternative support organizations. Relationships with locals and contact to solidarity networks helped them to feel accepted and supported and enabled them to establish social relationships. As a result of the area where I based my research and my own engagement, the local support network and solidarity network referred to here, mostly are the 'Kontakt und Beratungsstelle für Flüchtlinge und Migrant*innen' and 'Schlafplatzorga' in Kreuzberg, Berlin.

Newcomers who did not experience alternative support had a remarkably different experience of support than those who did. They felt institutions meant to help them, didn't understand them. The couple from Syria reported about a German teacher *"She can't help us so good anymore, she doesn't have many contacts in Berlin. We only know this teacher, and she is really nice. A good person, but she can't really help us. I only know this German woman, and she doesn't have time for me because she is working."* (Female from Syria, 24 Y/O, Bleibe-status, translated by XF). The German teacher was the only contact to locals they had made, but they felt she couldn't help them due to her limited network and time.

A completely different picture was drawn by the newcomer from Algeria, who got involved with Schlafplatzorga quite soon after arriving in Berlin. *"I was just thinking that such movements and such people, like Schlafplatzorga, doesn't exist. And even if they did exist, they would just be in some shallow corner with their ideas, like me in Algeria. And then suddenly, randomly, I came here, and I realized: Yes, they are here. Schlafplatzorga and the things I described. From my opinion this is something ordinary here in Berlin. And that's a good thing. That's the change I was talking about."* He reported that he experienced a high level of support from this organization and would be lost without them. *"if I didn't know them... I can't see myself coming to Berlin and not encounter them. But if I did, I would be lost."* (Male from Algeria, 26 Y/O, never applied for asylum)

Newcomers reported that they felt official institutions didn't understand what their wants and needs were. A man from Syria explained: *"In Job-center they don't understand that I don't want to stay at home, but I am not studying. But it's because I can't find a job."* The Jobcenter put sanctions on newcomers, to keep them from sitting at home and 'doing nothing'. In practice, these 'Maßnahmen' translated: 'measures', were experienced as pointless *"And then they send me to a Maßnahme. And you just sit there, it makes no sense, it's a waste of time. Not only of their money but also of my time."*

Look, I already am in Germany for four years and there's nothing I can do. I learned maybe six weeks and another six weeks, and then I have a job I want? I don't want to take money from social services anymore." (Male from Syria, 26 Y/O, Bleibe-status). The quote illustrates how he desperately wants to find a job that fits his profile of a highly educated graphic designer, but the Jobcenter pushes him to do things that don't steer him in that direction because they don't want him to sit at home and do nothing.

Schlafplatzorga helped newcomers to feel a part of a solution, like they could give back. *"It's about coming to join the team and supporting them in doing what they do best. Which they like, and then you further ameliorate the possibility of getting more sleeping places. Making the organization much more visible in this fight and much more comfortable for anybody who is actually interacting with the organization."* (Male from Cameroon, 30 Y/O, Duldung-status). Newcomers felt understood and accepted. *"When you are with someone of Schlafplatzorga, you feel they are much more understanding of people."* And this eased their worried minds *"I think most of the times I felt more included is always when I am with members of the organization called Schlafplatzorga. When you are in the group you feel like you are able to forget about all these issues of racist kind of things. You feel welcome. You feel at home. When you organize a meeting or they get together, sometimes separation is very difficult, because you know it's going to take a while before you have something like that again. When you are with one of them or with the group you feel there is much more, they are much more understanding of people."* (Male from Cameroon, 30 Y/O, Duldung-status).

4.7 - Recognition in newcomers' experiences

In the previous sections, the lived experiences of newcomers were presented in a theme-by-theme fashion and illustrated using quotes from newcomers' experiences. In this section, these lived experiences will be analyzed through the theoretical lens of recognition, as developed in Chapter 3. Three different forms of recognition were distinguished there, in brief summary: p.15.

Recognition through human rights and respect (RR)

Based in the opportunity to act as a responsible agent and exercise basic human rights. Self-respect and being able to fulfill personal wants and needs are features of recognition through rights and respect (RR), that shape the experiences of people. When a person is denied rights and feels unable to fulfill their wants or needs, this shows a lack of RR.

Recognition through approbation (RA)

Relationships that validate an individual as equal human being, as well as the possibility to express desires, hopes and needs without fear of harm, are features of this dimension that shape the experiences of people. Violations of physical integrity or the denial of support and validation can affect a person's self-esteem negatively and show a lack of RA.

