# Life through the eyes of a Roma girl

Agency and blurring impacting Roma migrants in their engagement in social practices and ultimate occupations of (new) material positions

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"If she would have stayed with her parents - far away from Western influences and getting married at the age of fifteen - I'm sure her case of integration would be a different one today. I reckon it was these particular circumstances that forced her to integrate...and find her way all by herself. And maybe her 'backpack' also did its part in her integration."

(Robert Schettker, personal communication, 11:28)

# Preface

This thesis is the final assignment of the MSc International Development Studies at the Wageningen University in the Netherlands. It is original, unpublished and independent work conducted by the author, Marjorie Jochims. A variety of courses, as taken during the master program, provided me with the necessary technical skills and sociological perspectives to execute this research.

On a personal level, I have always cared about the Romani people. As the ethnos lacks a nation-state territory and suffers from severe discrimination in many different receiving societies, Roma find themselves forced to keep on moving – a vicious circle in my opinion. Consequently, the migrant group is often mistaken for following nomad principles, despite the fact that many Roma are simply trying to live a better life and rest. For a while now, I have perceived the need to take action and portray this ill-conditioned development situation. In fact, this thesis is my contribution to re-conceptualizing an ontological understanding of human agency of Romani migrants. Ultimately, it is meant to serve as a basis for related migration-policy in the European Union.

These past one and a half years of conducting research in Hamburg have been quite an experience. Being called a racist and making wonderful friends in the local Roma community are only two of the very diverse impressions I got to collect during this time. I know for sure, this time has had its impact on me and my capacity act.

I would like to thank a number of people that have supported me in getting to this point. First of all, my gratitude goes to the Roma girl, whose life history is narrated in this study. We got to know each other on a personal level and up until today, I am very glad she decided to share your story with me. Furthermore, I would like to thank Dr. Alberto Arce for supervising me through the various stages of my thesis and introducing me to his inexhaustible passion for anthropology and sociology. To use your words: It has been crazy and fantastic, Alberto!

All this time, one friend has shared the experience with me – not just on Skype, but writing her own master thesis. Hilde, I am so happy we got to do this together. For sure, we will also finish this together. Moreover, I want to thank my grandmother Helga for enabling me to take the necessary time to write this thesis, without having to work night shifts. Tanya, thank you for remaining level-headed and showing me new perspectives. I will try and pay you back in due time. Finally, I would like to take this opportunity and thank my parents for always having my back in seven years of academic studies and moving across the globe. Regardless of the circumstances, your love and support has been unconditional. I am very blessed to have you and Tanya in my life.

# Abstract

The purpose of this study is to determine how Roma migrants enact agency in their engagement of social practices, for the ultimate occupation of (new) material positions. In this regard, the composition of agency is investigated in relation to a number of varied social practices. Furthermore, one strives to examine what kind of tangible and intangible material positions Roma occupy, when associating hierarchical domains in a social world.

In the first part, a conceptual framework is constructed. This framework is based on theoretical underpinnings regarding the new materialities, agency, social networks and general ontology. An overview of the Balkan and German state of the art related to Roma livelihoods and migration amplifies the literature review. A total of 75 pages of written transcripts derived from informal interviews and focus group discussions. In addition to such qualitative techniques, quantitative methods utilizing existing information served to explore the matter on methodological level. The software ATLAS.ti enabled an analysis of the empirical data.

Based on the data, the life-history of Nadin Salihović-Müller and additional involved actors was narrated in the form of a career-line. The case introduces nine varied social practices that Roma migrants engage in (e.g. performance of economic migration, concealment of Roma origin). Furthermore, it is mentioned that Roma migrants strive to gain access to (new) materialities such residence permits, social networks and education. The results exhibited that agency is composed of the four factors of actors, knowledge, discourse and spaces. Agency may be restraining or facilitating and holds intrinsic capacities to change over time. Besides classical materialities, the case has brought about that the new materialities deserve their due in shaping ontology. Moreover, the findings inspired the development of the two concepts of memory and intentionality. Roma migrants accumulate a memory in the course of their lives that impacts personal intentions to act.

In conclusion, this thesis argues that development situations are impacted by circularity. Materiality materializes and consequently, occupations of (new) material positions may bring about agency for actors to occupy additional positions – an infinite process in this sense. In the end, recommendations are made to conduct further research with regard to additional Roma migrant cases, diverse development situations and the utilization of the research method of observation.

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# Chapter 1: Introduction

## Problem statement

The UNDP (2006) research paper 'At Risk: Roma and the Displaced in Southeast Europe' exhibited that Roma suffer from severe discrimination and degrading living conditions in the Balkans. With the aim of living a better life, many Roma thus decide to emigrate and move to Western European countries such as Germany. According to Bauman (2004) and Collier and Ong (2005), contemporary developments of late modernity and globalization have led to the increased isolation of these migrants in global cities. The German city of Hamburg can be considered such a global city, currently accommodating about 50.000 Roma (Karola e.V., 2012). Many scholars have acknowledged the marginalization of this migrant group on German grounds, but nevertheless, cases of successful integration can be identified, as for instance the life history of the Roma girl Nadin Salihović-Müller. Her case begs the question as to what factors condition agency on an ontological[1] level? Is it a one-sided analysis, bringing about that the majority society is the significant factor in determining isolation or integration of Romani migrants and thus denying human agency? Or is it legitimate to argue that agency related to a successful migration process is complex and characterized by blurring and fluidity in the case of the Serbian Roma migrating to Germany? McGee (2004) represents the understanding that agency is a three-fold notion enabling individuals to actively take part in the policy process. On the basis of this consideration the following hypothesis has been formulated to further illuminate the matter on an empirical level:

Roma migrants engage in social practices, in order to occupy distinct (new) material positions in their respective social world(s). Material positions may be understood as tangible (e.g. occupation, education, etc.) and new material positions as intangible (e.g. status, networks of friends, proximity to power). In this endeavor, the migrant is influenced by agency, i.e. the confrontation between the individual's experiences and the structure of the social world it makes part of.

## Research question

### Focusing the research question

For the purpose of generating the research question a number of questions need to be answered. First of all, it is of great importance to mark out the scope of the core concepts as worked out in the literature review, i.e. ontology, agency, social practices, (new) material positions and career-line. Table 1 provides a clear summary of the applied core concepts on the basis of the literature review:

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[1] "A branch of metaphysics concerned with the nature and relations of being" (Merriam-Webster.com, 2014)

| Concept | Scope | Underlying theories |
|---|---|---|
| *Agency* | Agency is a "confrontation between the subject and the world" (Bourdieu, 1990, p.42). It can be described as loose, flexible guidelines influenced by the four factors of actors, knowledge, discourse and spaces. A certain degree of blurring and vagueness has to be acknowledged in this confrontation. | ➢ Structuration, duality of structures (Giddens, 2007)<br>➢ Habitus (Bourdieu, 1990)<br>➢ Agency three-fold model (McGee, 2004)<br>➢ Significance of discourse (Miller & Rose, 2010)<br>➢ Blurring & fluidity (Arce & Umans, 2014) |
| *Social practices* | Mechanisms promoted by human agency, signaling and maintaining (new) material positions.<br>Examples: migration to Germany, etc. | ➢ Practices, position-taking (Bourdieu, 1990)<br>➢ Sub-dimension of space, i.e. Mechanics (McGee, 2004) |
| *(New) material positions* | Tangible and intangible positions occupied by individual actors in a social world relative to one another.<br>Examples of tangible material positions: occupation, property, etc.<br>Examples of intangible new material: social networks, proximity to power | ➢ New materialities (Coole & Frost, 2010)<br>➢ Results of penetrations of social system (Giddens, 2007)<br>➢ Positions (Bourdieu, 2007) |
| *Career line* | "Any social strand of any person's course through life" (Goffman, 1970, p.119). Here, it is presented as the life history of the case and depicted in a figure impacted by a wide range of actors. | ➢ Notion of the career-line (Goffman, 1970) |

*Tab. 1: Core concepts underlying the study*

Furthermore, the time frame and geographical location for the description need to be determined. This research focuses on outlining the life history of the case based on a total of 34 years. This period includes the childhood of Nadin Salihović-Müller in her home country Serbia, the migration process and subsequent years of her career-line living in Germany.

*Main research question*

For the purpose of investigating the above-outlined research problem according to the hypothesis of

> 'Roma migrants engage in social practices, in order to occupy distinct (new) material positions in their respective social world(s). Material positions may be understood as tangible (e.g. occupation, education, etc.) and new material positions as intangible (e.g. subjectivity, networks of friends, proximity to power). In this endeavor, the migrant is influenced by agency, i.e. the confrontation between the individual's experiences and the structure of the social world it makes part of'

the following main research question (MRQ) has been formulated in respect of the pragmatist paradigm:

> How do Roma migrants enact agency in their habitual engagement in social practices, for the ultimate occupation of distinct (new) material positions?

Furthermore, striving to examine the main research question in more detail, the case study has been built on a total of three sub-research foci (SRF), incorporating a number of sub-research questions (SRQs):

SRF1: Introduction to the case and implemented social practices

- ➤ SRQ1.1: What is the career-line (i.e. the life history) of the case?
- ➤ SRQ1.2: How do various actors constitute the development of a poly-actor career-line?

SRF2: Application of the data to the conceptual framework

- ➤ SRQ2.1: Which social practices do Roma migrants routinely engage in and how do they enact agency for these engagements?
- ➤ SRQ2.2: Which (new) material positions do Roma migrants strive to occupy by engaging in these social practices?

SRF3: Implications for the ontology of agency and (new) materialities

- ➤ SRQ3.1: Which implications for agency can be formulated based on the results?
- ➤ SRQ3.2: Which implications can be made for materialities and the new materialities?

## Research objective

This paper aims at promoting the notion of human agency for the purpose of theorizing the ontology of developmental situations. In this regard, one strives to outline the role of the poor in contributing to the deepening of democracy, as impacted by social discourse and the access of people to relevant knowledge. In fact, it is the goal to move away from approaching agency as superintending, without compromising the role of the experiential knowledge of an agent. Hence, this study examines the access of the poor to those spaces determining dominant discourses and policies, e.g. based on an actor's ability to establish a network.

Furthermore, it is the goal to add to the emerging body of knowledge related to the nature of the new materialities in our discursively fast-changing world (Coole and Frost, 2010). Accordingly, it is assumed that migrants ascribe meaning to the new materialities constituting their social environments. In this respect, the paper does not strive to assess modes, but rather tries to depict a snapshot of what is happening in reality through the lens of the pragmatist paradigm. It will be depicted what is taking place at site, rather than what

should be done. For this purpose the analysis of the empirical data exhibits specific social practices that Roma migrants engage in to signal and maintain positions in their social world(s).

Ultimately, it is the goal to bring about general implications for policy makers and sociology. By means of depicting how agents create access to (new) materialities, one pursues to promote policy-makers to account for related forces and complex realities in future workings regarding matters of migration. As a result, policy-makers, students, or any type of social scholar may be regarded as the target group of the research paper.

## Structure

Chapter 1 introduces the research objective and main questions dealt with in this case study. In addition, the main concepts will be explained shortly and put into context.

Chapter 2 is divided into two parts. The first part constructs the theoretical underpinning of the thesis before presenting the conceptual framework in the end. The second part illuminates the state of the art regarding Serbian and German matters of the Roma ethnos and migration.

Chapter 3 outlines the research design, methods and analysis strategies serving as the methodological basis for this research.

Chapter 4 presents the empirical data as collected during the data gathering process and subsequently discusses the main findings in relation to the conceptual framework. Finally, implications are made for the ontology of agency and (new) materialities.

Chapter 5 summarizes the most significant findings of Chapter 4 in a number of conclusions. In the end, the author presents a list of recommendations deriving from the case study.

# Chapter 2: Literature Review

## Theoretical framework: Moving towards the (new) materialities and a composition of agency

### First attempts and critiques of composing social reality: the notion of structure

For decades, French sociology has been examining complex social realities by means of using the powerful metonymic device of structure. Illuminating a part of social reality, it was the endeavor to outline an ordered whole. According to Lévi-Strauss (as cited in Sewell, 1992) structure is constituted by a set of rules, enabling one to order binary oppositions into myths. Hence, a structure of rules impacts human beings in their actions determining outcomes of social reality. Sassurian linguistics display such typical structuralist analogy in the distinction between langue and parole (Sewell, 1992). Langue is depicted as the structure (i.e. abstract rules of grammar) impacting the practice of parole (i.e. speech, or the actual formation of sentences).

As it has been highlighted by sociologists such as Giddens, Bourdieu or Sewell, the notion of structure serves as a basis for the complex composition of social reality, but has to be declared as a far too rigid conception at the same time. "What tends to get lost in this language of structure is the efficacy of human action" (Sewell, 1992, p.1). Structure does not exist apart from human agency. It is recognized that structure shapes motivated transactions constituting an experience of social life, rather than reducing actors to programmed automatons (Sewell, 1992). An implied stability of the notion of structure results in a kind of awkwardness regarding how to deal with change. This shortcoming indicates the extent to which the concept is undertheorized and in need of extensive rethinking. The following theoretical overview sets out to explore and develop an adequately complex conception of social reality and capacities for transformation, recognizing the notion of structure as a starting point.

### Globalization and implications of late-modernity

In line with a one-sided approach to the conception of social reality, i.e. denying human agency, Bauman (2004) declares: "Our planet is full" (p.4). This statement does not focus on physical or human geographies, but rather on sociological and political spheres. In these times of modernity, we humans are constantly expanding the physical space uninhabitable and incapable of accommodating human life as a consequence of our so highly appraised technological development. According to Bauman (2004), this creation of wastelands is indispensable from a sociological perspective, as we are in need of dumping grounds for the human waste deriving from our modernization processes. This human waste is the "population of those who either could not or were not wished to be recognized or allowed to stay, [in this sense] the excessive and the redundant" (p.5). It is the side effect of order-building and economic progress; the former categorizing the extant population as "out of

place" (p.5), and the latter degrading prior modes of making a living, while depriving their practitioners of their livelihood.

Moving a step further, as described by Collier and Ong (2005), a new ordering of things regarding a shift from modernization to globalization shall be acknowledged as the contemporary era of late-modernity. In this era, three mayor trajectories can be identified with regard to related macro processes of globalization, namely the emergence of global cities, the significance of social sights and their response to global forces, as well as the concept of global culture (i.e. related to technological, cultural and media scapes). These heterogeneous developments of globalization have set in motion global assemblages, constituting sites for the formation and reformation of anthropological problems (Collier and Ong, 2005). Furthermore, it is stated that global assemblages signify "domains in which the forms and values of individual and collective existence are being problematized or at stake, in the sense that they are subject to technological, political and ethical reflection and intervention" (Collier and Ong, 2005, p.4). To give an example of such global assemblages, flows of fluid population can be examined, i.e. patterns of international migrants that move to global cities aiming to take their part in benefiting from development.

### *Governmentality and rendering reality*

Acknowledging the existence of such flows of population, questions regarding ways of controlling and organizing these developments arise. Earlier models of development co-operations illustrated the role of the state in extending control over related matters of regulation by means of rational central planning, calculations and statistics (McGee, 2004; Miller and Rose, 2010). In their paper 'Political power beyond the State: problematics of government', Miller and Rose highlight the injustices and inefficiencies of the state, while referring to alternative analytics of power on the basis of Foucault's notions on governmentality and 'monstre froid' (as cited in Miller and Rose, 2010, p. 276). In this regard, the authors argue that it was incorrect to solely refer to the state as the government and suggest treating it as an assemblage of national institutions and agencies (e.g. private enterprises, NGOs, councils, etc.). According to Keane (1988) this assemblage could be best described as civil society signifying a "natural realm of freedoms and activities outside the legitimate sphere of politics" (as cited in Miller and Rose, 2010, p. 277). As reflected in liberalist theories, this interplay of self-organizing capacities is to be nurtured and fostered by governmental forces promoting decentralization (McGee, 2004; Miller and Rose, 2010). Furthermore, it is the task of government to translate political rationalities, i.e. the moral duties and actions of authorities, into governmental programs (Miller and Rose 2010). Such programs aim at outlining the existing knowledge of problems e.g. concerning economy or poverty and seek to exercise calculated and legitimate power over them. Consequently, through the establishment of this intellectual machinery for government, one strives to render reality and its entire complexity thinkable.

*The impact of the new materialities*

With the aim of further illuminating this complexity, the following paragraph will outline the philosophical writings of Coole and Frost (2010) concerning the introduction of new materialisms. The authors state that being human, one inhabits and takes for granted a material world that relies on physical objects. However, declaring that solely natural phenomena are embedded in networks of power would be naively representational or naturalistic. In fact, it is time to give new materialisms their due in shaping society and circumscribing human prospects, with the aim of reconfiguring an understanding of the nature of matter (i.e. ontology). The need for such reconfiguration arises from a number of developments, including twentieth-century advances in the natural sciences (e.g. physics and biology) and the emergence of critical ethical and political concerns (e.g. population flows, climate change, etc.) related to scientific and technological advances. The former development can be best described by using the metaphor of the composition of the atom. Contemporary physics define the atom as a "smeared field of distributed charge whose subatomic particles are less like planets in solar orbit than they are like flashes of charge that emerge from and dissipate in the empty space from which they are composed" (Coole and Frost, 2010, p.11). Consequently, subatomic behavior is characterized by constant emergence, attraction, repulsion and fluctuation, rather than any form of stable or solid matter. Finally, this knowledge about matter does not only apply to the atom, but in addition, may be utilized as a relevant metaphor concerning ontology. Accordingly, it can be said that

> "new materialists are rediscovering a materiality that materializes, evincing immanent modes of self-transformation that compel us to think of causation in far more complex terms; to recognize that phenomena are caught in a multitude of interlocking systems and forces and to consider anew the location and nature of capacities for agency" (Coole and Frost, 2010, p.9).

In this sense, it may be stated that matter is no longer passive with regard to agency, but that it has to be considered a complex force manifesting certain "agentic capacities" (p.10). Indeed, 'matter becomes', rather than that 'matter is'.

Returning to the issue of development, complexity theory and concepts of self-transforming matter may be applied to models of society and political economy. For instance, phenomena such as social movements, health and crime or economics build on chaotic randomness and complex patterns of organization (Coole and Frost, 2010), while compromising the possibility of a quantitative cause and effect relationship. As a result, a need for new foci on further organization and development, as well as for a reconsideration of human agentic efficacy arises.

*Agency, structure and social practices in relation to the new materialities*

In the social sciences, agency refers to the capacity of an agent (a person or other entity) to act in a social world. French sociology has further illuminated this subject, particularly the

two social theorists Giddens and Bourdieu. In his book "Central Problems in Social Theory", Giddens (1979) outlines his ideas regarding human agency in the form of the structuration theory. The phrase "duality of structures" (Introduction to Part V, 2007, p.221) sums up his main argument, meaning that people make society but are also constrained by it. In fact, structures are "both the medium and the outcome of the practices that constitute (and reproduce) [them]" (Giddens, 1981, p.27). This understanding is based on the theory that structures consist of rules and resources. Giddens states that structure arises from "rules and resources, recursively implicated in the reproduction of social systems. Structure exists only as memory traces, the organic basis of human knowledgeability, and as instantiated in action" (1984, p.377).