Recognition through social comparison (RS)

Respect for aspects of a person's identity and the opportunity to help and enrich the lives of others are features of recognition through social comparison (RS) that shape the experiences of people. A lack or RS is found when aspects of a person's identity are ridiculed or stigmatized.

See Table 1: "Different dimensions of recognition as defined by a number of key authors, combined into the dimensions employed in this research" on page 16, for an overview of the theoretical framework.

In what follows, I will analyze which of these types of recognition are reflected in the lived experiences of newcomers, using the ordering principle of the five themes.

Recognition in experiences with finding living arrangement

Looking at the experiences of newcomers in Berlin, moving to an environment where respondents are able to build equal relationships in which there is mutual understanding and even friendship is an important condition to come to understand and claim their rights. Equal relationships with people whom newcomers feel understand and recognize their concrete needs, foster the self-confirmation that is important for recognition. Moving out of assigned accommodations created better conditions for such relationships. Related back to the theory, the respondents experienced that ‘foreigners’, ‘refugees’ and ‘asylum seekers’ are being stigmatized in the public discourse. Honneth and Bado both describe that we can speak of a lack of recognition when a person feels they have nothing to offer in terms of qualities and competencies. This particular part of the theory resonates with the sense some respondents had that it didn’t matter what their competencies were, it only mattered where they came from. Especially in the situation with the housing market as was illustrated in section 4.2

In spite of the diversity of identities within this group, newcomers are not recognized as equal members in society. The results show the dimensions of recognition are interrelated throughout the different lived experiences of newcomers in Berlin. Such interrelation might be of greater importance than the theory emphasizes now. In addition, the recognition of a whole group in the ‘urban arena’ has an effect on the lived experiences of one or multiple individuals in this urban area. So far, Yiftachel et al seem to be the only ones who consider the importance of a groups recognition in the urban arena and it would be interesting to combine this view with recognition on the individual level.

Recognition in experiences with establishing social relationships

Related back to the theory, relationships in which the individual is validated as equal human being and in which their desires, hopes and needs can safely be expressed, allow for greater self-confidence and self-esteem. Such ‘approbation’ or simply put ‘approval’, makes the person feel like they are important and equal to others. Cultural events allowed for respondents to establish contacts in which they felt validated as equal human being, with the same wants, needs and experiences as others at the event, who experienced the same procedures. Feelings of being with people that were equal to them allowed newcomers to feel comfortable to depend on others help and like they could give back. The establishment of relationships and recognition through approbation thus show a possibility to shape the experiences of newcomers in a positive way.

Recognition in experiences with feeling and acting as a capable individual

Lived experiences were shaped positively by the relationships respondents enjoyed, while at the same time they were shaped negatively by a threat of bodily integrity hanging over their head, combined with a lack of basic human rights. This affected respondents’ self-confidence or self-esteem. Newcomers reported they felt subject to whatever would be decided about them. In terms of the theory on recognition, the denial of the right to freedom of movement, the right to citizenship and the right to work often closed off the opportunity to exercise their capacity as responsible agent. Being in Berlin illegally had a big influence on insecurities about the future as well as on their feeling that there was nothing they could do to fix their problems. In newcomer’s stories it often came forward that in the assigned accommodation they were not treated as capable, responsible individuals. The lack of recognition of them as capable agents can have a negative impact on a people’s self-respect. In

addition, we can speak of a violation of bodily integrity as the importance of the respondents and other newcomer's personal autonomy were disregarded. Although this is not described by all authors in a comprehensive way, in the field of human rights, such violation is seen as an intrusive infringement. Experiences with feeling and acting as capable agent were shaped negatively by a lack of recognition through rights and respect.

Recognition in experiences with being perceived in a certain way by others

According to the theory, persons who belong to a denigrated group have great difficulty to be perceived in a way that is different from stereotypical ways. This resonates with the experiences of newcomers with being perceived in a certain way by others. The basis for self-esteem or social-esteem can be explained or identified through interaction with others i.e. how is a person's worth or importance in the eyes of others determined and how does this interact with the person's sense of their own worth? Some respondents wanted to stand up for themselves when they were treated with disrespect or contempt, but they didn't feel they could do this because there would be nowhere left to go, and or everyone thought the same about them anyway. The experiences of newcomers were shaped by the stigmatization of an aspect of their identity which lead to exclusion. The dominant public discourse didn't seem to see individual qualities or competencies, rather the dominant discourse seemed to be that newcomers have nothing to offer and can best be sent back to their own country. Newcomers felt their demands and needs were framed as a threat or a burden to contemporary society. In this theme the stories of newcomers uncovered a clear interaction between a lack of recognition through social esteem of a group and the lived experiences of the individual.

Recognition in experiences with alternative support and solidarity networks

Newcomers who experienced alternative support and or were connected to the solidarity network in Berlin through their involvement with Schlafplatzorga had a different experience then those who didn't. These newcomers experienced they could contribute to the life of others and perceived themselves and their situation more positive. They felt more comfortable with the support of others and their involvement allowed for connection to more locals. This is an interesting aspect of the stories of newcomers in Berlin, considering the wider solidarity movement in Berlin, it would be interesting to know what role organizations like Schlafplatzorga can have in shaping newcomers' experiences. The experiences with alternative support and solidarity networks were shaped positively by recognition through social esteem and recognition through approbation.

Prevalence of recognition in newcomers' experiences

Overall the '*experiences with (finding) living arrangement*' were shaped by a denial of rights to citizenship, social welfare and right to work, showing a lack of recognition through rights and respect (RR). This was accompanied by a stigmatization of (aspects of) their identity, showing a lack of recognition through social comparison (RS). Feelings of not being equal to others and discomfort with having to depend on the help of others showed an interrelation with recognition through approbation (RA). In '*experiences with establishing social relationships*' feelings of being with people like them allowed the respondents to feel equal to others and comfortable enough to depend on their help, reflecting recognition through approbation (RA).

The '*experiences with feeling and acting as a capable individual*' reflected a lack of recognition through rights and respect (RR). Newcomers rarely experienced the opportunity to act as capable, responsible agents and when they did, they felt a threat of deportation or other sanctions were hanging over their head. These sanctions reflect an interrelation with recognition through approbation (RA).

The 'experiences with being perceived in a certain way by others' mostly reflected a lack of recognition through social comparison (RS) and aspects of newcomer's identities were stigmatized, leading to a low self-esteem among newcomers, showing a slight interrelation to recognition through approbation (RA). The 'experiences with alternative support and solidarity networks' made newcomers feel like they could contribute to the lives of others and allowed them to establish contact with locals, showing a reflection of recognition through social comparison (RS) and recognition through approbation (RA).

5 – Conclusion & Discussion

The question central to this research was as follows: "What are the lived experiences of newcomers in Berlin, and how are different forms of recognition reflected in these experiences?"

This research aimed to gain insight in the lived experiences of Newcomers in Berlin. It aimed to uncover how different forms of recognition are reflected in these experiences. In order to do so, a case-study was conducted through eight interviews with nine newcomers in Berlin. In addition, a theoretical framework was built up out of the three dimensions of recognition, as described by several key authors. A thematic structural analysis of interviews revealed what the lived experiences of newcomers are as well as the context they play out in. An analysis of newcomers' experience through the lens of recognition showed that a lack of recognition was prevalent in the lived experiences of newcomers in Berlin.

This chapter will begin with a brief introduction, followed by a brief explanation of the theoretical framework. The following sections will summarize the conclusions about the lived experiences of newcomers in Berlin, related to recognition. To conclude, the policy relevance of these findings and recommendations as well as the limitations of this research are discussed.

Newcomers' experiences and the theory on recognition

The system of different camps and controls for people who seek asylum in Germany limits their movement, prohibiting them to work and restricting their freedom. It severely affects newcomers' quality-of-life, something hardly considered in the formulation of policies concerning them. The introduction conveyed on the protests in Berlin from 2012 until today, underscoring the need for a space in which newcomers are visible and can demand a change of the context they live in. These protests were an important medium to bring visibility to a population that previously was "invisible" to the public. They became a medium to be 'recognized' as worthy human beings, as opposed to being discerned as one separated group (Bado, 2015; Iveson and Fincher, 2011; Benhabib and Resnik, 2009).

Planners, policy makers and implementing actors need an understanding of the situation of the people who are affected by the implementation of the policies they make. The lived experiences of newcomers in Berlin are of interest because we need to hear, see and understand - recognize - them, to be able to develop better policies. Although there have been a number of leading conceptualizations of the notion of recognition, authors seem to have different, partly overlapping, accounts of what recognition encompasses. Despite of the value the notion of recognition might have for looking at newcomers' lived experiences, these conceptualizations are hardly formulated in a way that is applicable to individuals' situations or narratives.