According to this definition, structure has to be understood as being of virtual nature – it does not exist concretely in time and space but rather derives from "memory traces". Furthermore, at least partly, any agent has to be considered reflexive, while monitoring ones actions and orienting these to the behavior of others. It is decisive to acknowledge that this reflexive monitoring is carried out as a background task, led by ones "practical consciousness" (Introduction to Part V p.221) and habitual understanding, rather than rational motives. Nevertheless, an agent will always have to draw upon collective interpretative schemes, in order to produce a meaningful act. Giddens suggests defining social practices (i.e. ongoing streams of action) as the proper unit of analysis regarding human agency. Consequently, it can be argued that social practices are embedded into dual structures. A complete picture of the notion of agency as explicated by Giddens can only be fully understood, when embedding the concept in his theory of structuration. Structuration is based on the division between structures and systems (Giddens, 2007, p.236):

> ➢ Structure: Rules and resources, organized as properties of social systems. Structure only exists as "structural properties".
> ➢ System: Reproduces relations between actors or collectivities, organized as regular social practices.

Taking into account these definitions, structuration theory can be determined as:

> ➢ Structuration: Conditions governing the continuity, or transformation of structures, and therefore the reproduction of systems.

These conditions as embedded in time and space (i.e. rules and resources) may take on various forms. First of all, temporality plays a significant role, as it influences day-to-day activities of human subjects according to reflexive moments of attention that are reproduced in the form of hegemonic discourse. These "moments" do not solely incorporate human behavior but also focus on the setting of interaction. Giddens mentions that rules are virtual, generating social practices and social systems. On the basis of Wittgenstein, he regards rules as "generalizable procedures applied in the enactment/reproduction of social life" (1984, p.21); unfortunately, he lacks to give respective examples. Rules have to be

understood as a set of unconscious motives operating externally to the self-understanding of the agent. These unconscious motives bring about unintended consequences, which ultimately can become conditions of future action. Resources are defined in more detail as "the media whereby transformative capacity is employed as power in the routine course of social interaction" (Giddens, 1979, p.92). For instance, they may take on the form of power relations, or access to knowledge (i.e. both practical and discursive consciousness) of the society that one is a part of. Thus, it can be stated that the successful penetration of a particular social system depends on the actor's capability to gain access to and utilize these resources, when engaging in social practices. At this point the connection to the above-mentioned new materialities and the metaphor of the atom comes into play. In the way that constant forces of emergence, attraction, repulsion, etc. characterize subatomic behavior, an agents' practical consciousness and the characteristics of particular social worlds (i.e. time-space, rules and resources) determine one's capacities to engage in social practices. These characteristics shall be outlined in more detail.

Bourdieu (1990) has acknowledged the above-outlined duality of structure (i.e. based on rules and resources) by declaring the need for a theory that brings together subjectivism and objectivism. In subjectivism the actor's own motivations are considered the source of action; opposing the notion of objectivism that is based on the perception that action should be structured only as the result of "external forces that either push people in one direction or constrain them from going in another" (Introduction to Part VI, 2007, p.260). In this sense, subjectivism accounts for action and objectivism depicts structure. However, according to Bourdieu, an action cannot be understood as "a kind of antecedent-less confrontation between the subject and the world" (Bourdieu, 1990, p.42); rather, an action should be considered as being embedded into a social structure. Hence, both, action and structure are deeply interrelated. In contrast to Giddens, he thus argues that dual structures do not engender stasis. In fact, utilizing a differing terminology, he respectively declares that rules and resources engage in a mutually sustaining relationship as follows:

> "The mental structures which construct the world of objects are constructed in the practice of a world of objects constructed according to the same structures. The mind born of the world of objects does not rise as a subjectivity confronting an objectivity: the objective universe is made up of objects which are the product of objectifying operations structured according to the very structures which the mind applies to it. The mind is a metaphor of the world of objects which is itself but an endless circle of mutually reflecting metaphors." (Bourdieu, 1977, p.91)

Aiming to further clarify this relationship, the author has developed conceptual tools intended to illuminate the process of social life in concrete settings. Bourdieu suggests carrying out a relational analysis, oriented by the three concepts of positions, position-taking (i.e. practices) and dispositions. Actors occupy positions (e.g. education, occupation, proximity to power, etc.) in a social environment in relation to one another. Within the

process of position-taking these positions are being signaled and maintained by means of practices, as for instance through choices in leisure activities, styles of dress or tastes in literature and art (Introduction to Part VI, 2007). Finally, dispositions (i.e. habitus) come into play mediating between positions and position-taking. The habitus can be understood as loose guidelines generating and organizing practices and representations (Bourdieu, 1990), shaped by the experiences of actors in particular positions in the social structure. The three concepts are tied to social fields. A field is "a domain of social life that has its own rules of organization, generates a set of positions and supports practices associated with them" (Introduction to Part VI, 2007, p.262). By means of utilizing the metaphor of the game this notion can be depicted in more detail:

> "One can think of social fields as analogues to sports fields. A soccer field, for example, is simply the terrain upon which the game is played. The players' positions are arrayed in this space and it provides boundaries within which the game must proceed. But the field itself cannot dictate the actions of any particular player. Within the boundaries set by the field, there is room for improvisation and autonomy. Similarly, social fields provide the terrain upon which boundaries are arrayed and within which position-takings occur. They provide boundaries for action, but within these boundaries they allow creative improvisation. And like players on a soccer field, participants in social fields occupy different positions." (Introduction to Part VI, 2007, pp.262-263)

For example, a first-semester medical student and the head of department of a renowned hospital both occupy positions in the medical field, which provide them with different opportunities and sites of contention.

By means of examining the writings of Giddens and Bourdieu we have been approximating the determination of a complex theory of structure and agency. Sewell continues the exploration depicting shortcomings of the two theories, highlighting that neither of them brings about a sufficient explanation of how actors develop their capacity to act. Responding to this lack of insight, Sewell (1992) presents a concept of structure that comprises an intrinsic potential for transformation.

### *Multiplicity and fracture of society resulting in capacities for social change*
Starting off with a critique of Giddens, Sewell (1992) states that his theory "remains frustratingly underspecified" (p.5) and thus cannot succeed in serving as a robust basis for epistemology. First of all, rules are described as being generalizable procedures of virtual nature, but Giddens lacks to bring about examples of such virtual rules. Sewell agrees with the understanding that rules must be generalizable and virtual, but he digs deeper declaring that rules exist at various levels, rather than at one deep structural level. He goes on explaining that the term 'rules' itself may be misleading, implying "formally stated prescriptions" (Sewell, 1992, p. 8). Instead, he suggests that such prescriptions are informal – not always conscious – and hence better suit to be titled schemas. Secondly, Sewell

renders Gidden's definition of resources into "ordinary English" explaining that "resources are anything that can serve as a source of power in social interactions" (1992, p. 9). In this regard, a classification is adapted from the distinction between authoritative and allocative resources to human and nonhuman resources. On the one hand, nonhuman resources are summarized as "objects, animate or inanimate, occurring naturally or manufactured" (p. 9), utilized to obtain or maintain power. On the other hand, human resources could be physical strength, knowledge, or emotional commitments. As it can be seen, both types enable an actor to mediate power, but contradicting the writings of Giddens, Sewell points out that resources are not exclusively virtual. To give a few examples, factories, land, or stocks of weapons would have to be classified as non-virtual resources in capitalism. Having outlined that structures are not solely of virtual nature, the theory of Giddens becomes contradictory. Virtual structures cannot consist of both, schemas and resources; and if structures include both, there is no way that structures are virtual. Insisting that structures are virtual, we deny the duality of structure and schemas become the sole form-giving factor. Hence, emphasizing a dual character of structure and an intrinsic capacity for transformation and reproduction in line with Bourdieu, Sewell thus comes to his first conclusion as follows: Structure consists of virtual, generalizable schemas, as well as actual human and nonhuman resources.

Furthermore, Sewell (1992) declares that Bourdieu has brought about a powerful elaboration of how mutually reinforcing schema-resource sets "constitute human subjects with particular sorts of knowledge and dispositions" (p. 15). Despite such epistemological strengths, he continues pinpointing one essential weakness: Bourdieu's theory is based on an overtotalized conception of society. According to Sewell, agents often fail to conduct actions and to create perceptions consistent with social patterns, whereas inconsistent ones come about all the time. Hence, Bourdieu's notion of habitus can only work in an idealized social world. For the purpose of outlining how a theory of change can be built into a theory of structure, Sewell (1992) presents a "far more multiple, contingent, and fractured conception of society" (p. 16), based on five main characteristics:

1. Multiplicity of structures: Practices derive from many distinct structures at various levels (e.g. religion, education, etc.), as based on incompatible schemas and varied quantities of resources; variation within spheres has to be acknowledged (e.g. authoritarian and ritual modes in Christian society)
2. Transposability of schemas: Knowledge of rules, which may be applied to wide, not fully predictable range of unfamiliar cases; actors have to determine transposability case by case
3. Unpredictability of resource accumulation: Actor's capability to transpose schemas on cases; impacts one's access to resource base
4. Polysemy of resources: Resources may be interpreted in various manners and hence may empower actors in differing ways

5. **Intersection of structures:** Structures intersect and overlap in schema- and resource dimensions; enabling actors occupying different structural complexes to claim arrays of resources and appropriate schemas from one context to be applied to another

Based on the above-outlined understanding a second conclusion can be drawn, defining structures as "sets of mutually sustaining schemas and resources that empower and constrain social action and that tend to be reproduced by that social action" (Sewell, 1992, p. 19). In addition, focusing the relationship between schemas and resources at the center of such a definition, implications for social change and -stasis can be made. The enactment of structure implies agency, i.e. the capability to exert some degree of control over social relations and thereby transforming such relations concurrently. Degrees of empowerment depend on the agents' knowledge of prevailing schemas and resulting abilities to accumulate resources in the social complexes. As a consequence, agency, which is defined as "entailing the capacity to transpose and extent schemas to new contexts", must be "inherent in the knowledge of cultural schemas that characterizes all minimally competent members of society" (Sewell, 1992, p. 18) – or in other words, it can be concluded that every actor operates some degree of agency. Aiming to further illuminate an actor's capacity to act and transform, or in other words distributed agency, it is necessary to make an attempt at conceptualizing the above-outlined theory in the form of a model.

### *'Tangiblizing' agency: The three-fold model of the policy process*

In her paper 'Unpacking Policy: Actors, Knowledge and Spaces', Rosemary McGee (2004) pursues to depict human agency in the policy-process as a three-fold model embedded in a specific context (Fig. 1), while declaring that policy can no longer be described as a linear, top-down and essentially rational process. With reference to the theory of Coole and Frost (2010) as well as French sociology, it can be said that McGee outlines the complex setting of self-transforming matter (i.e. distributed agency) related to policy-making. The model (Fig. 1) depicts policy as a dynamic and complex interplay between the three elements of actors, knowledge and policy spaces.
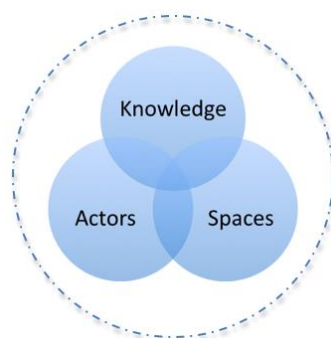


*Fig. 1: The three-fold model of the policy process*
*Source: McGee, 2004*

Commencing with the dimension of the actors, McGee (2004) states that the formulation and implementation of the policy process are the key tasks of government. However, in

alignment with the writings of Miller and Rose (2010), the author agrees that a successful implementation of such a task can only occur on the basis of decentralization and close co-operations with developmental agencies (e.g. donors). This challenge can be considered the democratization of the policy process. Contributing to the understandings of developmental thinking, Arce and Long (2000) introduced the 'actor-perspective' as a third significant tendency. This perspective suggests that the poor are increasingly active participants in their own development, while illuminating "the many emancipatory and empowering dimensions of human agency, both in conceptual terms and in its practical application" (McGee, 2004, p. 4). At the same time, it has to be highlighted that oftentimes the poor are only protagonists sharing the workload of developmental projects (i.e. policy processes) instead of exercising their rights (Long, 1992). For the purpose of determining to what extent actors have agency in the policy process a number of characteristics have to be taken into consideration. First of all, the period regarding how long an actor has been engaged with the policy process, plays a decisive role. In addition, their credibility and contributions, as well as expectations of their behaviors and networks they are embedded in, are of great significance. All in all, it can be concluded that the element of actors comprises all those individual or collective forces up and down the vertical slice influencing the policy process, with their diverse interests and complex power relations, as for instance based on access to networks. The second element of the model is knowledge. It is defined as a broad construct ranging from official knowledge, through poverty narratives to popular knowledge illustrating people's own experiences. In this regard, the author specifically highlights the significance of 'knowledge in the poverty policy process', distinguishing between specially produced and constructed knowledge. The former type of knowledge consists of statistical data, e.g. household survey data, supposedly presenting values of neutrality, but in fact carrying ideological baggage. The latter type of knowledge describes an understanding that is not always visible or explicit, while relying on processes that very different from the above-mentioned. Such knowledge may be based on everyday experience and hence can be co-constructed by the poor (i.e. Participatory Poverty Assessments). Furthermore, constructed types of knowledge, as for example narratives and discourses, may contribute to the illumination and transcription of reality. Citing the definition of Roe, McGee (2004) notes

> "discourses refer to a relatively wider set of values and ways of thinking, a narrative can be part of a discourse if it describes a specific story which is in line with the broader set of values and priorities of a discourse" (p. 13).

In general, discourses have to be considered necessary tools in determining what and whose participation in the policy process is legitimate, as actors strive to incorporate their agendas and interest. As a result, the terrain of knowledge can be regarded as a battlefield wherein knowledge itself functions as a political tool, or in other words an instrument of power. A final element of the policy process is the concept of spaces. It provides "a useful lens through which to view the everyday politics and practices of actors who are engaged in the policy process, and to examine how their power to act is enabled" (McGee, 2004, p. 15).

Emphasize is put on determining the role and access of the poor to these spaces. Consequently, it can be analyzed to what extent the poor themselves contribute to political discourses and resulting policy agendas. Spaces may reflect multiple points in time and can take on diverse forms, as for instance observable opportunities, behaviors, actions and interactions. In this sense, it can be compared to the concept of position-taking (i.e. practices to claim and maintain positions) developed by Bourdieu. Ultimately, specific events or relationships between actors may bring about a shift in policy direction. McGee (2004) goes on by introducing three different kinds of spaces, namely closed, invited and autonomous. Firstly, closed spaces are those governmental spheres where no participation is promoted; secondly, invited spaces provide access to non-governmental actors while deepening democratic regulations. Autonomous spaces, on the contrary, exclude governmental interference, often operating in direct response to official policy processes. Besides these various kinds of spaces, a total of five dimensions of spaces can be mentioned, including history, access, mechanics, dynamics and learning (Fig. 2).
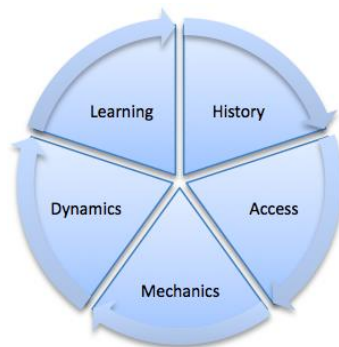


*Fig. 2: Five dimensions of space in the policy process*
*Source: McGee, 2004*

The first dimension of space is history, referring to its time frame of existence, creation and impetus (e.g. developed from official or private sources). Secondly, an analysis of who has access to a certain space may provide an indication of what can be achieved. A third dimension namely mechanics reflects the physical context of a space, as reflected in an actor's behaviors and practices. In addition, the dimension of dynamics comes into play, referring to prevailing relationships, power relations and the memory of experiences, as perceived by the various actors involved in the policy process. Both, mechanics and dynamics form part of the two former dimensions, inscribing the information for history and access. Finally, a fifth dimension is based on the idea that through reflecting on ones experiences an actor may generate a certain kind of learning and transformation of one's agenda. Aiming to put this discussion of the three elements of the policy process in a nutshell, it is of great significance to acknowledge the context, shot through with culture, political economy, history and power relations, in which these elements are embedded (McGee, 2004).

## *Adding a fourth dimension to the model*

Following the theory of Miller and Rose (2010), the significance of the element of discourse in the policy process has to be highlighted. While McGee (2004) incorporates the discursive field in the element of knowledge, the conceptual framework of this research builds on the idea that discourse plays a key role in the organization of political power. As a result, instead of considering discourse an intrinsic part of knowledge, a fourth dimension has been integrated in the McGee model to further illuminate the complexity of the policy process (Fig. 3).
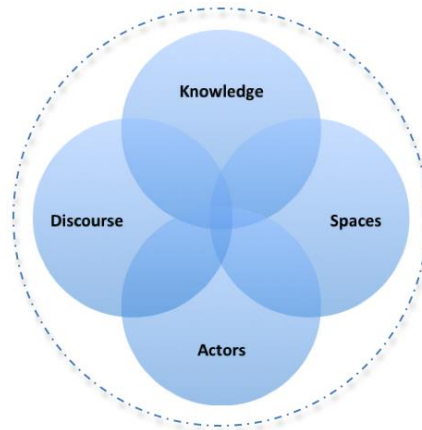


*Fig. 3: Four-fold model of the policy process*

## *The notion of networks as part of space*

For the purpose of expanding a discussion of agency, the notion of networks will be examined regarding its impact on an actor's capacity to act. In their paper, 'Social Networking, Hardiness, and Immigrant's Mental Health', Kuo and Tsai (1986) examine how an immigrant's activism in the cultivation of social networks in a receiving society, in combination with the personality trait of hardiness, can make for amelioration of mental strain. The authors state that immigration results in an active process of uprooting. In this regard, uprooting refers to the immigrant's pursuit of – in this sense, an outcome of calculation. In fact, it is assumed that once the shock of cultural alienation in the receiving society is withstood, "immigration can be used as a vehicle for personal advancement" (p. 133). Leaving behind social networks in the homeland, immigrants are aware of the re-rooting challenge in the receiving society. Kuo and Tsai (1986) admit that this awareness may result in insecurity; nonetheless, it is not perceived as disastrous. On the contrary, it is understood as a motor for immigrants to arrange reception preparations and transplantation mechanisms through mediums of higher education. In conclusion, the article exhibits that personalities (i.e. hardiness) as well as social networks (i.e. established in the homelands and the receiving societies), play a decisive role in the enactment of the immigrants' agency. The passive image of the "vegetable-like" (p. 134) immigrant is thereby declared unjustified.

### Discussion of fluidity and blurredness

Arce and Umans (2014) continue the agency discussion illustrating that the heterogeneity of development situations results in the need of implementing varied cooperation strategies. The recognition of context specificity called for a shift from a 'best fix' to a 'best fit' approach since the late 1980s. The authors argue that their case of forestry cooperation with the Yuracaré in Bolivia does not fit into any of the two schemes, as it involves blurring and fluidity. Blurring and fluidity can be associated with actors blurring boundaries (i.e. the Yuracaré and a Bolivian NGO) and intermingling knowledge. These processes bring about systems of instability, which revolve around fluidity. In the end, it is suggested to introduce a third approach labelled 'go-with-the-flow', in order to go about fluid and blurry development situations.