In an attempt to close the gap between the different descriptions of dimensions of recognition, and to be able to analyze the lived experiences of newcomers in Berlin using the theory on recognition, a theoretical framework was developed in this research. This theoretical framework gives an

interpretation of the three dimensions of recognition as described by Bado (2015), Yiftachel et al (2009) and Honneth (1996), by combining the similarities of their descriptions of different dimensions of recognition into formulations applicable to individuals' situations and narratives. An overview of this framework can be found in table one, on page sixteen, in chapter two of this document.

Recognition in Newcomers' lived experiences

Newcomers in Berlin experience that they are stigmatized in public discourse as 'foreigners', that cause nuisance and problems. The results show that a lack of recognition is pervasive in all lived experiences, although it is more prevalent in some experiences than in others. This result resonates with the theory that certain types or a lack of recognition may lead to 'othering', which in turn leads to unjust consequences for the people affected.

The stigmatization of newcomers' identities is especially the case with experiences on the housing market. It is hard for newcomers to find suitable living arrangement and this struggle is related to the fact that they are stigmatized as 'foreigners'. Those with a Bleibe-status are able to secure a suitable place to live faster, than those with an illegal- or a Duldung-status. Feelings of not being equal to others and the uncomfot with having to depend on the help of others show that a lack of recognition through approbation and a lack of recognition through social comparison are reflected in the theme *'experiences with (finding) suitable living arrangement'*.

Relationships in which newcomers are validated as equal human being, allow for greater self-esteem and make newcomers feel less negative about receiving support. Cultural events are important places for newcomers to meet new people and relax. When they establish relationships, they feel able to give something back and focus on other aspects of life, showing that recognition through approbation is important to shape their experiences positively. The experiences with the theme *'experiences with establishing social relationships'* show a lack of recognition through approbation as newcomers feel unable to connect with locals.

Newcomers experience a general feeling of not being able to do what they want or need to do, or not being able to do anything to change their situation. Learning a new skill and being able to use it for themselves and others is experienced as empowering. Especially learning the German language is seen as 'the key' to greater independence. The *'experiences with feeling and acting as a capable individual'* reflect a lack of recognition through rights and respect as newcomers rarely experience the opportunity to act as capable individual. The threat of deportation they feel hanging over their head, reflects a lack of recognition through approbation.

Although newcomers described Berlin to be a welcoming city, they struggled with how they were perceived by others. Respondents reported that the way they were perceived by others had a big influence on their life in Berlin. This was in the context of comments and actions of others, messages in the media and conflicts with others. The *'experiences with being perceived in a certain way by others'* reflect a lack of recognition through social comparison and aspects of newcomer's identities were stigmatized, showing a slight interrelation to recognition through approbation.

Newcomers who experience alternative support and are involved with the solidarity movement in Berlin, for example through involvement with Schlafplatzorga, have a different experience than those

who only rely on official support organizations. Newcomers who experience alternative support feel they can contribute to the life of others and perceive themselves and their situation more positive. The *'experiences with alternative support and solidarity networks'* reflect recognition through social comparison and recognition through approbation.

Policy relevance and recommendations

This research sought to gain a deeper understanding of lived experiences of newcomers and how these experiences reflect different dimensions of recognition. Although the aim of this case-study was not to generate pointers for policy, some lessons can be drawn.

The recommendations of this research are directed towards civil servants and aid workers that work with newcomers on a daily basis. Maybe even more so, they are directed towards planners, policy makers and governmental bodies that work on policies and plans concerning newcomers, because they determine the wider perception of newcomers with the discourses in policies, plans and laws they make. Together with the media, these discourses determine how newcomers are recognized by others in society (Jacobsen 2006; Landry 2015).

This research shows that contemporary policies fail to offer the “spaces” newcomers need, and it is recommended to look further into newcomers’ experiences, in order to incorporate these experiences in the formulation of policies that concern them.

In addition, it’s recommended for future research to combine the study of local and district plans as well as policy implementations, with a special attention to the implications of these plans for newcomer communities in Berlin. Future research could be conducted including in-depth interviews with newcomers from other areas in Berlin, as well as interviews with implementing actors of policies that concern them, i.e. civil servants, social workers, etc. Projects like the one Yiftachel et al (2009) conducted in the Beer Sheva region might serve as an example for such studies.

This research revealed the important role solidarity networks can have in the experiences of newcomers and the level of recognition in these experiences. It’s recommended to look further into the role solidarity networks and organizations have in the lives of newcomers in Berlin, compared to newcomers who rely solely on official support organizations. Considering the variety of solidarity movements in some areas in Berlin, a comparative case study of several districts might lead to results that teach us how we can incorporate the strong sides of solidarity movements into the formulation of policies concerning newcomers in Berlin and Germany.

As newcomers move within cities and countries, their experiences do not, and have never, play out exclusively in assigned accommodations (Jacobsen 2006; Bhimji 2016; Yiftachel et al. 2009; Iveson and Fincher 2011). It is important that we cope with rising pressures that rise from current and future migration flows, while we keep meeting the rights and the needs of people. This can be done through opening up the urban arena to newcomers’ existence, as opposed to acting and planning as if they are only here on a short-term basis. We need a wider variety of media that bring visibility to newcomer’s stories, enabling everyone to recognize them as equal human beings, not a separated group.

Reflection

In addition to the limitations discussed in chapter three, several other limitations were encountered during this research. First of all, more time than expected was needed for the transcriptions of the interviews. Especially the jump from German to Dutch to English took more time than the researcher calculated, due to the language levels of most respondents it was not possible to use transcription software. This bump should have been foreseen, an incorporation of sufficient time for this into the planning of the research project could have made a difference.

The researcher wanted to give a voice to the lived experiences of newcomers in Berlin. The research's aim and structure were shaped by the choice to look at these experiences through the notion of recognition. Although recognition is a valuable point of view, there are many more ways to consider the experiences of newcomers in Berlin and elsewhere. Due to time constraints, this research only considered the lived experiences as self-contained entity, and through the lens of recognition. The incorporation of different and more extensive theoretical frameworks to look at the experiences of newcomers can be an improvement to this research.

This research aimed to give a voice to the lived experiences of newcomers in Berlin-Kreuzberg and Berlin-Neukölln, the decision for this single-case-study format was based on the protests in Kreuzberg from 2012 to 2014 and the researchers' engagement with the solidarity network in these districts, as well as time constraints. The research could have been improved by incorporating more voices of several different, especially female, newcomers from Berlin-Kreuzberg and Berlin-Neukölln. The same can be said for incorporating the voices of newcomers from one or more other areas in Berlin, applying a comparative case-study model.

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Postscript

To Marc and Nicolet,

Despite the cancer that hit our family and turned all our lives upside down, you provided me with unfailing support and continuous encouragement during the process of researching and writing this thesis. Just as you have done throughout each year of my study. You're awesome, thank you!

To Pele,


You are sweet and strong, and the best mother a woman can wish for. Thank you, for supporting me, always. You lift me up and you keep spoiling me, among other things with trips to sauna and spa's. That helped me through it! I can't wait for our next trip together, and the one after that, and after that.

To Sebas,

Thank you, for understanding my ambitions. Your encouragement means more to me than I can put into words. You always listen to me, whether I am in Cardiff, Berlin or lock myself into our study-room in Arnhem to write. Your support never failed me during the past years of studying and the process of researching and writing this thesis, and I can't imagine it ever will. More importantly, I can always have a laugh with you, which puts everything into perspective. If our cats could read, you know I would thank them here, too.

I love you.

Xeni

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Xeni', with a large, stylized 'X' at the beginning and a long, flowing tail.

Annex A - Ethical Approval Form

CARDIFF SCHOOL OF GEOGRAPHY AND PLANNING

Ethical Approval Form

Student Projects (Undergraduate & Taught Masters)

In the case of dissertations it is the responsibility of the student to complete the form, duly signed by their supervisor, and secure ethical approval prior to any fieldwork commencing. A copy of the form should be included with their final dissertation.

Title of Project: Experience of Recognition: lived experiences of newcomers in Berlin

Name of Student(s): Xenia Frencken

Name of Supervisor/Module Leader: Karel Martens / Kersty Hobson

Degree Programme and Level: MSc Planet Europe

Date: 03-04-2018

Recruitment Procedures:

		Yes	No	N/A
1	Does your project include children under 16 years of age?		x	
2	Does your project include people with learning or communication difficulties?		x	
3	Does your project include people in custody?		x	
4	Is your project likely to include people involved in illegal activities?	x		Might involve undocumented migrants or migrants staying in Germany after they were supposed to be deported

5	Does project involve people belonging to a vulnerable group, other than those listed above?	x		Newcomers (refugees, asylum seekers, undocumented migrants) in Berlin
6	Does your project include people who are, or are likely to become your clients or clients of the department in which you work?		x	
7	Does your project include people for whom English / Welsh is not their first language?	x		Newcomers (refugees, asylum seekers, undocumented migrants) in Berlin