### Moving towards an analysis of agency

Subsequent to a theoretical illumination agency and development situations, one may ask how related phenomena may be documented and analyzed. Aiming to find an answer to this question the paper 'Bureaucratic Transaction: The Development of Official-Client Relationships in Israel', written by Handelman in 1976, can be considered an insightful example. Handelman describes the case of bureaucratic affiliation between an immigrant family and the welfare department of Jerusalem, while declaring that over a series of social contacts both parties establish a social relationship on the basis of an offer/request and response pattern, which is very much in line with the notion of duality of structure developed by Giddens. These offers or requests may take on the form of advice, aid or material benefits and can be accepted or rejected by either party of the affiliation. This negotiation indicates the levels of relative power of either party, according to the various resources one may introduce to obtain benefits from the other. In this regard, it is decisive to acknowledge that over time, these levels of power may shift and social relationships may change, enabling parties to raise their claims. Referring to the writings of Goffman (1970), these sequential actions and attachments can be termed a 'career-line' defining "any social strand of any person's course through life" (p. 119). On the one hand, a successful 'career' for the welfare department could be described as followed: short-term affiliation, which permits the department to exert its activities over a wider span of clients and thus to produce a higher number of rehabilitees. On the other hand, intending to maximize welfare benefits, a client will strive to prolong its affiliation with the department by means of exploring a number of varied strategies. A few examples of these strategies involve medical documentation, size and composition of the household, alternative economic opportunities, as well as tactics of self-presentation such as the 'diversification of demand' (i.e. referring to various loci and areas of household living) or 'complication and contradiction'. To put it in a nutshell, according to Handelman, social relationships affect the affiliations between clients and officials, leaving both parties in the position to exploit resources to such extents that they can bring about benefits in the course of one's respective 'career'.

*Generalizing agency theory to the development sphere of migration*

Recognizing the above-described notes on the policy process as one example for application, this paper suggests generalizing the theory of agency to the development sphere of migration. With regard to discussions of global assemblages and migration flows, this study assumes that migrants are impacted by complex agency, when occupying (new) material positions and re-rooting in the receiving societies. In this regard, one may ask: To what extent do migrants have agency in overcoming Bauman's redundancy, setting foot in Collier and Ong's global cities, or influencing McGee's policy processes? Do migrants have agency in their own process of migration?

## A new conceptual framework

For the purpose of summarizing and consolidating the aforementioned theoretical notions of the theoretical literature review, the following model (Fig. 4) will depict a new conceptual framework as employed in this study. In a nutshell, this framework builds on the idea that actors enact complex agency when engaging in social practices. These engagements may ultimately make for occupations of distinct (new) material positions.

Agency → Social Practices → (New) material positions

Integrating the theories of McGee (2004) and Rose and Miller (2010), the sphere of agency (sphere X) is four-fold. Consequently, one strives to acknowledge the roles of actors, knowledge, discourse and spaces in rendering complex agency. In the theory of McGee (2004), the concept of space is comprised of a total of five dimensions. Zooming into sphere X of this conceptual framework, only four dimensions of space were depicted, lacking the dimension of mechanics. Mechanics can be understood as behaviors and practices of actors. Aiming to highlight the role of social practices (i.e. sphere Z) in developmental processes, the researcher thus decided to relocate mechanics in the model and attribute an additional sphere to social practices (i.e. sphere Z). Moreover, the model exhibits that the engagement in social practices enables actors to occupy distinct (new) material positions in a social world relative to one another (sphere Y). With regard to Cool and Frost (2010) a distinction is made between materialities and the new materialities. This study assumes that materialities can be associated with e.g. property, occupation – tangible materialities. New materialities, on the contrary, can be defined as intangible, such as proximity to power or social networks. As explicated by Kuo and Tsai (1986), the role of social networks and individual personality traits receives particular attention in this study. Finally, the impact of fluidity and blurring is acknowledged in the conceptual framework with reference to the writings of Arce and Umans (2014). The examples have brought about that between actors, boundaries can be blurry and spaces of knowledge can intermingle. As a result, this study recognizes that the context specificity of development situations calls for a detailed examination of the various spheres, factors, and dimensions of the conceptual framework.
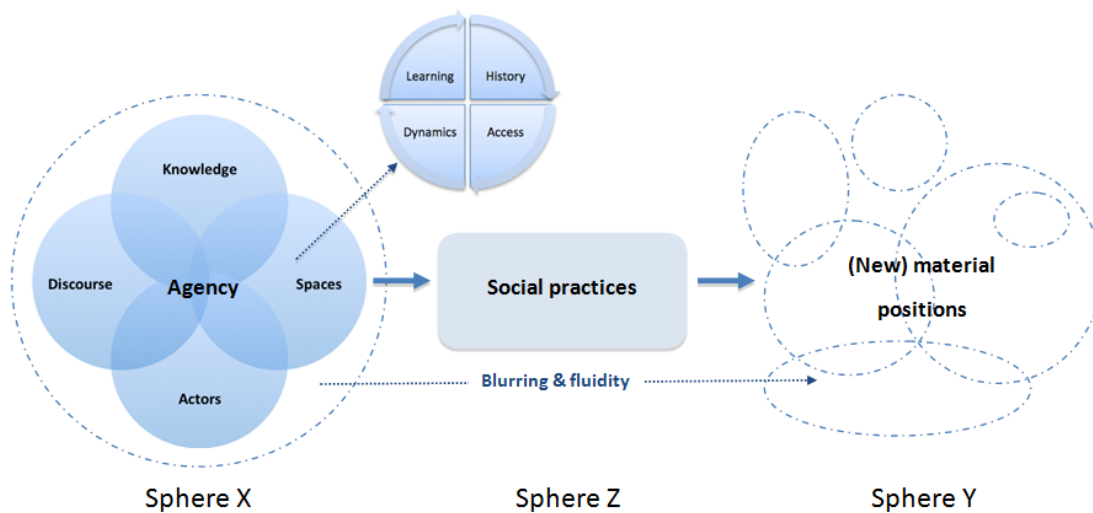
*Fig. 4: Conceptual framework deriving from the literature review*

## Outlining the state of the art: The case of the Serbian Roma migrants

Finally, this theory provides a basis to introduce the case of Romani migrants living in northern spheres of modern-day Germany. Many of these migrants have been applying for residence permits, aiming to leave their Eastern peasantries behind, in order to start a new life in the engine of the EU.

### *Who are the Roma? An attempt to determine origins and identity…*

In this paper, the term Roma refers to related populations of Romani descant. Various subgroups of the Roma can be identified, of which some accept the term Roma as their primary or secondary self-designation and others reject it. Among others, these include the Sinti or Sinte, the Kale, the Romanichal, the Manouche, the Kalderash, the Lovari, the Xoraxai and the Gitanos. Nonetheless, a growing trend towards utilizing the term Roma as an all-encompassing reference can be identified in contemporary academic and political discussions, as it currently appears to be the most acceptable and likely to offend the least people (Klímová and Pickup, 2000). Besides the term Roma, these populations have been grouped under the common name of the 'Gypsies' (or 'Zigeuner' in the German vernacular tongue). However, this term is not desirable, as it carries negative connotations and is often used to discriminate Romani people.

Many scholars have been investigating the origins of Roma over the past decades. The most accepted explanation derives from publications on linguistic research of Turner and Samson in the mid-1920s, declaring that the Roma originated from the northwestern parts of India sometime between the 9th and 14th century (Fraser, 2000). Furthermore, mixed ethnic and social compositions of Romani populations have been traced back to several distinct exoduses from India, motivated by civil conflicts such as that between the Ghazni and Rajput. In addition, various ethnic influences as for instance from Persian, Iranian and Greek

(i.e. Byzantium) sources can be identified throughout the Romani westward migrations (Hancock, 1998). Despite linguistic accounts of origin, the Indian paradigm may be reflected in Romani beliefs of purity codes, reinforcing the boundaries between them and the so-called 'gajo' (i.e. non-Roma) (Fraser, 2000). On behalf of the European Commission, Kenrick published his work 'Gypsies: From India to the Mediterranean' in 1993, in order to refocus the discussion of historical pointers to the ethnic group of the Zott. Kenrick argues

> "the social group which constituted the bulk of the Romani immigrants into Europe was probably the several thousand Zott who were resettled in Khaneikin. This mixture of land workers, soldiers and their families were accompanied along the route by smaller numbers of other persons of Indian origin with specialist skills, especially nomadic craft workers and entertainers" (as cited in Fraser, 2000, pp. 26-27).

As it can be seen from the above-outlined theories, a generalization of Roma origin remains a challenge for linguists, anthropologists, sociologists, ethnographers and others engaged in what is loosely labeled 'Roma studies'. Comparable ambiguity can be identified with regard to a definition of major views on Roma identity, ethnicity and nationhood. The Roma are one of the largest ethnic groups residing outside of nation-state borders, as they do not have a nation-state of their own. Presenting a great variety of languages and dialects, Romani occupy many different positions in the social structure. Often identities are associated with Roma vulnerability. Hence Roma can be internally displaced persons (IDPs), refugees, unemployed, illiterate, disabled, or mix of all of these together (UNDP, 2006). In addition, scholars and professionals can be recognized occupying differing social environments as spread over various countries and regions. Thus, against common belief, Roma lifestyles cannot be limited to nomadism. Many organizations have presented approaches towards defining Roma identity based on their own agenda. Some examples can be listed as follows (UNDP, 2006, p. 11):

➢ Roma as ethnos and ethnic minority – by the International Romani Union
➢ Roma as undergoing a process of creation, i.e. the period of the Roma Renaissance – by Roma intellectuals
➢ Roma as a non-territorial European nation – by Roma themselves
➢ Roma as cultural minority and migrants – classical idea, (e.g. Matras, 2000)
➢ Roma as underclass or socially vulnerable group – outside experts

In line with the fourth of the above definitions, Matras (2000) declares that Roma have to be considered migrants, motivated by external social, economic and political circumstances. The wide-spread association of Roma with traveling groups has its roots in the Western European legacy of the romantic image of the 'traveling gypsy', which derives from social science research on itinerary lifestyles of various groups, whether related to Roma or not (Matras, 2000). According to Matras (2000) the term "Romani migrant refers to members of the Romani ethnic minority, who have left their country of original residence seeking a long-

or medium term improvement of their quality of life, or immediate refuge sanctuary" (p. 33). In this regard an improvement of one's 'quality of life' is defined as

> "an economic opportunity, an enduring sense of belonging, as well as greater confidence in the capacity of government authorities to protect human rights, ensure the rule of law, and promote tolerance and understanding within the society-at-large" (The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 1993, pp. 10-11).

Indeed, contrasting Matras, the definition of Roma identity as a nation without a nation-state receives the broadest support within the European Community, while claims are directed towards extending Roma representations in the political body of the EU. In general, it is understood that titles may only be chosen with caution, as these impact agendas of policy-makers and social attitudes.

### *Roma populations worldwide, in the Balkans and in Serbia*

In addition, determinations of Roma population numbers remain a challenge and can be considered a direct consequence of the prevailing ambiguity regarding Roma identity. As a result, official measures remain estimates. Nowadays, worldwide Romani populations are estimated to a total of 12 to 15 million people, living on every continent, except for Antarctica (National Geographic Society, 2012). They can be located over a widespread diaspora extending from Russia to the Atlantic in Europe, Scandinavia to the Balkans, as well as throughout Australia and the Americas (Kovats, 2000). The largest concentration has settled in Russia and southeastern Europe (National Geographic Society, 2012). The UNDP (2006) has estimated that between 6.8 and 8.7 million Roma live in Europe, of which about 68 % can be located over Central and Eastern Europe, as well as the Balkans (e.g. Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia and Kosovo). According to a population census presented by the World Bank (2005), 108,000 Roma lived in Serbia in 2002. Unofficial estimates indicate that the actual number must be closer to half a million Roma, of which about 50 % inhabit the so-called 'mahalas', illegal settlements in the suburbs of the larger cities.

### *Hierarchy structures, family ties, gender roles and purity codes*

Lacking a nation-state and a central government, the Romani have developed loose organizational structures to govern themselves. Extended families (i.e. between 10 to several hundreds) coalesce into bands – also referred to as 'kumpanias' (National Geographic, 2014). Each band is led by an elected chieftain, who traditionally makes decisions after consultation with a council of elders. In addition, smaller alliances based on ancestry called 'vitsas' can be identified between families. Depending on the size of the 'vitsas', individual chieftains and councils may be elected. Family ties have a particular significance in Roma cultures. Exemplifying such views, Roma question 'Daśtil te avel tut but love, kana san korkoro naj tut khanć', meaning 'What's the point in having a lot of money; if you are alone, you have nothing' (USAID, 2007). In fact, based on in-place system of cultural kinship it can be understood that a family is the community and vice versa. This fact also

outlines why Romani use a term for 'community family'. Traditionally, family units consist of various generations: a patriarch and a matriarch, unmarried children and for instance married son with his wife and children. Once, the eldest son is ready to leave the household and provide for his family, he will make room for younger brothers to bring in their families. Roma families typically present many children, as it is considered to bring luck into the household. In this sense, an old Roma saying reads 'but chave but baxt', which can be translated into "many children much luck" (National Geographic, 2014).

These organizational and kinship structures are nurtured and solidified by Roma notions of purity. The purity code builds on the dichotomy between pure ('uźo' in Romani) and impure ('maxrime') and can be applied to physical and spiritual spheres.

> "In order to achieve ritual purity, one must abide universal order and harmony via compliance to a model. Ritual purity, while invisible, is spiritually prevalent, and is associated with deviation from the model. Ritual impurity breaks the intercommunity balance set by a set of rules and behaviors of conduct, practiced for years" (USAID, 2007).

Hence, it is considered highly significant to preserve norms of purity – not least, to protect community cohesion (USAID, 2007). As mentioned earlier, Roma distinguish themselves from the so-called 'gajo' (i.e. the non-Roma). Indeed, one strives to manifest boundaries with the impure – restrain from contamination with the evil in this sense. For the most part, compliance with social norms is responsibility of the individual; nonetheless, the community exerts a certain kind of influence reinforcing a strong sense of collective shame ('laʒipe'). Typically, this shame is triggered with the violation of Roma norms and instilled in children at a young age. The following paragraph lists a number of examples of such norms. Firstly, adults are not permitted to wear clothes that do not separate the upper part of the body (pure) from the lower part (impure), e.g. one-piece dresses. One must keep the lower parts of the body covered at all times; this rule applies to men as well as to women. Roma do not wash their bodies outside of their houses, as it is thought to be shameful ('laźavo'). In line with this way of thinking it is common to keep the restroom in the yard rather than indoors – the house must be kept clean and pure. Women in particular are deemed to be impure as they give birth and thereby constitute a "link between the terrestrial space and the space of unborn souls" (USAID, 2007, p. 16). Consequently, women are perceived to be a "potential danger to the community – especially the males" (p. 16). Routine activities such as cooking or fetching water are not to be carried out by women during times of menstruation, pregnancy and for six weeks to two months after delivery. Finally, a few comments can be made regarding norms of marital behavior and virginity. Today, only 5-10 % of the Roma populations still follow traditions of marrying at an early age (i.e. 13-16 years of age for girls and 15-17 for boys). Nonetheless, disposing of one's daughter in marriage still secures psychological comfort of many Roma parents (USAID, 2007). Breaking with these norms can result in being excommunicated from the Roma clans. The unmarried woman ('ćhaj bari) is

obliged to preserve the purity of her body and soul, in order to bring honor to her family. With her parents being her custodians during childhood, she will only be perceived as an adult with entering into the bond of marriage. Typically, the groom has to pay a dowry for his bride to her parents. The Romani word for 'to pay' is 'pokinel' and has a connotation of 'to praise'. Indeed, one aims to praise a bride's virginity – the exchange of the symbol of purity for the symbol of gold (USAID, 2007). USAID (2007) highlights

> "a bride's virginity acquires the value of a sacred vow due to some major factors: it relates to fundamental pure/impure morals, is a ritual of inauguration and creation, leading to the all-important first pregnancy and birth and assuring that there will be no alien bloodline in the family. Moreover, a girl's purity upon marriage guarantees inclusion in the community, which in turn may help to ensure a good health status for the young woman" (p. 18).

In contrast to traditional societies, the well-being of the individual is of primary significance in modern societies. Traditional societies present values of preserving collective interests. In this regard, the loss of personal freedom comes along with trading in individualism and committing to community structures. Following the belief of traditional Roma populations, individual freedom is an illusion and abandoning tradition brings about physical and mental trauma (USAID, 2007). Consequently, non-traditional Roma societies are perceived to be hampering social cohesion and the compliance with norms.

### *Roma vulnerability and discrimination*

In 2006, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has published a research paper titled 'At Risk: Roma and the Displaced in Southeast Europe' in 2006, exhibiting that Roma minorities are particularly vulnerable as compared to majority populations in Balkan context (i.e. Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania and Serbia). In this regard, various determinants of vulnerability such as poverty and its correlates (i.e. locational effects, number of children, etc.), education, employment, as well as health and security have been examined. The random sample relies on the idea that national census agencies provide adequate data of Roma settlements or areas of compact Roma population. As it highlighted by the UNDP (2006), the sampling method may under-represent those Roma, who live amongst majority population structures and choose to conceal their Roma identity due to motivations of stigmatization and discrimination. Consequently, the sample represents the views of Roma, who are visibly identifiable as such – the 'Roma ethno-class' in socio-anthropological terms; a group of people that is not necessarily underprivileged, but most of its members would be considered vulnerable. This methodological approach is particularly suitable as it "captures Roma attitudes vis-à-vis their own community and other communities, [the 'gajo']. And it reconciles group identity with the desire to escape group identification – a strategy often adopted by better-off Roma individuals" (UNDP, 2006, p. 16).

Firstly, poverty is listed as the most common determinant of vulnerability. In this regard, household consumption data (i.e. expenditures) serves as an indicator for poverty levels. For the purpose of defining the absolute poverty line, a threshold of purchasing power parity (PPP) $4.30 in daily equivalized expenditures was applied; with regard to extreme poverty the threshold was set at PPP $2.15. A total of 50 % of all Roma are expected to live in poverty (Tab. 2).

| | Share of household members | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| | Non-poor | Poor |
| Roma | 50 | 50 |
| Majority | 86 | 14 |
| Total | 67 | 33 |

Tab. 2: Share of individuals living in households with equivalized expenditures below the poverty threshold in %
Source: UNDP, 2006

In fact, more than a fifth of all respondents can be referred to as being extremely poor. In contrast, about 15 % of the respective majority population is found to live in poverty and 4 % in extreme poverty. Serbia presents even more severe numbers with 57 % of the Roma population living below the poverty line and 10 % of the majority population. In all countries, Roma present lower overall expenditures than majority households. Primarily funds are expended on food and durables, rather than education and health (Tab. 3). The same picture can be identified for majority communities; nonetheless, Roma only spend about a third of the money on education that majority households invest. Finally, it can be highlighted that Roma present higher expenditures on alcohol and tobacco as majority households, despite respective lower average incomes.

| | Roma | Majority | Roma as percentage of majority expenditures |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Food | 264.1 | 301.6 | 87.6 |
| Durables | 91.2 | 100.7 | 90.6 |
| Alcohol & tobacco | 50.6 | 47.6 | 106.3 |
| Education | 6.9 | 23.9 | 28.9 |
| Health care | 8.7 | 11.6 | 75.0 |
| Entertainment | 13.8 | 31.7 | 43.5 |
| Other[2] | 222.2 | 331.2 | 67.1 |
| Total | 657.5 | 848.3 | 77.5 |

Tab. 3: Differences in average monthly household expenditures in € by group
Source: UNDP, 2006

Besides expenditure patterns, locational effects may impact poverty levels. Roma living in capital cities exhibit poverty rates that are 60 % lower as compared to Roma living in other

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[2] Expenditures on clothes, housing/utilities, medicine, transport and household goods

regions (i.e. rural areas). This fact can be traced back to higher education and employment opportunities in the cities. In addition, poverty increases with the number of children in Roma households; families appear to cope with such impacts nonetheless, by means of integrating one's children into the labor force. In general it can be noted that majority households benefit to greater extents from education and skilled employment, as compared to Roma respondents. Hence, it can be concluded that Roma face barriers preventing them from receiving salaries that correspond to their respective level of education.