Consent Procedures:

		Yes	No	N/A
8	Will you tell participants that their participation is voluntary?	x		
9	Will you obtain written consent for participation?		x	Verbal & audio taped
10	If the research is observational, will you ask participants for their consent to being observed?			
11	Will you tell participants that they may withdraw from the research at any time and for any reasons?	x		
12	Will you give potential participants a significant period of time to consider participation?	x		

Possible Harm to Participants:

		Yes	No	N/A
13	Is there any realistic risk of any participants experiencing either physical or psychological distress or discomfort?	x		

14	Is there any realistic risk of any participants experiencing a detriment to their interests as a result of participation?		x	
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If there are any risks to the participants you must explain in the box on page 4 how you intend to minimise these risks

Data Protection:

		Yes	No	N/A
15	Will any non-anonymised and/or personalised data be generated and/or stored?		x	
16	Will you have access to documents containing sensitive ¹ data about living individuals?		x	
	If "Yes" will you gain the consent of the individuals concerned?			

If there are any other potential ethical issues that you think the Committee should consider please explain them in the box on page 4. It is your obligation to bring to the attention of the Committee any ethical issues not covered on this form.

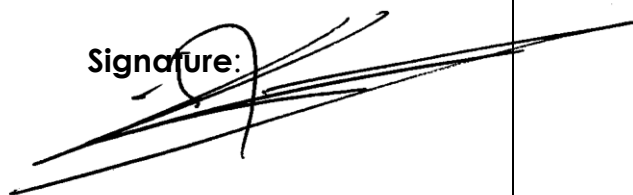
Supervisor's declaration

As the supervisor for this student project, I confirm that I believe that all research ethical issues have been dealt with in accordance with University policy and the research ethics guidelines of the relevant professional organisation.

Date: 10-04-2018

Name: Karel Martens

Signature:



Date: 6th April 2018

Name: Dr. Kersty Hobson

Signature:



If any of the shaded boxes have been ticked the supervisor/module leader must explain in the box on page 4 of this form how the potential ethical issue will be handled

¹ Sensitive data are *inter alia* data that relates to racial or ethnic origin, political opinions, religious beliefs, trade union membership, physical or mental health, sexual life, actual and alleged offences.

Please explain how the identified potential research ethics issue/s will be handled

- The research project involves newcomers (refugees, asylum seekers, undocumented migrants) in Berlin and might involve undocumented migrants or migrants staying in Germany after they were supposed to be deported. The identity of all participants will be protected through complete anonymization of the collected data. The names of participants will not be mentioned during the recording nor the transcriptions of the recording.
- Verbal, not written, consent will be gained at the beginning of each interview. Participants will be informed about what participation means, how their answers will be handled and what the research project is about when arranging to meet for interviews and at the beginning of each interview. Explained will be that the data are collected solely for the use of this research, and the researcher and her supervisors/the university will have access to the data in relation to this research.
- Newcomers (refugees, asylum seekers) do not always have a clear idea about their needs or what can be objectively done for them. In fact, many of them are psychologically unstable because of the trauma of war and the violence they have witnessed and/or suffered. Their experiences will be handled with respect and with care. There will be no push for gaining information that causes psychological distress or comfort. The interview will be stopped if it seems like to much. Participants will be informed about their right to withdraw from the research at any time and for any reason. They will be told that when a question is asked about something they can't or don't want to talk about, they may say "no" or "pass".
- It will be made clear to them that sharing their experiences with me is only for the sake of this research, not to get other help. When asked or appropriate, I will provide the contact details of aid workers and organizations they can talk to.


i.e. **Assistance through Conversation at KUB Berlin**, Oranienstrasse 159, 030-6149400, Mondays 9-11 AM. // **Psychosoziale Versorgung** für geflüchtete, Tempelhof-Schöneberg, 0163-4950057 // **Medical Assistance for Refugees Berlin**, No Papers needed, Gneisenauerstrasse 2a, 030-62901145, Mondays and Thursdays 4:30-6:30 PM, access to backyard staircase 3 through Mehringhof, facility is on the 2nd floor // **Mediation for Refugees**, free help in case of Conflicts through conversations in 4 phases, Tuesdays Wednesdays and Fridays 2-8 PM, Thursdays and Saturdays 2-6 PM, Straßmannstraße 17 (Eckladen), Berlin-Friedrichshain, 030-2923700 //

Annex B - Declarations page (CU)

CANDIDATE'S ID NUMBER	1674268
CANDIDATE'S SURNAME	Please circle appropriate value Mr / Miss (Ms) Mrs / Rev / Dr /
CANDIDATE'S FULL FORENAMES	Xeni Frencken


DECLARATION

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Signed  (candidate) Date ..27th of July 2018..