Furthermore, the UNDP examines education as a determinant of vulnerability. The survey exhibits that two-thirds of the Roma children do not complete primary school (Fig. 5). In comparison, the figures of majority households present a brighter picture of one out of seven children. A central problem according to the results is to keep Roma children in school. On average, Roma children spend less than half the time of students from majority populations in school. Only 8 % of the Roma children surveyed managed to graduate from secondary education, as compared to a total of 64 % of the majority communities. These numbers explain why one in four Roma children still grows up illiterate in the Balkans. At the same time, the data indicates strong correlation between education and Roma status. With regard to Serbia the UNDP (2006) refers to the national Millennium Development Goals (MDG) report stating

> "Serbia called for raising the net enrolment ratio in primary education to nearly 100 % by 2015. At the national level, the country does not have a long way to go, as this rate was 97.9 % in 2002. Applying the [common MDG] methodology suggests that the Roma households surveyed would reach the national target only in 2165. Attaining the national target by 2015 would require that the growth in Roma enrolment ratios be almost 15 times higher than the national average" (p. 31).
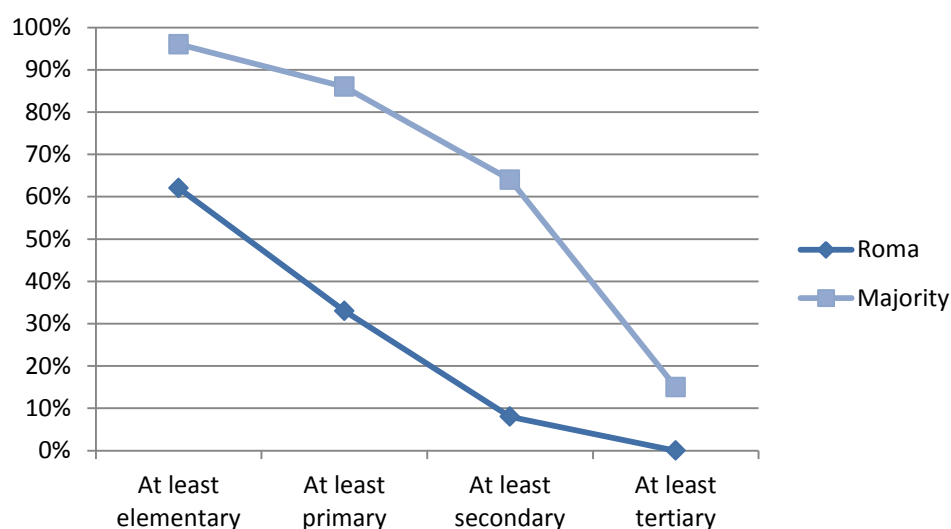


*Fig. 5: Educational attainment gap in percentage of children who are no longer in school at the respective level*
*Source: UNDP, 2006*

In addition, it can be concluded that the level of education of the household head has strong impact on education levels of other household members. In fact, the survey has brought about that children growing up in households with a well-educated head close to triple as high attainment rates in primary school than those in households with poorly educated heads.

Moreover, employment can be considered a principal source of overcoming vulnerability. The UNDP (2006) points out that "inadequate employment opportunities, reflecting both weak labor market competitiveness and the effects of discrimination, are widely perceived as major causes of the poverty and exclusion experienced by Roma" (p. 41). In general, the regional data exhibits that Roma unemployment rates are significantly higher than those of majority communities. In Bulgaria, Croatia and Serbia the numbers are twice as high. Figure 6 shows that 51 % of the Serbian Roma were found to be unemployed in 2006, as compared to 21 % of the respective majority.
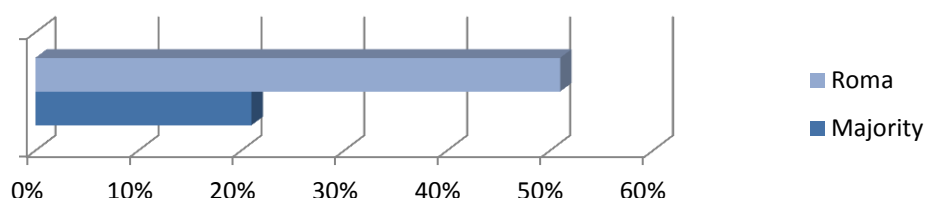


*Fig. 6: Unemployment of Serbian respondents between 15 and 55 years of age*
*Source: UNDP, 2006*

Aiming to understand these numbers, one has to take a closer look at distribution rates of the various types of employment. Roma representation is concentrated in trade, agricultural and forestry, construction and public utilities and occupation in finance, communications, education and security is rare. In general, it can be concluded that low-skilled work predominates Roma populations, leaving them with weak social and employment protection, poor job quality, as well as lower wages than majority households. Perceptions of Roma respondents indicate that discrimination is a significant factor contributing to such differences. Figure 7 shows that Roma report having competed for a job with a person from the majority populations, who had comparable or fewer skills, but nevertheless got hired. Such perceptions increase in frequency with rising levels of education.
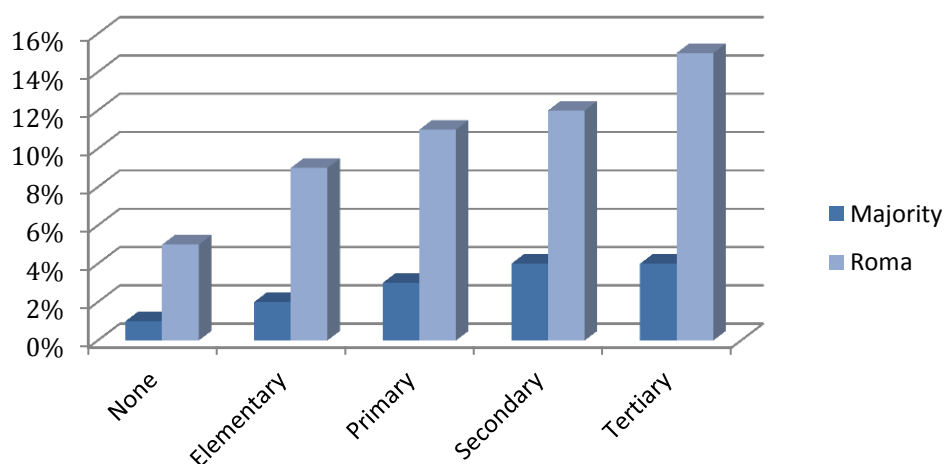
*Fig. 7: Respondents reporting positions they applied for were given to less-skilled applicant of majority communities*
*Source: UNDP, 2006*

As a response to such inequalities in the Balkan labor market, Roma strive to derive income from the informal sector as it can be seen in the example of Serbia (Fig. 8).
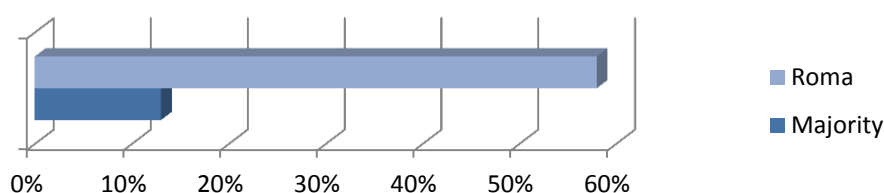


*Fig. 8: Involvement of Serbian respondents in informal sector employment*
*Source: UNDP, 2006*

A last determinant of vulnerability in the UNDP (2006) study is defined as health and security – the absence of vulnerability in this sense. Often, Roma lack access to family practitioners and/or cannot afford prescribed medicine. Frequent absence of the necessary identity and health documents has come about as aggravating Romani health statuses. In addition, expensive food prices lead to Roma suffering from hunger to much higher extents as majority households. A total of 28 % of the Roma reported to have gone to bed hungry several times (i.e. 4 or more times) in the respective month; in contrast, only 3 % of the majority populations could recall such events. Roma children in particular suffer from such nutrition risks. The survey continues to outline housing conditions, highlighting that majority populations are mainly accommodated in apartments (38%) and new houses (29%). In comparison, two out of five Roma live in an old house and a quarter of the respondents stays in dilapidated houses or shacks. In this regard, substandard sanitation structures (i.e. access to toilets, water pipes, etc.) come into play as a health threat. In addition to inadequate housing and poor sanitation, Roma list hunger as a great threat. Nevertheless, both groups indicate a lack of sufficient incomes as the most significant threat. For the most part, majority populations do not worry about sanitation facilities; rather one is concerned

with issues related to crime and corruption. Generally, Roma and majority households prefer to rely on the wider family ties, as on state institutions and NGOs, when pursuing to overcome the above threats.

### *Conflicts in the Balkans and Roma refugee waves*

Continuing a discussion of vulnerability, a focus shall be put on security and the impact of conflicts. As history has taught us, minorities are particularly vulnerable in time of war and often recognized as being among the first casualties. This conclusion can also be drawn with regard to the Yugoslavian wars. Lacking state resources as well as educational and religious institutions, Roma were subjected to ethnic cleansing on the basis of numerous military initiatives (UNDP, 2006). In 1999, the inhumane events in the Kosovo, such as the cleansing of the Kosovar Albanian settlements and extensive pillages of local Romani property, led to Roma and Serbs fleeing from the region. In March and July of 1999, two big waves of Roma refugees were expelled from the Kosovo to refugee camps in Macedonia, Albania and later Serbia. A large majority still lives in IDP camps today; others made their way to Western European destinations to apply for residence permit in countries such as Germany (UNDP, 2006).

### *EU and legal frameworks impacting migration*

As outlined earlier, definitions of Roma identity and expected motivations of Romani migrants can result in significant implications for the legal status of the migrants in their destination countries. As illustrated in the 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, the motivation to pursuit an economic opportunity does not justify asylum in the EU (Braham and Braham, 2000). Hence, legal statuses of the migrants may vary considerably. However, most Romani migrants residing in Western Europe present one of the following legal statuses (Matras, 2000, p. 33):

- ➢ Naturalized immigrants
- ➢ Migrant workers and other immigrants with permanent or temporary residence permits
- ➢ Asylum seekers from specific countries who have been granted exceptional leave to remain on humanitarian ground, e.g. in the Netherlands, Germany and Sweden
- ➢ Those currently awaiting the results of appeal of a negative asylum decision
- ➢ Persons residing illegally due to a lack of a residence permit
- ➢ Past migrants who have returned, voluntarily or otherwise, to their countries of origin

Circumstances have changed again with the enlargement of the EU over the past decade. Particularly, opening the doors to 'awkward states', such as Slovakia and Hungary in 2004, Bulgaria and Romania in 2007, negotiating membership with candidates such as Serbia, has had its impact on intra-EU mobility (i.e. Romani migration flows and legal frameworks aiming to regulate these flows). First of all, a changing notion from external migrants to internal movers can be identified. Ultimately, for instance Romanian or Polish movers should

become indistinguishable from their Western European counterparts, but for the moment, certain transitional limitations to mobility to the older member states can be observed (Favell and Nebe, 2009). Besides the fact that all new member states now benefit from visa-free tourist travel, growing anxiety about the consequences of free intra-EU movement and the possibility of East-West floods has led to restrictions e.g. regarding work and residence permits. However, these legal barriers do not keep people from migrating. Hence, as it can be seen from the research results of Favell and Nebe (2009) the problem of integration "lies in finding a place to stay and a job, rather than in crossing borders" (p. 209). In this regard, a paradox can be identified, as European regulations regarding work- and residence permits appear to be self-contradictory: In order to receive a residence permit, one needs to be employed; vice versa, applying for a work permit, one must be in possession of a valid residence permit (Favell and Nebe, 2009). Furthermore, perceived discrimination from the host society towards the migrants may promote social exclusion. The migrant is often portrayed as the foreign intruder, invading one's national space to appropriate employment opportunities. However, at this point one should acknowledge that it is often the 'free' market pulling in migrants for short-term stay regardless of the EU governance structures, while signifying a somewhat informal labor market governed process. In addition, it is stated "the economy […] offers little incentive for long-term stay and settlement" (Favell and Nebe, 2009, p. 222). The above-mentioned European legal migration framework, as well as economic- and sociological phenomena highlight the challenges and conditions associated with migration to Western European countries.

### Zooming into Germany…

Within the EU, primary responsibility migration lies at the national and local level. Thus, with regard to the case of the Roma migrants, it is necessary to take a closer look at what is happening on German grounds. Being the most densely populated country in the EU, Germany is home to about 82 million multi-ethnic inhabitants. In comparison to all 27 European Union states, it is Germany that presents the highest percentage of immigrants, with about 12 % of its total population. Today, only the United States and Russia exhibit higher total numbers of immigrants (World Population Review, 2014). This fact indicates to what extent German society is affected by a pluralism of lifestyles and a variety of ethno-cultural backgrounds. Currently, Germany is home to a total of four ethnic minorities: Danes, Frisians, Sorbs, as well as the 'Sinti and Roma' (i.e. German designation for Romani people). These peoples present their own intrinsic cultures, history, language and identity, while exhibiting high levels of integration into German society. Nonetheless, with regard to integration, one has to distinguish between Romani people that have lived in the country for many generations (i.e. the minority of 'Sinti and Roma') and those, who entered Germany as migrants (e.g. civil war refugees, economic migrants of EU-members states, etc.). Today, it is expected that about 70.000 Roma live in Germany, whereof 60.000 can be counted as being of Sinti origin and 10.000 being Roma (Landesregierung Schleswig-Holstein, 2012). Other sources, such as the NGO Karola e.V., (i.e. a meeting place and German language coaching

center for Roma women and girls) present differing numbers. According to information brochures of the NGO, 50.000 Roma currently live in Hamburg (Karola e.V., 2012). As it can be seen, it has been a challenge to bring about accurate numbers, as German law prohibits the inquiry of demographic data based on ethnicity and Romani migrants often consciously choose to keep their origin a secret to overcome prejudice and stereotyping.

Traditionally, Roma started living on German-speaking territory between the 14th and 15th century (BMI, 2014). Time and again, they were dispossessed out of their lines of businesses and hometowns. With the rule of the Nazi regime Roma were classified as inferior and socially-alien persons. In fact, the group was equated to prostitutes, homosexuals, people suffering from contagious or mental diseases, as well as beggars (UNDP, 2006, p. 13). During the Second World War, Roma were exposed to persecution, sterilization and genocide in concentration camps. About 500.000 European Roma lost their lives due to the inhuman acts of the Waffen-SS and German Wehrmacht (BMI, 2014). Survivors and their dependents still report on how this part of German history has affected them and led to the loss of a large portion of Roma cultural heritage. As a consequence, relatives of the German Sinti and Roma have allied to represent their interests. A few examples can be listed as follows:

➢ Der Zentralrat der deutschen Sinti und Roma e.V.
➢ Sinti Allianz Deutschland e.V.
➢ Landesverein der Sinti in Hamburg e.V.

Furthermore, post-war events have left their traces in German ethnic patterns. Two main post-war influx streams of migrants can be mentioned in this regard. Firstly, the country welcomed great numbers of migrant workers from south- and south-east-European countries (e.g. Turkey) during the 1950s, in order to cope with the post-war boom. Secondly, with the breakdown of the Soviet Union, the group of the so-called 'Aussiedler' increasingly returned to the country. 'Aussiedler' are defined as migrants of German descent, who had been residing in states of the former Soviet Union over many generations (e.g. from Romania, Serbia, Poland or Kyrgyzstan). Since 1993, only migrants that entered the country with an admission notice and the proof of sufficient German language skills were admitted the status of 'Spätaussiedler' (i.e. German for 'late-Aussiedler').

### German asylum procedures and residence permits

In Germany, the Federal Foreign Office provides the legal framework for the regulation of migrant flows. In January 2005, a new immigration act ('Zuwanderungsgesetz') was enacted, containing "provisions on the entry of foreigners into Germany, their residence in the country, various residence purposes, the termination of residence and asylum procedures" (Federal Foreign Office, 2012). The following paragraphs will outline the procedures associated with seeking asylum and applying for residence in Germany.

Upon entering Germany and reporting as seeking asylum at a registration facility, the migrant will be referred to a specific initial reception facility. The choice of an initial

reception facility depends on a number of criteria, such as the country of origin of the migrant and carrying capacities of the various federal states at the time. Capacity levels will be determined based on the so-called 'Königsteiner Schlüssel'[3], being the acceptance quota that each state is obliged to take. The IT-distribution system 'EASY'[4] has been installed, in order to ensure an accurate and fair allocation of asylum seekers over the various federal states. Table 4 presents the distribution rates per federal state as calculated for 2014 (BAMF, 2014).

| Federal state | Quota |
| --- | --- |
| Baden-Württemberg | 12.93 |
| Bavaria | 15.23 |
| Berlin | 5.07 |
| Brandenburg | 3.07 |
| Bremen | 0.93 |
| Hamburg | 2.55 |
| Hesse | 7.30 |
| Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania | 2.06 |
| Lower Saxony | 9.40 |
| North Rhine-Westphalia | 21.22 |
| Rhineland-Palatinate | 4.81 |
| Saarland | 1.23 |
| Saxony | 5.14 |
| Saxony-Anhalt | 2.91 |
| Schleswig-Holstein | 3.36 |
| Thuringia | 2.78 |

*Tab. 4: Distribution quota of asylum seekers per federal state in %*
*Source: BAMF, 2014*

The numbers exhibit that the majority of asylum seekers will be allocated to initial reception facilities in the federal states of Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria and North Rhine-Westphalia. At the facility, personal data (e.g. finger prints) will be recorded and the migrant has to submit an official application for asylum. Subsequently, an individual hearing will take place for the purpose of determining, if asylum can be granted. Applicants for asylum are allowed to stay in the Federal Republic, while the asylum process is pending. In the meantime, the migrant remains in the country under the status of 'Duldung', i.e. statutory temporary suspension of deportation (Bundesministerium für Justiz und Verbraucherschutz, 2014). It is noted that this status cannot be regarded as a title of residence. Hence, many restrictions

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[3] The 'Königsberger Schlüssel' stipulates the financial involvement of the various German federal states in collective national funding activities (e.g. regarding acceptance quota of asylum seekers). In this regard, tax revenues and population numbers determine the outcome.

[4] 'EASY' stands for 'Erstverteilung von Asylbegehrenden', which can be translated into 'Prior Distribution of Asylum Seekers'

are associated with this status, as for instance confinement to the area in which the initial reception facility is located, as well the constant possibility of deportation at short notice.

Generally, asylum is granted in the case that a migrant is persecuted on political, religious or ethnic grounds in his or her country of origin. Thus, an individual hearing strives to identify to what extent circumstances back home can be considered persecution. The website of the Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge[5] (BAMF) provides a detailed description as to which factors influence decision-making in this regard:

> "The decision to grant asylum always depends on the individual's personal story. The decision made is based on the overall picture, taking all the relevant findings into consideration. The crucial elements in this are the hearing and the additional enquiries that have been carried out, if necessary. In addition, the decision-maker makes use of the Federal Office's Asylum and Migration Information Centre and its database" (BAMF[2], 2014).

The database is comprised of reports gathered by various bodies, such as the Auswärtige Amt[6], the refugee agency UNCHR[7] and Amnesty International. It also serves as a source of information to control, if applicants have already been denied asylum in other European states based on its extensive record of finger prints.

Finally, with granted asylum the migrant will receive a residence permit for three years (BAMF[3], 2014). The Bundesministerium für Justiz und Verbraucherschutz[8] (2014) defines the specifics regarding residence titles in the so-called residence act. Limited residence permits (i.e. 'Aufenthaltserlaubnis', literally 'residence permit') are issued for the following purposes: education and training, gainful employment, international law and humanitarian, political or family reasons. Once a person has been in possession of a residence permit for a total of five years and can prove to meet additional requirements related to a secure income, no criminal record and adequate German language skills, an unlimited residence permit (i.e. 'Niederlassungserlaubnis', literally 'settlement permit') may be issued. It grants the right to live and work in Germany.

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[5] Federal Office for Migration and Refugees
[6] Federal Foreign Office
[7] United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
[8] Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection

# Chapter 3: Methodology

## Research design

Aiming to answer the initial research question as ambiguously as possible, a research design has been established. The design of this research is descriptive, striving to answer the question 'what is going on', rather than 'why it is going on'. The study acknowledges that good description is fundamental to the research enterprise, as it can add immeasurably to the body of knowledge regarding the shape and nature of our society (De Vaus, 2001).

In accordance with the above-mentioned research question, the independent (X) and dependent (Y) variables can be identified as embedded in the hypothesis (Fig. 9):



| X = Agency | → | Z = Social practices | → | Y = (New) material positions |
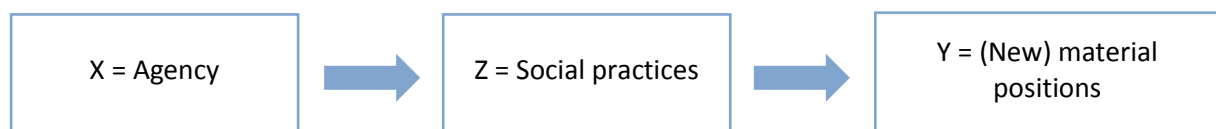
*Fig. 9: Research design hypothesis*

The causation depicted between the three variables X, Z and Y is called an indirect causal relationship. Y follows X in time, but this analysis spells out the mechanisms Z by which X affects Y. According to Blumer (1956), variable analysis does not provide much insight into causal processes arguing

> "the independent variable is put at the beginning part of the process of interpretation and the dependent variable is put at the terminal part of the process. The intervening process is ignored […] as something that need not be considered" (p. 97).

As a result, this paper puts explicit emphasis on the analysis of the variable Z, while building the case study on an understanding of the whole case within its wider context. Following the description of Goode and Hatt (1952), case studies are "a way of organizing social data […] to preserve the unitary character of the social object being studied […] it is an approach which views any social unit as a whole" (p. 331). Moreover, as it is applicable for this research, "case study designs are particularly suited to situations involving a small number of cases with a large number of variables" (i.e. social practices), and/or describing "phenomena where it is not possible to introduce interventions" (De Vaus, 2001, pp. 231-232).

Generally, the unit of analysis (i.e. the case) can be identified as 'Romani migrants'. In this regard, the study focuses on a holistic case, rather than on embedded units. Examples of these social practices will be outlined in the results and discussion chapter and shall derive from the collected empirical data. As outlined-above, complex agency is central to this ontological analysis, striving to examine which forces influence migrants in their habitual engagement in social practices. Questions regarding how people give meaning to their own

social practices with regard to actors, knowledge, discourse and space shall be answered, rather than solely focusing on anthropological justifications of ontology. In fact, it will be an impact analysis, determining how personal experiences enable, or restrain Romani migrants in occupying various positions of materialities and new materialities, following the notion of Coole and Frost (2010). Hence, this case study can be considered a descriptive snapshot, depicting what is happening, rather than what should be done. This type of lens is characteristic for the pragmatic paradigm, focusing on the 'what' and 'how' of the research problem (Creswell, 2003).

By means of looking "closely at the wider context and exploring the extent to which […] concurrent events contribute to observed outcomes" (De Vaus, 2001, p. 236), one strives to increase the internal validity of the results. Furthermore, it can be said that the case study will adopt an idiographic approach with regard to internal validity, as the "explanation focuses on particular events […] and seeks to develop a complete, contextualized understanding", or in other words, a full picture of the case (De Vaus, 2001, p. 233). Moreover, a few comments can be made regarding the external validity of the design. As a response to the lack of access to individual Romani migrants willing to participate in this research, this study has been redesigned building on a single critical case. This can be appropriate, if theoretical propositions have been clearly outlined in advance and the case meets all the requirements of the theory (De Vaus, 2001). Rather than asking what a study signifies concerning the wider population (i.e. statistical generalization), one pursues to investigate what a case implies about a specific theory (i.e. theoretical generalization) and a resulting potential for replication. According to De Vaus (2001) "case studies are fundamentally theoretical, […] they are designed to help develop, refine and test theories" (p. 237). By means of examining the case intensively, one strives to answer the following questions:

1. How does agency impact Roma migrants in their engagement in social practices?
2. Which (new) material positions do Roma migrants occupy based on their performance of social practices?
3. Which implications can be made for the theory of agency, (new) materialities and general ontology?

If the data brings about that the case is in line with theoretical predictions, it is legitimate to state that a literal replication has been achieved (Yin, 2009).

### Methodological example: Hungarian Business Roma and horse-trading

The case of the 'Gypsies at the Horse-Fair' as outlined by Stewart (1992) presents an interesting example of how Roma occupy material positions. Aiming to render reality, this case may be utilized as an example of how to depict Roma social practices in a tangible manner. Across the Hungarian countryside, Roma acquire horses in order to resell them to peasant users at a profit. Following a common assertion, Kiss explained that Roma have a particular predilection for this kind of work, as no more is needed than a good whip, or in

other words, a loud voice (as cited in Stewart, 1992, p. 97). In line with this natural understanding of the field is the fact that in the Romani language only one word is used to refer to 'market' and 'town'. Hence, "no distinct part of Gypsy life is devoted to market behavior" (Stewart, 1992, p. 97), but rather, one perceives both as a coherent entity. Furthermore, Stewart discusses that trading success among the actors depends on the distribution of knowledge and skills between traders and peasants. Thus, the main object of these kinds of market studies appears to be irrational behavior, and individual practices, as well as the way Roma give meaning to their own actions play a particularly decisive role in this analysis. Making a reference to the notion of agency, Stewart (1992) declares "Gypsies assert a degree of control over the outside world, or at least a rejection of the control which outside forces try to exert over the Gypsies" (p. 102). Further stretching this control, Romani people engage in Roma-to-Roma horse swaps in accordance with their ideology that all Roma are brothers and no Roma should be seen to make a profit over the based on a deal. These swap deals bring about additional market opportunities, as certain Roma may present higher potential to sell particular horses to peasants than others. In addition, a remark about persistent argumentation skills has to be made, when discussion Roma nature. While bargaining prices with the peasants, it is typical for Roma to find a balance between establishing respect and distance regarding the gajo (non-Roma) buyer. In addition, it is perceived a talent to handle buyers in a way that personal views on the matter are being obtruded. Thus, as it can be seen, knowledge and skills (i.e. complex agency) have a great impact succeeding in the business.

## Case selection process

The subsequent section will outline the case selection process and any modifications of the initial research design in more detail. With the aim of increasing external validity of the case study design, a strategic selection of the case was carried out prior to the data collection. Based on the fact that one is not interested in statistical generalization, it was not necessary to select a case that is representative for a wider population. Neither does this study strive to identify a typical case, as a reliable estimation of typicality. Instead, in strategic selection it is essential to "find a case that will provide a valid and challenging test of the theory" (De Vaus, 2001, p. 240). This goal may be achieved through engaging in extensive case screening and by investigating, if a certain case meets particular requirements. This study presents the following requirements for case selection:

- The case is a Romani migrant
- The case originated from the Balkans
- The case is traceably engaging in social practices
- The engagement took place over a long lasting career line

The case screening has been carried out on the basis of secondary data (e.g. archival records, databases) and personal conversations with field-experts and employees of institutions in charge of German and Hamburg migration and integration matters. Table 5 presents a list of these institutions, while explaining and translating all unknown terms and names as mentioned in the paper. In this study, all organizations and institutions will be referred to by their original German name, listed according to the order they made part of the case selection process.

| Institution | Explanation | Website |
|---|---|---|
| *BAMF (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge)* | Federal Office for Migration and Refugees | http://www.bamf.de/EN/ |
| *Landesverein der Sinti in Hamburg e.V.* | Association for political and social affairs of Sinti and Roma; including counseling center; member organization of the Zentralrat für Sinti und Roma (see below) | http://www.landesverein-hamburg.de/ |
| *Integrationscenter Billstedt* | Meeting center for migrants in Billstedt | No longer available |
| *Interkulturelle Begegnungsstätte IKB e.V.* | Intercultural meeting point for migrants in St. Pauli and Eimsbüttel on a self-organizing basis; counseling for migration and integration issues | http://www.vernetzung-migration-hamburg.de/ |
| *Karola e.V.* | Meeting place and German language coaching center for Roma women and girls | http://www.karola-hamburg.de/ |
| *Zentralrat für Sinti und Roma* | Central Council on national level for the advocacy of Roma with German citizenship | http://zentralrat.sintiundroma.de/ |

*Tab. 5: Institutions in charge of German/Hamburg migration and integration matters*

### *Execution and methodological transitions*

It was the first step in the strategic case selection process to carry out an extensive website investigation, identify relevant actors in the field and to get into contact with representatives of these institutions (Tab. 5). Following this approach, it was the aim to create access to case-related secondary data. In order to understand this research stage and any modifications of the research design, it is decisive to mention that the initial research design focused on cases of Sinti migrant families living at the social site of Hamburg Billstedt. According to the information available on the websites a priority list of relevant institutions was established, highlighting the Landesverein der Sinti in Hamburg e.V., as well as the Integrationscenter Billstedt as being highly significant for the study. The BAMF provided me with the contact information of the Landesverein der Sinti in Hamburg e.V., located in

Wilhelmsburg. For the purpose of agreeing upon a date for a first interview, the subsequent summary of the telephone call with the receptionist of the organization aims at providing a better understanding of the challenges and experiences made with the Sinti migrant group:

After enthusiastically introducing myself (name, study, etc.) and the main aspects of my research regarding cultural integration of Sinti migrant families in Hamburg, I quickly continued to ask if there was a possibility to meet up for an interview and discuss a few details about their work and responsibilities in the local Sinti community. I have to admit, to me, this was more of a rhetorical question talking to a representative of such an official institution. Never, I would have expected to receive a direct "…No, every week students approach us and we simply do not participate in these kinds of studies" as an answer to my question; but nonetheless that was the exact answer of the lady representing the organization that I had put in such high expectations regarding the access to empirical data. Somehow being confused and infidel about what I had just heard, I repeated the answer and asked for confirmation that there was really no option to have a short meeting of maybe even only 15 minutes. Looking back at the situation and knowing what I know now, I should not have asked again. But at that time, it was simply not yet as evident to me and suddenly, I was confronted with a furious Sintessa, reminding me of the genocide of almost 25.000 Sinti during the Holocaust and the related racial research carried out by Dr. Robert Ritter. She went on telling me that the situation was reminding her of these very times and I realized that for Sinti, research in general was associated with racial studies and the killings of their ancestors. Consequently, it was inexorably rejected in order to protect the legacy of one's equals. It took me a second to make this connection after all these years of studying and being taught about the value of researching social phenomena. But her disgust and antipathy was unambiguously directed into my direction – a student, representing these institutions of research and science. In an indirect manner, I had just been compared to one of history's cruelest Nazis. Hence, the only thing left for me to do, was to give in, thank the lady for her time and put down the receiver.

As it can be understood, this first attempt to get into contact with local Sinti was quite a disappointment and shocking experience. How was I supposed to convince a number of families to participate in my study, if not even an official institution as the Landesverein der Sinti in Hamburg e.V was willing to talk to me? Briefly, I was dealing with the thought to ask the Zentralrat für Sinti und Roma for assistance, as the Landesverein der Sinti in Hamburg is one of their member organizations. Thinking about it though, trying to enforce cooperation by means of informing superior institutions about the circumstances, did not appear to be a strategy that I wanted to follow. Besides, chances that such enforced cooperation would have taken on a fruitful nature were not very high. Therefore, I decided to return to my initial plan to get in contact with the Integrationscenter Billstedt, the third organization of priority on the list. Unfortunately, it turned out that the information provided on the website was no longer up-to-date and that the project was terminated in 2012, due to a lack of participation and missing funds. Slowly but surely, I realized that I had to reconsider my

research strategies moving from the inaccessible ghetto-like social site of Hamburg Billstedt to the greater spheres of the global city of Hamburg. In this sense, following the notion of the career line, the ghetto can be considered a starting point and we are moving to a space, in which the social integration of migrant individuals has evolved to higher levels, as they have managed to leave the ghetto of Billstedt behind and e.g. find a flat, a job, or receive a residence permit. Hence, with this methodological transition a new potential for the research on migrants and related social practices was developed.

As indicated in Table 5 the next contact in the case selection process was the Interkulturelle Begenungsstätte IKB e.V., a largely self-organizing intercultural meeting point for migrants located in the center of Hamburg, St.Pauli. For the first time, it appeared that my research was of interest for the organization and I was referred to a new contact, Karola e.V., to receive further support. This time, I decided to introduce myself by simply walking into the office of the organization, hoping this approach would increase my chances to be heard. One of the employees listened to my story and agreed to discuss any possibilities for support with her colleagues during their next meeting. In addition, I was provided with a number of brochures and publications outlining the work of Karola e.V., while introducing interesting cases of Roma women and girls that participated in their integration classes. A few days later, I was contacted and told that unfortunately, it was too much of a risk for Karola e.V. to offer me an internship and thereby allowing me to inspect archival records and interview participants. This decision was based on the fact that even the in-house qualified social pedagogue Christine Solano, who had been working with local Roma for the past 30 years, did not expect to have access to the data I was hoping to collect during the following months. Furthermore, everybody agreed that it was priority to protect the trust relationships, which had been established between Karola e.V. and the Roma women and girls over all these years. Nevertheless, one felt the need to support my study, as the research objective was considered of great value to local integration initiatives. Hence, Karola e.V. suggested that I should get into contact with Nadin Salihović-Müller, one of the girls the organization was assisting in counseling issues. Her case was supposed to be of particular interest, as she is known to be the first Roma girl in Germany, who initiated to be taken away from her family by court rule, as well as one of the first Roma in Hamburg close to graduating from the local university of applied science at that time – no doubt, quite an interesting career line. It turned out that Nadin was working on her diploma thesis regarding the education of Roma in Hamburg. As she had been experiencing some challenges in structuring and conceptualizing her thesis, she herself was in need of some help and we realized that we could be of mutual support. Hence, with regard to this study, the sampling theory of Fetterman (2010) noting "an introduction by a member of a community [i.e. Christine Solano in this case] is the ethnographer's best ticket into the community" (p. 36) had proved to be true.

With regard to the strategic case selection, it was the next step to check, if this migrant case met the criteria as defined in advance:

- ➢ The case is a Romani migrant → Nadin is a Roma that migrated to Germany
- ➢ The case originated from the Balkans → Nadin grew up in Serbia
- ➢ The case is traceably engaging in social practices → Nadin presents a life history involving a number of relevant social practices
- ➢ The engagement took place over a long lasting career line → Her life history can be outlined over a total of 34 years

A fifth criterion deserved further attention, due to the methodological transitions made during the case selection process. The research objective had developed to an investigation of how occupation of positions of materialities had occurred, focusing on an individual that evolved to higher levels of integration. Thus it was inevitable that the case would fit the following condition:

- ➢ The case is comprehensibly occupying distinct positions of (new) materialities → Nadin possesses a German residence permit and was close to graduating from her diploma's degree at the time

The Roma girl migrated to Germany when she was twelve years old. Accompanied by her family, she spent the first three years in Germany in a small village close to Hamburg. Realizing that her perspective towards life was more and more differing from that of her parents, she decided to involve the youth welfare office, in order to move into a safe house for young adults. Over more than twenty years she had managed to make it on her own in Germany. So it came about that she graduated from various degrees, received a residence permit, got married and raised two children. On top of that, the Roma was the first migrant in Lower Saxony, who had won a case against youth welfare officials, pursuing to extend support measures. As it can be seen, the case offered great potential to display a detailed understanding of an individual's engagement in social practices and thus, of any resulting occupations of positions of materialities – a long-lasting career line in this sense.

Finally, the case selection process had come to a surprising end. The initial research focus on multiple cases of Sinti migrant families living in Billstedt had shifted to the study of the career-line of the single critical case of Nadin Salihović-Müller, living in the center of Hamburg with her two children and German husband. This outcome is very much in line with the understanding of De Vaus (2001), stating that the number of cases selected mainly depends on the rigor with which propositions are to be tested. In fact, it is stated that "there is no correct number of cases" (p. 240). Acknowledging that the value of a case study is based on the detailed understanding of a single case without compromising theoretical replication, this research is based on the thorough illumination of one extensive strategic case.

## Research methods

The choice of appropriate research methods is vital to a sound study, as every technique has its place as well as limitations. It is essential to avoid making claims that cannot be justified on the basis of the methods utilized (Veal, 1997). Considering that pragmatist epistemology provides the underlying philosophical framework for mixed-methods research (Greene, Kreider & Mayer, 2005), this study builds on a total of six distinct data collection methods (Tab. 6). The methods have been matched to the specific questions and the purpose of the research.

| No. | Research method | Method type | Data type | Scope of application |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *Ethnography* | Qualitative | Primary data | Entire study |
| 2 | *Just thinking* | Both | Primary data | Entire study |
| 3 | *Existing literature* | Both | Secondary data | Literature review, new conceptual framework, case selection, sub-research foci 1-3 |
| 4 | *Existing information* | Both | Secondary data | Literature review, case selection, sub-research foci 1 - 3 |
| 5 | *In-depth, semi-structured interviews* | Qualitative | Primary data | Sub-research foci 1 - 3 |
| 6 | *Focus group discussion* | Qualitative | Primary data | Sub-research foci 1 - 3 |

*Tab. 6: Research methods*

It shall be highlighted that ethnography takes on a more substantive role in this study, than the subsequent five methods, as it cannot simply be reduced to being a data collection method. In fact, Fetterman (2010) explains

> "ethnography is about telling a credible, rigorous, and authentic story. Ethnography gives voice to people in their own local context, typically relying on verbatim quotations and a thick description of events. The story is told through the eyes of the local people as they pursue their daily lives in their own communities. The ethnographer adopts a cultural lens to interpret observed behavior, ensuring that the behaviors are placed in a culturally relevant and meaningful context. [...] Ethnography is thus both, a research method and a product." (p. 1)

Based on the fact that this approach explicitly promotes the study of behaviors and how individuals attach meaning to specific contexts, the notion of ethnography is very much in line with the presented conceptual framework. Consequently, this study considers ethnography its road map and its final destination at the same time. Any subsequent application of the additional data collection methods has been carried out in respect of the notion of ethnography.