STATEMENT 1

This dissertation is being submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of (insert MA, MSc, MBA, MScD, LLM etc, as appropriate)
MSc European Spatial Planning and Environmental Policy

Signed  (candidate) Date 27th of July 2018 ..


STATEMENT 2

This dissertation is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references. A Bibliography is appended.

Signed  (candidate) Date 27th of July 2018 ..


STATEMENT 3 – TO BE COMPLETED WHERE THE SECOND COPY OF THE DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED IN AN APPROVED ELECTRONIC FORMAT

I confirm that the electronic copy is identical to the bound copy of the dissertation

Signed  (candidate) Date 27th of July 2018 ..


STATEMENT 4

I hereby give consent for my dissertation, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organisations.

Signed  (candidate) Date 27th of July 2018 ..

STATEMENT 5 - BAR ON ACCESS APPROVED

I hereby give consent for my dissertation, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loans **after expiry of a bar on access approved by the Graduate Development Committee.**

Signed  (candidate) Date 27th of July 2018 ..

Annex C- Codebook Introduction

This is the codebook for the master dissertation 'Experience of Recognition, Recognition of experience'										
bc is used als abbreviation for 'because'										
The codes below 'CODES A-Z' in the first column are the codes that emerged from the coding.										
The column below 'sub-theme' gives a number that refers to the subtheme it is related to. These subthemes can be found in the tab 'themes' and in paragraph 3.5 of the research										
In the column below 'RD - Recognition Dimention' an indication of the dimension of recognition the code belongs to is given, where possible										
RR = related to Recognition through rights and respect										
RA = related to Recognition through Approbation										
RS = related to Recognition through Social comparison										
TSCP 0.1 untill 6 refer to the eight transcripts of the interviews with different respondents, in which the coding was done										

Annex C - Codebook

<u>Codes A-Z</u>	<u>sub- theme</u>	<u>RD - Re</u>	<u>TSCP 0.2</u>	<u>TSCP 0.1</u>	<u>TSCP 6</u>	<u>TSCP 5</u>	<u>TSCP 4</u>	<u>TSCP 3</u>	<u>TSCP 2</u>	<u>TSCP 1</u>
Associated with Activist/alternative group or organization		RS								
Asylum procedure - prevents from fulfilling wants or needs	2	RR								
Asylum procedure - experiences it doesn't/wouldn't help them	2	RR								
Asylum Procedure - didn't apply for asylum bc they felt it could lead to deportation	1	RR								
Asylum procedure - (and obligatory integration course) is important for them to fulfill	2	RR								
Berlin - experiences it is a good place to be	4									
Berlin - is where they want to stay	4									
Berlin - experiences the Berlin institutions (Auslanderbehörde, Sozial ambt) are the same	3	RR/RA								
Berlin - experiences it is different then other places they were before (Germany)	4									
Conflict situation										
o Because of an aspect of identity (hijab, skin color, language)	5	RS								
Conflict situation										
o Because of (assumed) religion	5	RS								
Conflict situation										
o Physical threat	5	RS/RA								
Physical threat	5	RA								
Establishing social relationships										
Made (a) friend(s)	6	RA								
Establishing Social relationships										
o Already had an acquaintance in Berlin	6	RA								
Establishing Social relationships										
o At cultural event	6	RA								
Establishing Social relationships										
o In assigned accomodation	6	RA								
Establish relationships with locals, NOT ABLE TO										
bc o Being ignored / other	6	RA								