In general, informed thinking plays a decisive role in the development and presentation of a study. In this regard, it is the level of creativity of the researcher (i.e. conceptualization, analysis) that will determine the ultimate relevance of the results. Veal (1997) highlights this fact befittingly stating that "the basics of drawing can be taught but art comes from within the individual artist" (p. 69). Furthermore, Fetterman (2010) outlines that an open mind allows the ethnographer to explore sources of data, which have not been mapped out in the initial research design. Consequently, a second continuously-applied research method can be considered 'just thinking'.

For the purpose of underpinning creative thought with scientific writing, reference has to be made to the existing literature. According to Fetterman (2010) "theory is a guide to practice [and] no study, ethnographic or otherwise, can be conducted without an underlying theory or model" (p. 5). As this research strives to bring about theoretical generalization, a prior thorough literature review has been essential in developing a new conceptual framework, examining the state of the art and formulating an adequate research objective. In addition to these substantive considerations, existing literature has stimulated ideas of methodological nature in this paper. In this regard, theories of Veal, De Vaus and Fetterman have gained specific attention.

Aside from existing literature, this study is based on existing information, i.e. secondary data. A great advantage in re-using secondary data is that it usually exhibits a pre-established degree of validity and reliability. The BAMF and organizations such as Karola e.V. collect and stored large quantities of data concerning Romani migrants. Recollecting this data could be considered being wasteful of resources; as in this case, where the utilization of secondary data sources has proved to increase efficiency of the research process in the form of time savings. In this regard, archival records, focus group transcripts, databases, NGO information brochures and project booklets have been examined, regarding case selection, general indications of behaviors and social practices (e.g. education levels and occupations). Besides having access to such data, field experts, such as the social pedagogue Christine Solano of Karola e.V., have years of experience in working with local Roma. Hence, the expert was able to assess, which case story was of value for the research. In addition, the discourse analysis as part of the second research question is based on secondary data to great extents. Illustrating the prevailing discourse on migration and Romani integration within the EU, the research focuses on a number of contemporary newspaper articles.

Furthermore, this case study builds on primary data. Besides general ethnography, the study integrated two additional qualitative data collection methods, in order to generate a thick description as explicated by Geertz (1972). In this regard, a tendency to "collect a great deal of rich information about relatively few people, rather than more limited information about a large number of people" (Veal, 1997, p. 129) can be observed. According to Veal (1997) qualitative techniques are used for the study of groups and when the focus of the research is on meaning and attitudes. As a result, qualitative research does not impose the view of the

researcher on a situation, but leaves room for an analysis, based on the accounts and experiences of the subjects being researched. The objective of this research is in line with all of these conditions; consequently, the utilization of qualitative data collection methods is justified.

The first qualitative technique that has been applied is the conduction of informal interviews. The interview is the ethnographer's most important data-gathering tool, striving to explain and put into context what is observed and experienced (Fetterman, 2010). This study builds on a rich, detailed autobiographical description of the life history of the case. Commonly, life stories are outlined in a very personal manner, enabling the ethnographer to reconstruct how individuals attach meaning to a situation and justify their actions. It is understood that gathered data is not completely representative of a group. However, this paper does not strive to answer basic cultural questions about the social group of Romani migrants, but to outline a case of integration to bring about general implications for the ontology of agency and (new) materialities. The life history of the case has been compiled by means of conducting informal interviews. These offer the ethnographer to identify how people establish values that inform behavior (Fetterman, 2010). Focusing on the critical case of the Romani migrant Nadin Salihović-Müller that presents engagements in various social practices, this research method appears a suitable choice. Often merging with a conversation, informal interviews design the most natural settings, as a mixture of conversations and embedded questions. Nonetheless, it has to be acknowledged that some degree of contamination is always present. During the course of data collection, a total of eight informal interviews have been conducted in private with the case and recorded for subsequent transcription and translation (Appendices 3 and 4). Many of these were conducted out of the retrospective of the participant, in order to reconstruct the past. The interviewer always had a list of questions (Appendix 1) prepared for orientation, others derived from situations and comments of the interviewee. Challenges during the conduction of the interviews were related to initiating a sound rapport and asking nonthreatening questions before moving on to more sensitive topics. Moreover, one had to be careful not to exploit the participant in vulnerable moments, compromising ethical considerations. From experience, it is legitimate to say that the ethnographer becomes a kind of a psychologist, paying close attention to the participant's tone, counter questions and paralanguage.

Finally, a total of three informal focus group discussions in the friends and family-circle of the case helped to amplify the life history of the case. The interviewer took on the role of a facilitator, encouraging the subjects to interact with each other and to add new discussion topics to the checklists (Appendix 2) in the creative process. This technique may be considered adequate in this case, as particular groups or individuals were not willing to engage in individual informal interviews, but agreed to participate in a group interview. In addition, certain interviews required a translator (i.e. Nadin) and thus turned into focus group discussions.

Furthermore, the types of questions posed during the informal interviews and group discussions can be explained. The transcripts show a good balance between survey and specific questions. According to Fetterman (2010) this practice is suitable for ethnographic research, stating ethnography "requires the fieldworker to move back and forth between survey and specific questions" (p. 44). However, particularly in the early stages of the research, the more general survey questions were posed, aiming to construct a basic map of the life history and to see which aspects are accentuated by the interviewees. Specific questions helped to gather more in-depth data regarding key aspects in the preliminary and final stages. In addition, one strived to utilize open-ended and closed-ended questions, depending on the various situations. Open-ended questions leave room for interpretation, while closed-ended questions enable the ethnographer to quantify behavior patterns (Fetterman, 2010). Examples of questions can be listed as follows:

➤ Survey question: "Today we'll be talking about your childhood in Serbia. Let's start with your perspective on your family. Maybe you could tell me a few basic things about your family?" (Marjorie Jochims, personal communication, 3:24)

➤ Specific questions: "How many people make part of it? You probably spent a lot of time at your aunt and uncle's, right? And your mum was at work?" (Marjorie Jochims, personal communication, 3:25)

➤ Open-ended questions: "You told me once, that you had a pretty special relationship with your grandma. How would you describe it? What kind of a person was your grandma and what were her values?" (Marjorie Jochims, personal communication, 3:6?)

➤ Closed-ended question: "Would you say that you had a better relationship with your grandma than your sister? Looking back at your life, would you say that you carry some of your grandma's character traits inside of yourself?" (Marjorie Jochims, personal communication 3:26)

All in all, the qualitative data gathered from the informal interviews and the focus group discussions amounts to a total of almost eight hours, or 84 pages of written transcripts. Extracts of the translated transcript can be examined in the appendices 3 and 4.

## Research analysis

First of all, the coding strategy of the results has to be mentioned concerning data processing methods. This research utilized the thematic content analysis approach, an analysis of the data content categorizing recurrent or common 'themes'. This approach is also referred to as being a comparative process, as the various accounts are compared with each other to identify common themes. One reads through the empirical materials, in order to identify the most important and recurring themes. The case-study has exhibited the following themes:

- ➢ Social practices
- ➢ Locations
- ➢ Networks
- ➢ Actors
- ➢ Knowledge
- ➢ Discourse
- ➢ Spaces

On the basis of this list of these themes, it was the next step to develop codes for the various themes. These codes have been defined as follows:

| Sphere | | Code | Addition | Explanation |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| SOCIAL PRACTICES | | A | Social Practices | Actors' behaviors and activities → sphere Z in conceptual framework |
| | | B | Key events | Salient events indicating significant occurrences in life history of the case → input for the career-line |
| | | C | Locations | Geographical indications → input for design of maps |
| AGENCY | Actors | 1 | Individual actors | Introductions of individual actors, periods of engagement with the case |
| | | 2 | Networks | Networks actors make part of; information regarding credibility, contributions & expectations |
| | Knowledge | 3 | Produced knowledge | Statistical data, household surveys |
| | | 4 | Experiential knowledge | Arising from direct actions and everyday experiences of the people |
| | Discourse | 5 | Discourses | Wider set of values and priorities, ways of thinking |
| | | 6 | Narratives | Part of the discourse describing a specific story |
| | Spaces | 7 | History | Time frame of existence, creation and impetus of space |
| | | 8 | Access | Outline of who has access to space |
| | | 9 | Dynamics | Prevailing relationships, power relations, memory of experience of all actors involved in space |
| | | 10 | Learning | Reflection of experiences leading to transformation of one's agenda within space |

*Tab. 7: Coding scheme of the transcript*

Striving to simplify the coding process, this study builds on the data analysis software ATLAS.ti. In general, ATLAS.ti enables one to insert coding schemes into text-, audio- or picture files, in order to uncover and systematically analyze complex phenomena hidden in unstructured data. In this sense it is similar to writing an index for a book. The ethnographer is able to play a variety of what-if-games and to test numerous hypotheses, rather than solely going through the notes in one's head and to compare distinct parts of the transcripts

(Fetterman, 2010). In addition, reliability is improved as the researcher can quantify the number of times a topic is identified in the field notes. Hence, a systematic form of triangulation can be guaranteed, providing direct access to specific data pieces. Finally, this type of database software program may set the stage for pattern identification - as it is the quest of the ethnographer. "The level of understanding increases geometrically, as the ethnographer moves up the conceptual ladder – mixing and matching patterns and building theory from the ground up" (Fetterman, 2010, p. 98).

### Analysis of SRF1

Based on the discovered patterns and identified life stages of the case, the first sub-research question (SRQ1.1) will illustrate an extensive narrative of the life history of the case. Generally, the narrative leans on the paper of Handelman (1976) emphasizing the significance of social relationships in development situations. As it is mentioned in the literature review, Handelman relies on the notion of the career-line as developed by Goffman in the 1970s, in order to examine how individuals attribute meaning to the content of all perceived behaviors. Accordingly, the narrative of the life history of the case can be regarded as the career-line of the case. Striving to organize and present the information in a comprehensible manner, the narrative will highlight various key events and social practices. Any part of the research analysis will consist of numerous direct quotations, aiming to allow the subjects of the study to speak for themselves and to generate a report that enables its reader to see the world through the eyes of the researched (Veal, 1997). Furthermore, the presentation of the career-line will be amplified with additional measures of analysis. To give an example, maps will be depicted to outline migration movements and various geographical locations as mentioned in the empirical materials. As Fetterman (2010) explains, drawing maps enables the ethnographer to reduce reality to a manageable size. Subsequent to the written out narrative, figure 14 summarizes the provided information in the form of a life time-line. Besides maps, flowcharts may help to crystallize and exhibit pooled information. In this paper, the influence of prevailing relationships, power relations and networks on social practices will be visualized in the form of a flowchart, i.e. the poly-actor career-line (SRQ1.2; Fig. 15).

### Analysis of SRF2

The SRQ2.1 presents the various social practices deriving from the narrative, before analyzing how actors enact agency to engage in these practices. With regard to the conceptual framework, this analysis of agency is based on the four factors of actors, knowledge, discourse and spaces, as well as their respective sub-dimensions. Finally, a total of nine social practices and related findings are summarized in table 8. The SRQ2.2 of the SRF2 outlines tangible and intangible (new) material positions as described in the introduction. The (new) materialities derive from the SRF1 and the analysis of agency (SRQ2.1).

*Analysis of SRF3*

The last sub-research focus presents ontological implications for agency and the (new) materialities. It is a theoretical discussion of the results as outlined in the previous two sub-research foci (SRF1 and SRF2).

## Ethical issues

Ethical behavior is of great significance in any kind of research. Besides matters of plagiarism and empirical accuracy, the rights of the human subject come to the fore in this regard. In response to this understanding, universities and other research entities have formulated codes of ethics striving to protect the rights of individuals. As Veal (1997) points out, it is the researcher's task to weigh the "value of the data collected […] against the ill-will which will be generated" (p. 198) by unveiling certain information. In total, the author mentions three ethical spheres. In this regard, it is decisive to ensure that no 'harm' will befall the research subjects and any individual should 'take part freely' in the study on the basis of 'informed consent'. In respect of the first ethical consideration a few individuals' names mentioned in the paper have been changed to ensure confidentiality. Hence, one strives to protect the privacy of the case and her family when presenting sensitive information, without compromising inter-personal relationships. Secondly, the researcher declares that all subjects interviewed chose freely to participate in the study. As described in the paragraph regarding the case selection process, a number of initially approached research subjects refused any kind of affiliation with academic research due to prior experiences. This choice was respected all the same, not least with regard to the code of ethics. Finally, the researcher guarantees that research subjects have been informed about the purpose of the study, its beneficiary (i.e. the Rural Development Sociology department of the Wageningen University) as well as any risks involved, before giving ones consent to participate. In this regard, it has to be acknowledged that revealing one's identity, as for instance in situations of participant observation, may bias results and thus decrease internal validity. As mentioned in the research methods section, the researcher addressed this issue by means of creating a reality over time that allowed for the case to be free of thought regarding any research-related circumstances.

## Limitations

This sections aims at providing an overview of the limitations that had to be dealt with during the course of this thesis research and how one pursued to handle these limitations.

First of all, with regard to external validity it can be mentioned that the research is based on the life history of one critical case. The lack of access to relevant cases of Roma migrants restricted the researcher in incorporating multiple cases. In fact, official representatives of German Romani people, such as the Landesverein der Sinti in Hamburg e.V., were not willing

to provide necessary information at all. Despite such throwbacks, a discussion deriving from a single case can be appropriate, if theoretical propositions are outlined visibly in advance and the case meets all of these theoretical requirements (De Vaus, 2001). The state of the art section and the case selection process make for the development of sound criteria, determining the choice of the case. Hence, the decision to base this research on a single case can be considered legitimate. Nevertheless, it has to be acknowledged that this strategy may only bring about theoretical generalization. Thus, a limitation can be considered the lack of statistical generalization for a wider population. If such generalization is pursued, further research focusing on additional cases of Roma migrants has to be conducted.

Moreover, limitations regarding the data-collection methods and the role of the researcher can be listed. Informal interviews are known to design the most natural settings, as the posed questions often merge into conversations. However, a certain degree of contamination (i.e. reflexivity of the researcher) is always present. In the beginning, the presence of the ethnographer had a greater impact on the behavior and answers of the case, given time though, "people forget their company behavior and fall back into familiar patterns of behavior" (Fetterman, 2010, p. 39). Over the course of the study, the ethnographer and Nadin have developed an on-going friendship, e.g. meeting for cooking sessions and movie nights. Consequently, the ethnographer has created a reality, allowing for the case to reduce thoughts regarding the research settings. In addition, it has to be mentioned that the informal interviews and focus group discussions were conducted in German. The ethnographer translated the German transcript into English in all conscience, but again, effects of reflexivity cannot be precluded.

Another research limitation that can be associated with data-collection strategies is the ultimate choice of questions. Certain questions were not posed during the conduction of the informal interviews and focus groups discussions, as the sensitivity of the topic would have harmed the interviewee. In any case, the well-being of the interviewees was the first priority of the study. In particular, the focus group discussion with the parents of Nadin asked for a high degree of sensitivity – they knew the researcher was aware of the fact that their daughter had made the choice to leave the family.

Finally, limitations have to be acknowledged with regard to collecting empirical data out of the interviewees retrospective. People forget or filter past events, which may impact the soundness of the rapport and by implication the accuracy of the results. Aiming to reduce bias, the ethnographer strived to deliberate issues from various angles, in a setting that allowed for honesty and the necessary time to reflect about issues.

# Chapter 4: Results and Discussion

## SRF1: Introduction to the case and implemented social practices

### SRQ1.1: What is the career-line (i.e. the life history) of the case?

First and foremost, this part aims at introducing the life history of the case during the span of some thirty-four years. Various phases will be presented in the form of a career-line (Goffman, 1970), outlining themes as for instance the childhood of the case in Serbia, immigration to Germany, puberty and detachment from the parents, residence status, educational development, as well as dealing with adulthood. A detailed picture of significant events, applied strategies and life achievements will be provided. Through the eyes of the case, the narrative illustrates a variety of social practices that Roma migrants engage in routinely. For the purpose of pinpointing examples, the following reference will mark respective social practices in the text: (→ social practice). In addition, with regard to the paper of Handelman (1976), a particular focus has been put on social relationships between the case and other actors involved. One strives to exhibit how actors constitute such social relationships on the basis of offer/request/demand and response patterns – or in other words, how actors mediate their interests taking advantage of their social relationships. Over time, levels of power may shift and relationships may change. As a consequence, certain parties may access positions enabling them to raise their claims. References in the text regarding transactions (e.g. sequence of offer and response) and mediations of interests will be marked as follows: (→ career-line). In the end, a timeline of the life history will summarize the most significant events.



*Fig. 10: Map of Serbia, Kosovo and Surdulica*

This is the life story of the Roma girl Ramanee Salihović, alias Nadin Stanković, who migrated with her family to Germany when she was eleven years old and ever since pursued to stay.

> "I'm Ramanee Salihović-Müller wherever I go – but people call me Nadin and I also like to call myself Nadin…suits me better I think. Only my parents and relatives still call me Ramanee, but that doesn't suit me any longer." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 2:24)

Ramanee was born in a small town called Surdulica in the South of Serbia in 1980. The eponymous municipality Surdulica is located in the Pčinja district, which borders the precarious Kosovo region to the left on the above map (Fig. 10).

Her parents, Boyko and Judika Salihović are members of the Beharovci clan, which was named after the sister of Ramanee's grandfather, Behara. Based on its reputation of boozers and aggressive mentalities, the clan was feared locally by many other Roma as well as Serbs.

> "You don't wanna mess with the Beharovci! […] I know people feared us in the city." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 2:36-37)

Ramanee herself was named after her aunt, the first daughter of her grandparents. For many years, the family had suffered from her death at a young age and until the day of Ramanee's birth, all of her uncles had only had sons. Hence, being the first-born girl of her generation, she was named in honorable memory of her aunt (→ social practice: Protection of family honor). This is one of the reasons why Ramanee had always had a very special and close relationship with her grandma, going as far as to say that the family believed the spirit of her aunt would live on inside of her. Today, she still tells this story with a proud, big smile in her face.

When Ramanee was five years old, her sister Tatjana was born. The whole family lived together with the grandparents in a three-bedroom house. Upon entering the house, one would be located in a sort of kitchen-cum-living room. On each side, to the left and to the right, a bedroom was located; one for the grandparents and one for the four of them. Ramanee explains that it was normal to them to share a bedroom with their parents and that anything else would have been quite luxurious for local conditions. In total, the size of the house only amounted up to approximately 70 to 80 m² – small but cozy as it seemed. This was also true for the interior of the Salihović family. It was described as being rather simple and clean, nonetheless modern at the time. Particularly her grandma had always preached the significance of a clean household. In fact, whenever friends and acquaintances would stop by for a visit – which it was the case oftentimes – it was the first priority to present tidy premises and a welcoming atmosphere. From the outside as much as from the inside, one cared about what people thought to great extents (→ social practice: Protection of family honor). Besides these visitors, Ramanee and her sister grew up spending a lot of time with their cousins and the wider family circle, as everybody lived together on the property of her grandparents. Her two uncles each shared a small house with their wives

and children. The house of her family was located on top of a mountain and walking down the descent the uncles' houses would appear right away. Thus, it never got boring and there was always somebody to play with. Ramanee describes spending most of her childhood in the outdoors, running across the neighboring fields, climbing trees and making toys out of natural materials. She remembers the close relationship with her family and the time everybody spent together as some of her greatest childhood memories.

> "There were no children's songs, so we always listened to what the adults listened to. Also a lot of brass music, as my grandma and uncle were quite a successful duo at weddings. They even won competitions such as The Golden Trumpet. I remember them playing on my grandfather's terrace and us children would run over there all the time…such a sweet memory." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 4:39)

Especially the Serbian summer had left positive associations. With the temperatures rising up to over 40 degrees Celsius, everybody would go to the nearby river to cool off. Her male cousins would jump into the water and the girls got to refresh their feet in the stream. It was tacit knowledge that only men went swimming and girls did not dare to do so.

Surrounded by mountains to the north and the south, the town of Surdulica is located at 480m above sea level. Typically, Roma settlements are located outside of town, at the bottoms of these mountains, segregating Roma from the Serbian population. The Beharovci used to live on the outskirts of the Roma community Novo Naselje, a bit further up the mountain and thus closer to the Serbian community. From their premises, the street would lead further into the mountains, bordering the town center. Further down the mountains, Roma living in dirty one-bedroom houses as situated in suburban slums were no exception.

> "I remember, being a child, I sometimes thought it was annoying that I had to go up the mountain again after playing with my friends. My mum would stand on the top of the mountain and scream '*Ramaneeeee, dinner is readyyyyy!*' […] Somehow it was divided geographically. We did not really live outboards, but about a quarter of an hour away from the center maybe. Normally, the Serbs only have Serbian neighbors and the Roma only Romani neighbors. But due to the foreign workers that returned and now where in the position to buy big houses as well, you would only sometimes also have Serbian neighbors. But the Roma that had always lived in the city would remain among their kind." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication,3:13, 3:15) ($\rightarrow$ social practice: Choice of address)

True to this approach, Judika prohibited her daughter to go and play at the houses of children that made part of a lower social class. These kids were allowed to come and play on their premises, but it was made clear that respective affiliations were generally not encouraged. The uncle of Ramanee was working for the city, ensuring that his family was held in high esteem. His son fell in love with a girl whose family was home on the bottom of the mountain. It was true love but the family decided they were not allowed to get married.

A few years later he would enter into an arranged marriage (→ social practice: Protection of family honor) with a women, whose status was comparable to his. Ramanee states that they were very different people and unfortunately never developed feelings for each other. Besides one's social company, Ramanee's parents cared about a steady income and did there upmost to ensure the family did not have to starve. The head of the family (i.e. Ramanee's grandfather), her father and uncles were known to work hard and somehow always managed to find new jobs. Many days, even her mum would join the work force and then the kids would remain with their grandma.

> "We were no poor Roma. If there was a middle class, we made part of it. [...] They wanted us to survive and not to live in absolute poverty." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 3:10, 4:10)

Occupation would depend on seasonality and demand. Jobs varied from growing tobacco and cherries in the private garden, over cleaning houses and offices of town officials, to driving to Turkey in order to purchase jeans and resell these again at a profit. As these examples exhibit, creativity and flexibility played as great a role in the career line of the Salihović family, as an industrious working morale. Many other people were not as lucky. Municipal unemployment rates had always been very high, particularly among Roma. In general, none of the public offices in town were occupied by Roma. In fact, one would never find Roma working as administrative officials, teachers or doctors. Typical Roma employment was that of a cleaner or the like. Often, it simply was not possible for Roma to work at all, as all the jobs were taken by the Serbs. Everything was arranged via good connections, indicating to what extents local procedures suffered from corruption and discrimination.

> "No, no, Serbians support Serbian...they get work! If we go and say '*Please help us*' they say '*No, we don't have money* [...]'. They tell us to go to the municipality. The municipality says we have to go to social welfare department *[frustrated]*...it doesn't work! But they help the Serbians...just not the Roma! [...] The Situation with the Roma [is] not so good...because of the Serbs...we have no rights...it's very bad. [...] They come to us [and say] they are cleaner than us. Roma are very clean...we are good people...we don't steal...but we don't have rights in Surdulica! Maybe other places are better, like Niš and Belgrade. Yes, big cities are better." (Judika Salihović, personal communication, 9:50, 9:6, 9:28)

Ramanee goes as far as to explain that Roma were being treated like second-class citizens in Serbia. Based on the fact that features of outer appearance evidently mark Romani and Serbian ethnicities, people were pigeonholed at any time and it was impossible to elude classification. Besides influencing employment rates, discrimination could be identified in other spheres of life, such as social welfare and education. Simple procedures like going to the doctor thus became a burden, when having to endure longer waiting times in the ante room than Serbian patients. Also at school children would experience these dynamics.

> "At school I sometimes heard things like '*You guys are gypsies!*' […]" (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 3:18)

In general, education does not play an essential role in Roma culture. Consequently, it is no surprise that Boyko somehow cheated his way through school and ended up being illiterate. Conversely, Judika grew up in a small village, where children went to school and accordingly had learned how to read and write. Understanding the advantages of literacy, she had put a greater focus on education, as it was typical for Roma mothers in the region – at least with regard to the first years of schooling. In fact, she would help her daughters with their homework, joined teacher-parents conferences and ensured they went to bed in time for school the next day.

> "Many Roma are unemployed and therefore don't really have a reason to get up early every day. Children are awake in the middle of the night, as no one provides rules and structures; especially in the summer, when children are off school for 3 months. Some of them don't even see the necessity to send their children to school, as they won't find employment in Serbia anyways. Everything is a bit different there." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 1:64)

Ramanee was a very popular and good student. Her elementary school teacher even told her mum that she was the best Roma student of her class – please note the wording 'Roma student'. Following four years of elementary school, Ramanee received a recommendation for middle school when she was ten years old. Even grammar school was an option based on her grades. Unfortunately, the circumstances had aggravated in Surdulica by the end of the eighties. Increasing tensions in the Kosovo region, such as stories of mass killings and water poisonings, had spread and left its traces of insecurity and fear all over Serbia. Also, impacts had spread across the national labor market. Hence, the generation of a sufficient income had become quite a challenge for the Salihović family as well. One would increasingly develop interest for the economic success stories of Roma, who had moved to Germany to work as gastarbeiter[9] during the sixties and seventies; not least, because these Roma enjoyed a high esteem in Surdulica. At the time, the head of the Beharovci clan had declined his gastarbeiter invitation, declaring he was too proud to help rebuilding the country after the war. He had always been proud to be Serbian and therefore did not want to leave. His brother on the contrary had left and never regretted he did.

> "People were saying that the war would come soon. We lived close to the Kosovo. Frankly, the atmosphere was 'war-like' in our city in Serbia. People had to hide, you could hear wailing of sirens and some houses were destroyed. I'm sure it's better that we left before things got worse and that we didn't catch on some of the things to follow. My cousin's children made some pretty traumatic experiences. […]But it was

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[9] "A person with temporary permission to work in another country, especially in Germany" (Oxford Dictionaries, 2014).

also easy to live a better life, also economically. My uncle who had already lived in Germany with his family told us that they had a good life here. […] Well and my parents also wanted us to have a good life of course!" (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 5:1, 4:49, 4:50)

As a consequence, Ramanee's parents decided that it was the best for the whole family to migrate to Germany (→ social practice: Performance of economic migration) in 1991. From Surdulica (Fig. 11; Location A), the four of them first travelled to Belgrade (Fig. 11; Location B), in order to step on the long-distance coach. From there the tour continued via Budapest, Bratislava, Linz and Nuremberg to Mannheim (Fig. 11; Location C). In total, the family covered a route of about 1700km. The coach was fully occupied with Roma and Serbs. Some came as visitors and others wanted to register at the immigration authorities. On the way, one would exchange knowledge regarding residence permit application procedures, the quality of asylum homes and various other beneficial strategies (→ career-line). It was no secret that chances to receive a residence permit increased, if one had been persecuted politically back home (→ social practice: Leveraging personal vulnerability). The same was true for people suffering from a terminal disease that created the need for adequate medical care in Germany. People deliberated options all the time: Which asylum homes were supposedly the best? Registration in which cities would increase chances to obtain residence permits? How did other Roma handle these challenges before? Which stories was one supposed to tell?



Fig. 11: Migration route from Serbia to Germany

"[…] we were told what to say exactly. My sister got burned in her face when she was little. It was an accident in my grandma's kitchen with hot fat. She had 3rd degree burnings and kept scars across her eyes. Other people emigrating with us to Germany and my parents met in advance and we agreed to say that those scars were war scars and that it was too dangerous for us to stay in Serbia. People would help each other

with these things. Also in terms of registering in Germany – people showed each other how to do it." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 4:51-52)

In addition, Boyko was recommended to bring his family up North, as it was supposed to be easier to come to terms with officials in the states of Lower Saxony and Hamburg than in Southern Germany. In addition, it was expected that the quality of local accommodation was higher in these regions, due to the lower numbers of asylum seekers (→ social practice: Registration in Northern Germany). Judika's brother awaited the family at the bus stop in Mannheim and the Salihovićs lived at his house in Heidelberg for a few weeks. Pretty soon, they moved to another brother of Judika's, who lived in Elmshorn (Fig. 12; Location A), close to Hamburg. He would help them registering, arranging matters with German authorities as his German was fluent and finally, he brought everybody to the asylum ships in Hamburg Altona (Fig. 12; Location B). As it can be seen, in addition to migrants helping migrants, family members would rely on and support one another in any given situation (→ social practice: Support of other Roma and family).

> "Family was an important support – our leg to stand on basically. […] I wasn't scared at all. There also were other Roma to help us. You know, one Roma always helps the other - that's how it is! [Without this support it] would have been difficult. It probably would have been bad." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 4:56, 4:64, 4:67)



*Fig. 12: Temporary accommodations and asylum homes in Germany*

Ramanee describes the atmosphere in the asylum ships as quite impressive. For the first time, she and her sister would see people with a skin color even darker than theirs, which was perceived to be kind of scary by the children. Sharing a room with the four of them was nothing new, but as the served food was the typically gross canteen slop, one would still

spend as much time as possible at her nearby uncle's house. Eventually, the family had to move to another asylum home in Oldenburg (Fig. 12; Location C). The circumstances at the new institution did not vary very much from the former one though, and it became evident that it was about time for change. With the registration at German authorities, the family received statutory temporary suspension of deportation. In general, the culpability of the asylum seekers regarding clandestine immigration abolishes with this status. Nonetheless, it leaves one with permanent fear to be deported and no right to work, until one's case of political persecution has been examined. At the time, three months had passed again and the family was relocated from Oldenburg to Suderburg (Fig. 12; Location D), a small town in the peripheral Lower Saxony, close to Uelzen. Aiming to establish new social relationships, the Salihovićs tried to get into contact with other migrants, such as a Bulgarian couple, an Iranian- and another Roma family. Unfortunately, the Roma family only spoke Serbian and the reason for that was not far to seek. Other Roma had warned Boyko and Judika not to disclose their Roma origin. One could never be sure, if there were still Nazis in the region.

> "There are Roma families, who only speak Serbian, as they can't speak Romany or they don't want to. It's not always good to say that you are Roma. I knew about the discriminations and insults from Serbia…this wasn't new to me. In Serbia, they recognize you being Roma right away – already based on your skin color. Here it was good; you didn't have to worry about that, as people wouldn't recognize you." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 6:11, 6:9, 6:12)

Responding to this knowledge, the family agreed to keep their Roma origin a secret (→ social practice: Concealment of Roma origin), just like many others had done it before. As their Serbian language skills were rather basic, this decision left them unable to communicate properly with their own people and language barriers became a big issue in terms of making new contacts. It only got worse, once the family had to move to the small village of Dreilingen (Fig. 12; Location E). Dreilingen was situated about fifteen minutes away from Suderburg and everyone knew everyone there. With only a few hundred people living there though, it was difficult to make friends all the same. For a while, Ramanee only had her sister to play with. This was quite a big difference to being a very popular student in Surdulica. Realizing that the children would keep their distance from her and her sister due to language barriers, she went to a local store and bought a Serbian-German dictionary. Judika explains that Ramanee would sit down studying German autodidactically for hours every day, in order to change her situation (→ social practice: Tackling language barriers).

> "I escaped isolation with the help of the German language. […] The language opened the door to new friends again. When we came here, I didn't speak a word of German. I guess I was kind of speechless with regard to my first impressions *[laughing]*. I am quite a talkative and articulate person. I was sad a lot and wanted to learn German to understand the people and make them understand me […] – to show them who [I] really [am]. I was a happy child in Serbia and […] suddenly, find [myself] in Germany,

where everybody speaks this completely incomprehensible language. Yes, I felt a bit lonely living on the countryside. I knew I had to learn the language to make new contacts!" (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 6:19, 6:1, 6:11, 6:2, 6:9, 6:12)

Visits to the authorities involving countless requests to fill in German forms, would increase the desire to acquire the language even further. Ramanee realized that her parents were in need of her help, especially now that her father felt the disadvantages of his illiteracy to even greater extents.

"[…] they thought it was good for me to learn German, as I could support them with official paperwork – I was young, but therefore they used me. Thus, it was always me talking to officials (→ social practice: Tackling language barriers), e.g. at the aliens registration authority. You know how it goes…children learn faster than their parents. I guess you could say I played the role of the translator – I think they actually liked it. (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 1:73)

Despite asking for it, they had never received a translator (→ career-line; (→ social practice: Tackling language barriers), which often left the family powerless and vulnerable. In fact, there were no offers for adults to improve their language skills (e.g. evening classes or integration courses) at all in the area. Therefore, Judika and Boyko tried to go out a lot, in order to meet and talk German to other village inhabitants. One day, the owner of the local refugee motel, in which the Salihovićs had been accommodated, invited Ramanee to join him visiting the Behring family. Horst Behring was a local farmer and his wife Helga helped out on the fields as well – in fact, every help was greatly appreciated. Hence, getting to know one another, it did not take long until the two families had come to some kind of agreement. The Salihovićs offered to help out with the farm work (→ career-line), e.g. harvesting the crops, or feeding the animals; and in return, the Behrings would support the migrants with various matters, such as translations of official documents (→ social practice: Tackling language barriers) and driving them to the bigger, cheaper grocery stores in Uelzen (→ career-line) – local bus connections were still pretty bad back then. Ramanee points out that they had never received money from the Behrings. It always was about some other type of support, i.e. goods, services or knowledge (→ access to knowledge). As Helga did not have grandchildren herself, she became a kind of substitute grandmother for the girls over time. Ramanee remembers how they received presents at Christmas and played in the garden. Also, she would speak very slowly when talking to the girls, trying to teach them the German language (→ career-line). Formulating one- to two-word sentences, Helga was able to make them understand first conversations, while building their self-confidence and motivating them to keep on studying. After a while, the Behring's son Hinnerk and his wife Petra would get involved with the support of the migrants as well. Petra was a special education teacher and therefore always talked to Ramanee's parents about the importance of going to school. Realizing the desire of Ramanee to learn German, she was the one, who arranged for the girls to receive remedial teaching (→ social practice: Tackling language barriers). Despite her

excellent Serbian recommendation, Ramanee was sent to join lower secondary education in Suderburg, based on her lack of adequate German language skills and her parents fearing the girl going to grammar school in Uelzen all by herself. On top of that, Judika and Boyko did not understand the German school system yet (→ lack of knowledge), and thus were unable consider all the decisive aspects, when making this important decision. Ramanee indicates being happy that at least, she was not sent to special needs school. Also, she highlights that luckily there was no such school in the area. Foreign kids inevitably joined lower secondary education, no matter how smart they were. So it happened that she started her educational career in Germany at the age of twelve at the Hardautal School in Suderburg. Whenever the German students would have German class, the foreign kids would receive remedial teaching lessons for about a year and a half. Again, Ramanee managed to stand out based on her exceptional performance, as compared to the other foreign kids. The lady teaching the students was called Mrs. Müller. Until today, Ramanee has kept contact with Mrs. Müller and her husband, who had also been her teacher for a while. Over the years, this relationship has opened the Roma girl many doors – but more on that later.

> "I kept contact with [them] until today. He's really proud of me as I studied […]. I automatically went to lower secondary education, so he was really happy for me that I cut my own path! They kind of accompanied me from not speaking a word of German to managing the professional jargon of my education." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 6:7)

Going to school in Suderburg, Ramanee was finally able to make social contacts with kids of her own age. Most of her friends would live in big houses and their parents had decent jobs – good company according to her own perception. Sometimes she would stay over at the house of her friend Ines. As it was typical for German girls at that age, they would make first experiences with alcohol, boys, listened to the Backstreet Boys and even smoked a cigarette from time to time. Her parents did not like her staying over-night very much and would not allow it gladly, for the simple reasons that she had an older brother and that her mum was a single parent. Besides sleep-overs, many other things would become issues within the Salihović family at the time. In Roma culture, it is common that father-daughter relationships change, once girls have their period for the first time. Roma children spend all of their childhood sharing a room with their fathers and running around naked in the garden; but suddenly, it is necessary to be very careful about domestic discussion topics. Particularly, the topic of menstruation is only to be discussed between mothers and daughters. Ramanee explains how awful this new situation was for her, especially since she had always had a better relationship with her father.

> "That drastically changed our relationship […], such a sudden alienation. And with my mum it somehow felt like forced closeness. […] The problems started back then. It was stricter and somehow […] not as easy-going. My father was authoritative, strict

and formidable. He was not as democratic as people are here…'*I have a say in it, my a\*\*!*' […] I always wanted to belong and simply be German. That to me was so much freer and above all carefree! What I had observed at friends' houses, I experienced as a better way of bringing up ones children – somehow more caring, loving and relaxed, as in our family." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 4:19, 7:35, 7:34)

Experiencing parenting at her friend's houses, the Roma girl was introduced to German values of democracy and autonomy. In contrast, Boyko would prioritize the significance of maintaining virginity until marriage. This was a matter of honor for the entire family and hence, it was an inevitable need to prevent the family name from being spattered (→ social practice: Protection of family honor). During that time, Ramanee would spend the weekends at the house of Petra and Hinnerk. Striving to execute a form of protest, she had developed an eating disorder and the couple had made it their task to reconcile her with the importance of a healthy diet. Realizing Ramanee got more and more curious about boys, the consequences of her parents would increase in severity. The girl was threatened to be send back to Serbia – a place that had become alien for her over the years.

"Of course I didn't want that anymore after 3 years. I had just gotten used to my new life and didn't want to go back. That really made me sad and I felt bad. They kept on predicting me the worst future: I would get addicted to drugs and become a prostitute…really dramatic…typically Roma. Therefore I always liked the German culture…the parents knew it was a phase…first contacts with the other gender – that's normal in Germany. For us, it was bad right away!" (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 7:40)

At one point, Boyko did not see another way, as to teach his daughter by slapping her in the face. This was a key moment in Ramanee's puberty and it led to the Behrings taking action.