Establish relationships with locals, NOT ABLE TO bc Being ignored at a café / bar club	6	RA							
Establish relationships with locals, NOT ABLE TO bc Being refused at a club or bar	6	RA							
Establish relationships with locals, NOT ABLE TO bc Having established a relationship, but not being able to meet with them because the person is too busy	6	RA							
Experiencing cultural differences o (cultural events of) their own culture are something they look for, to make them feel more comfortable and/or make	9	RS							
Experiencing cultural differences o Describes people in Berlin behave so different then they are used to, and it is/was hard for them to understand as well as for others to understand them	7	RS							
Experiences their identity is stigmatized in public discourse o Through media	7	RA							
Experiences their identity is stigmatized in public discourse o Comments / actions of others	7	RA							
Experiences their identity is stigmatized in public discourse o Thinks and sees that people are afraid of	7	RS							
Experiences their identity is stigmatized in public discourse o Through asylum procedure	2&7	RR/RA							
Experiences they won't be able to help themselves / integrate properly until they learn the language ("German language is the key")	8	RS							
Experiences they are not accepted in society	7	RS							
Feels all they can do is wait	8	RS							
Feels uncomfortable about having to rely on the help of others	8	RS							
Feels grateful for how others (have) help(ed) them	8	RS							
Feels unsure about the future		x							

Feels like they don't have anything to do here	8	RS								
Feels like they can't do anything	8	RS/RR								
Feels like they can do something	8	RS/RR								
Feels like they can't do what they want / are good at	8	RS								
Feels like they can do what they want / are good at	8	RS								
Feels they don't have the RIGHT to do anything	8	RR								
Feels like they don't have a choice	8	RR								
Feels misunderstood by official institutions meant to help them	3	RR								
Feels like system fails them	2	RR								
Feels not welcome	7	RS								
Feels welcome	7	RS								
Feels understood by official institutions meant to help them	3	RR/RA								
Feels alternative network/organization helped solve (part) of their problem just by sharing the problem with them	9	RS/RA								
Feels alternative network/organization understands them	9	RS								
Feels alternative network/organization helps people regardless of what they look like or where they are from	9	RS								
Feels supported		RA								
Feels positive things / less stressed	10									
Feels negative things / stressed	10			 (wants to die)						
German course - following official German course as part of asylum procedure	11	RR								
German course - feels like official German course is a good thing	11									
German course - feels like official course is not sufficient	11	RR								

German course - Only able to follow alternative classes bc of (il)legal status	11	RR						
German course - follows alternative course bc of fear of deportation	1	RR						
German course - follows alternative classes bc of the level of official courses (too low)	11	RR						
German course - feels like alternative german class is a good thing	11							
Hard to - find a place to stay / live - other / general	12	RR						
Hard to - find a place to stay / live - bc of race or ethnicity	12	RA						
Hard to - find a place to stay / live - bc of financial means	12	RR/RA						
Hard to - find a place to stay / live - bc of legal status	12	RR						
Hard to - keep up with German paperwork	2	RR						
Locals in Berlin help(ed) them to find work / internship	9	RS						
Locals in Berlin help(ed) them to find a sleepingplace / offer(ed) a place	9	RS						
Locals in Berlin help(ed) them to translate documents	9	RS						
Locals in Berlin help(ed) them to enter associations for sports and other activities	9	RS/RA						
Locals in Berlin help(ed) them to make friends	9	RA						
Schlafplatzorga enabled them to feel like they can help others	9	RS						
Schlafplatzorga help(ed) them to find a sleepingplace	9	RS						
Schlafplatzorga help(ed) them to feel accepted	9	RA						
Schlafplatzorga help(ed) them to make friends	9	RA						
Schlafplatzorga help(ed) them to find other alternative support networks / organizations	9	RS						
Schlafplatzorga help(ed) them to find alternative German Courses	9	RS						

Study - is officially acknowledged but possible employers and/or the Jobcenter in Berlin say they can only get a job if they first study in Germany	13	RR					
Study - is not acknowledged by German authorities	13	RR					
Study - not able to study bc of housing situation		RR					
Threat of deportation o is why they came to Berlin, to hide	1	RA					
Threat of deportation o experiences a threat for themselves	1	RA					
When they need a translator they have to arrange and pay for it themselves	8	RR					
Work - no right to work	13	RR					
Work - no right to work, working illegally	13	RR					
Work - no right to work, but doing/did an internships(s)	13	RR					
Work - right to work, unable to find or keep a job because of Language levels	13	RR/RS					
Work - right to work, unable to find or keep a job because of aspect of identity (cultural differences, hijab, religion, ethnicity)	13	RR/RA					
Work - right to work, unable to find a job fitting their own profession	13	RS					
Work - right to work, unable to find a job of preferred amount of hours	13	RR					
Work - right to work, able to find a job	13	RR/RS					
Work - right to work, only able to find a job at minimum wage	13	RR					
Sent to a 'measure' after expressing work preferences with Job center	2	RA					
Thought about leaving Berlin, because of the struggles in their daily life	4	RA/RS					
Mentions an important place	4						