"They asked me if I wanted to leave home. '*Do you want something to change for yourself?*' And I said that that's what I wanted." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 7:45)

As a consequence, the Behrings went to talk to Ramanee's form teacher Mr. Müller and he then contacted the local youth welfare department in Uelzen to outline Ramanee's case of domestic violence. Petra drove the girl to the department, but instead of showing active support, the deputy director asked her, if she really wanted to go through with it? And if it was not better to let the Roma clan deal with the situation itself? In fact, he pointed out that Roma only followed their own laws and that Ramanee feared soon deportation anyways.

He asked Sabine "*do you really want to support the gypsy girl? Wouldn't it better, if she went back home?*" (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 10:29)

Supporting a Roma girl in her endeavor to detach herself from her family – was it really worthwhile? It quickly became evident that the deputy director of the youth welfare

department in Uelzen did not perceive a follow-up of the case as feasible and worthwhile. (→ career-line) Nevertheless, Petra assured him that she would fight her way through the system, until a solution had been found. Subsequently, a social worker from the department questioned Ramanee about her problems at home. Based on her statements, a juvenile court judge ruled for her parents to loose custody for the time being, without ever consulting them. The Behrings had filed for adoption of the Roma girl, but Boyko and Judika did not consent. In the beginning, Ramanee would still hide at Petra's house, but it did not take long until her parents and uncles drove buy to interrogate the Behrings about their daughter's hideout. Hence, the department arranged for the girl to move from Dreilingen (Fig. 13; Location A) to the SOS Children's Village in Uslar (Fig. 13; Location B) in 1995.
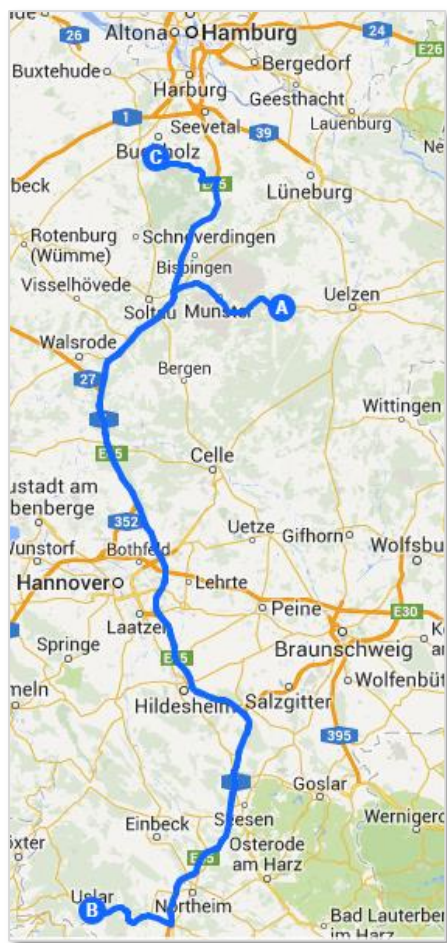


*Fig. 13: Relocations of Ramanee following separation from parents*

On her way there, Ramanee was asked to choose a new name, as it simply was too dangerous to stick with the old one. So it happened that Ramanee Salihović literally became Nadin Stanković. Nadin explains that she consciously chose her new first name, as it combines German and Roma culture. The name 'Nadine' is a common German name, but applying the chosen spelling of 'Nadin', it turned out to be kind of a concealed Roma name.

> "Therefore I got my code name. If they had found me...I don't know...they would have brought me back [to Surdulica] and I really don't know what would have

happened to me there. That was crazy. I was always scared they would find me and beat me up back in Serbia." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 11:37)

At the SOS Children's Village, Nadin was taken in by a family accommodating a number of foster children. A few families lived in a community and all of them had foster children. She describes this time as quite nice, as she was far away from her parents and the threat they posed. Getting to know the kids at school though, she came to realize that Uslar was not a place for her. For the first time she was offered to smoke pot and somehow everything felt too extreme. So again, she took control of her own destiny and actuated relocation via the youth welfare department. This time, moving turned out to be 'terrific' according to Nadin and she found a new home in the Quäker Häuser[10] in Holm-Seppensen (Fig. 13; Location C) – a good hour driving from her parents. The system works as follows: The youth welfare department refers cases to the institution and provides the necessary funds to cover social worker salaries and fix costs incurred (→ career-line). The institution offers a variety of care schemes, as for example ACCOLA[11]. Nadin lived in the Quäker Häuser from the age of fifteen, until she was eighteen years old. In the beginning, it was only meant as a provisional solution, but as she really enjoyed her time there, she got allocated a room for the long term (→ career-line). Living in the Quäker Häuser, she went to school in the nearby Buchholz, where she made new friends. For the first time, Nadin was allowed to make her own decisions, as who to date and who to spend time with. The in-house social workers would guide her on her way, making these her first personal experiences as a member of a more liberal society. Eventually, her uncle came from Heidelberg and offered to adopt her; but Nadin rejected the offer, fearing her parents would have an influence on her again and she was not willing to give up her newly gained rights. One afternoon, she was sitting on a park bench with a friend, as two boys passed them on their bicycles. Nadin took her chance and asked them to stop. One of these boys was Robert, a student from the local Waldorf School[12]. Nadin would realize soon that Robert was good company, not least because his mother was a very caring person, who had taught her son values that Nadin shared and wanted to foster inside herself.

> "Suddenly, I could take all these liberties and I'm sure there were times that I exaggerated. But I would always find my way again [...] there were people like Robert, Petra and Hinnerk, who had become my tower of strength. Often [my friends were] Waldorf students or kids from grammar school – although I was attending Lower Secondary Education. What I want to say is that I consciously chose my friends. They were children of good family [and] showed me a different world. For example my friend Peti. Her father was a lawyer; they lived in a house and everything was

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[10] The Quäker Häuser (i.e. Quäker Houses) is a non-profit organization engaging in social work activities in Lower Saxony.
[11] The care scheme ACCOLA is a living group for troubled teenage girls and young mothers in the Quäker Häuser.
[12] Waldorf education is based on the teachings and educational philosophy of Rudolf Steiner, also known as anthroposophy.

steady, true blue as the word is. Also Birgit, both parents were employed, her father worked for a shipping company and the mum was a teacher. I cared about getting to know that side as well." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 8:4, 8:35)

It so happened that both developed a long-lasting friendship – a sort of brother-sister relationship. Dealing with residence permit issues, Robert would even go as far as to offer Nadin to marry her, if it was the last resort. Once Nadin, met her first serious boyfriend Thomas, this suggestion was off the table for the time being.

At the age of eighteen, it was time to move out of the Quäker Häuser and stand on one's own feet. Nadin declared that she still wanted to receive ambulant care by the social worker Sabine Blume (→ career-line). Sabine's field of expertise was called outpatient family support. A contract was drawn up in advance, in order to define personal objectives and the details of the support measures. Every half a year, the progress was checked up on by the youth welfare authorities. In the case of Nadin for instance, one aimed to help her obtain an unlimited residence permit, as well as to support her with general affairs such as grocery shopping, cooking and housekeeping. Over the years, Sabine and Nadin had developed a close relationship and Sabine had become a sort of mother figure. Moving out of the institutional arrangements would have been a too radical change and hence, the available ambulant care was a welcome alternative. The youth welfare office in Uelzen was responsible for the case, as Nadin's parents were still living in the geographical area of responsibility of the youth welfare office. Once again, the department tried to put obstacles in Nadin's way. This time, the deputy director was not willing to prolong the funding of her support measures, explaining that with her eighteenth birthday, the case was no longer the responsibility of the youth welfare department. Additionally, it was pointed out that Nadin already joined the youth welfare program at a psychosomatic clinic called Ginsterhof[13]. For a total period of three months, the psychologist Dr. Kremler had treated her anxiety attacks regarding the fear of loneliness on in-house basis and later once a week in his surgery. However, being restricted by a limited annual budget, it was in the best interest of the department – and those carrying financial responsibility, e.g. the deputy director – to discontinue related youth welfare payments (→ career-line) as in the case of Nadin. Sabine felt that it was in the best interest of Nadin to extend support services and therefore explained the situation to the managing director of the Quäker Häuser. Regardless of the fact that subsequently, the youth welfare office would no longer refer cases to the Quäker Häuser, the managing director agreed upon filing a lawsuit against the department. Mr. Hillebrecht called up an attorney, Mr. Fred Hullerum in Lüneburg, which he knew from their time together back at the university. Mr. Hullerum accepted to take over the case pro bono, while pointing out that it was a precedent case.

> "'But then we are out!' said Mr. Hillebrecht. 'Uelzen will never refer cases to us again'.
> So I [Sabine Blume] said 'In the end, you have to decide, if we can afford this move'.

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[13] The Ginsterhof is a psychosomatic day-unit in Rosengarten in the South of Hamburg

> And he said *'Sure thing, if we win, somehow we will pay for it!'* [And so it happened that] they [the youth welfare office in Uelzen] never sent an enquiry again. But I thought it was worth it! It was a legal precedent case, as it had never occurred before that anybody had filed a lawsuit against a youth welfare service in such a form. Therefore, Mr. Hullerum was totally excited, ensuring that he would work on it right away and that he would give his full dedication to win our case!" (Sabine Blume, personal communication, 10:21-22)

Seeing his chance to establish a legal precedent and thereby promoting his status within the national branch of law (→ career-line), the attorney started to make a huge effort from the beginning to win this case. The trial temporally suspended the department decision to stop Nadin's support and it had to continuously provide support until the legal verdict was agreed upon by the litigants. Sabine and Nadin were asked to prepare a statement of grounds, which was to be presented to the court. In addition, Sabine managed to get in contact with the psychologist Dr. Weber, who was involved with the Refugee Council. On a professional level, he was fascinated by the unique ness of Nadin's life history (→ career-line) and decided to support her by means of accompanying her to the youth welfare service and writing an assessment to promote the continuous funding of her therapy scheme. On the basis of the statement of grounds, as well as the psychological assessment, the judge ruled in favor of the plaintiffs, granting welfare payments for the coming three years. Subsequent to the trial, Uwe asked Sabine to write an article about their success story. She was supposed to write the article for their in-house newspaper called 'Quäker', as the commitment of the institution within the field of social work (→ career-line). Sabine explains that all the extra time spent during trial was worthwhile, knowing that she did it for the benefit and welfare of Nadin (→ career-line).

> "It has to do with Nadin and her way of doing things. That I am sure of. I always thought Nadin has so much ambition and she wants to achieve so much, you can't just let [such potential] lie idle...these capabilities should be fostered. […] To quite some extent you [Nadin] are responsible for the fact that everybody thought you should be supported. That is also related to your character, you have such a charisma that you show *'I wanna do something...for myself, for my people [and the people], who know me here'*. You were conducive to your own situation...somehow changing the neediness into something valuable. You did not suck people dry as they say, only stating you wanna have, have, have...You also gave something in return: Your fight! Your fight to contribute something yourself – to constitute change for yourself and your compatriots so to speak." (Sabine Blume, personal communication, 10:26)

Motivated by the above reasons, the two of them proceeded by formulating new objectives for the coming years of their relationship. One of these focused on acquiring an unlimited residence permit (→ career-line). Until that day, her legal status was still that of 'temporary suspension of deportation'. This status came with a number of personal detriments. Nadin

had wanted to start working for a while already, but as it is the case in Germany, migrants are only allowed to work with a valid residence permit. Also, she was forced to buy groceries with food stamps. All of these seemingly little everyday aspects had pushed the Roma girl into a corner of vulnerability – a place where she did not want to remain a minute longer. Hence, Sabine and Nadin went to the refugee council in Hannover with the aim of gathering general information regarding settlement permit application procedures. Due to the fact that Nadin did not possess a passport, it was the next step to apply for one at the Serbian consulate in Hamburg. Sabine remembers how badly consular officials treated them once they realized that Nadin was a Roma.

> "[In the consulate] was a really unpleasant atmosphere. You had to go inside and I had to drop off my ID, as it is sovereign territory of that country. It really was a precarious situation, they really came on to me and I couldn't understand. So I always said again *'I don't understand you, what do you want from me?'* This was the first time that I realized how you [Nadin] must feel, when you had to go and see officials. How does this make you feel as a person?! That's terrible! But ok, I only had to go back on the street and I was back in my country. […] They told me that I had to sit down there, and I told them that I didn't have to do anything. '*I will accompany her...*' [and they said] '*Noooo*'...that was really strange!" (Sabine Blume, personal communication, 10:42)

Based on the fact that Nadin missed documents from Serbia, it turned out to be a challenge to obtain a Serbian passport. As the term 'outpatient family support' indicates, Sabine also took on the role of the mediator between Nadin and her family. It had been three years at that time and all of them had gotten closer again. Sabine managed to bring Nadin, her sister and her mother 'back on the table' and encouraged them start talking again. Judika invited them over and they enjoyed a nice dinner with the four of them. Nadin's parents were very pleased to see their daughter had not developed a drug addiction, or gotten pregnant at an early age. In fact, their fears had been laid to rest and it seemed, as if things were picking up. Realizing that their daughter was in desperate need of a passport, they promised to help with the paperwork. Certainly, this support was very much in line with their own agenda, as one was executing a certain kind of positive reinforcement towards Nadin and Thomas getting married with the family honor in mind (→ career-line; → social practice: Protection of family honor). However, Nadin admits that she would not have known where to apply for the documents anyways.

In Serbia, people approach bureaucracy differently and so her parents went back to Surdulica with the aim of bribing the authorities (→ career-line). Thus, Judika and Boyko had to work as cleaners in the houses of public Serbian officials and brought German candy for their children. On top of that some money was part of the deal of course. A few weeks later, one arranged for Nadin's application at the Serbian consulate in Hamburg to be accepted and she finally received a new passport.

"There everybody is corrupt. People pay in kind: […] candy…foods…money of course and then cleaning on top of it! Otherwise, officials say that it doesn't work, they can't find my papers, or that I have to come myself to Serbia…they always have an excuse." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 10:48)

Unfortunately, regardless of the recently acquired identity documents, Sabine and Nadin were not able to obtain a residence permit. Nadin indicates that she ran out of cards to play, as the war in Serbia was over – or on paper at least – and she was no longer persecuted politically. Judika, Boyko and Tatjana had already received the deportation order and had to go back to Serbia for now. The young couple continued to suffer from the circumstances, until an attorney suggested seriously considering the strategy of getting married.

In Germany, the possession of a passport is also a condition for entering into the bond of marriage; hence, at once, a new door opened. The attorney continued indicating that many Roma migrants had chosen this option before and thereby successfully paved a way for themselves to stay in the EU (→ social practice: Marriage with German citizen). A year later, Nadin and Thomas had been a couple for three years already. They lived together, were madly in love and a wedding was the next logical step. On top of that, Thomas had felt the disadvantages of Nadin's status just as severe as she did (→ career-line). Simply things, as for instance going to Hamburg together spontaneously for a day, had to be done secretly and under pressure, since Nadin was not allowed to leave without filling in some kind of a form.

"He felt that it was a burden for him as well. […] We both saw the necessity in equal measure. It got me two years right away. After that, another two and then an unlimited residence permit. That is the normal way in Lower Saxony. You first have to be married for 4 years; then you get the unlimited residence permit. Thomas doesn't like to talk about that very much. It doesn't sound very romantic, rather calculated. I guess it was a bit." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 8:17-18)

With the wedding, Nadin Salihović-Müller managed to obtain a residence permit 1999 (→ career-line), as well as a settlement permit about four years later, in 2003. And so it happened that for the first time after twelve years, ever since the Salihovićs arrived in 1991, she did not have to worry about being deported back to Serbia. On the contrary, back then she started to feel increasingly comfortable in Germany and rather perceived herself as German than Roma. As indicated earlier, this perception was also reflected in her choice of name, especially now that she chose to take on her husband's last name Müller - one of the most common German last names.

"[At first] Salihović became Stanković - my code name. And the name Nadin I kept until today. Over the years, I started reusing my original last name Salihović. Then I got married and Nadin Salihović became Nadin Salihović-Müller. I wanted something individual. And Mrs. Müller is the mother of Thomas and Mrs. Salihović is my mum's name, so it became a mix out of the two. Now, I have my regrets, as it is so long and

therefore often only say Nadin Müller. I have become really 'nadinized' by now, [meaning] I […] 'germanized' myself! […] More German than Roma – but somehow I'm also Roma." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 2:4, 6:18)

However, dealing with the challenges of finding their way as young adults, the young married couple was experiencing feelings of financial and social insecurity. Being in need of guidance (→ career-line), Thomas was particularly susceptible for the faithful words of a Muslim he met at friend's barbecue. The man was kind of a missionary, telling people about the local work of his Muslim denomination. He was told to recruit new families (→ career-line) and soon Thomas and Nadin would join their meetings.

The members of the group were close friends. They made trips together, as for example to Berlin visiting mosques, or to the houses of other Muslims. People would sing, dance and share happy moments. Soon, Nadin recognized that many of the values and behaviors displayed by the group were familiar from the Roma culture. First and foremost, preaching that sex before marriage was a sin, but also general approaches related to gender inequalities. This time though, everything was reasoned through god and thus legitimized by a certain kind supernatural legal sphere. Nadin's family could not draw on such argumentation, as they did not belong to any religious confraternity.

"[…] somehow it didn't feel negative. I had suddenly pursued to be devout and make part of it. […] Finally, belonging somewhere – maybe to a group of people that wasn't German in the classical sense either – […] that connected us. [And] everything was justified with god. My parents were never able to bring forward such established reasoning. It was now based on a higher power and there were punishments, if you didn't behave the way you were supposed to. At that time, I started developing real states of anxiety – a psychosomatic disorder. That was really severe and sometimes I had trouble breathing, when people discussed what would happen after death (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 8:28)

Occasionally, the Roma of her clan would drink alcohol and it was no necessity to separate gender at celebrations. Hence, despite the fact that similarities between Islamic and Roma culture could be found, Nadin experienced the former as being stricter. Over time, both of them realized that the group exerted pressure on them, resulting in fear of god and life after death. Nadin started wondering why she had engaged in so many fights to take liberties over the years, to simply give these up now again. In addition, she understood that this group affiliation, left one in a marginal position in Germany (i.e. as compared to such affiliations in an Islamic country) – the position of a social outcast (→ career-line). Likewise, Thomas eventually came to the conclusion that he did not want this life-style for his children. Taking on such values and growing up like strangers in their own country – he thought, Nadin's experience was more than enough (→ career-line). As a consequence, Nadine and Thomas decided to separate themselves from the Muslim group, after being members of the group for a total of ten years.

In the meantime, a lot of things had happened. Based on the fact that Nadin had not possessed a residence permit until she was 19, she had never been allowed to work, or to follow a paid job training in Germany. Graduating from lower secondary education, she thus chose to continue her academic education. With the acquisition of the residence permit in 1999, Nadin was finally in the position to follow a professional training at the educator's school in Rotenburg (Wümme). For the first time she would receive a steady income, making the newly-weds more independent from the state at that time. In 2004, she finished the training with a solid 'B' average. Acknowledging her good grades and an intrinsic passion for learning, she decided to apply for a scholarship at the Hans und Gretchen Tiedje Stiftung[14] to study social work at the Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaften[15] (HAW) in Hamburg. In her application letter she wrote that she was applying for an entire town (i.e. Surdulica). She explained the Roma in this town did not have opportunities like the one she was going for and neither did most of her compatriots living in Germany. Highlighting the high Roma unemployment rates in Serbia and Germany, she explained why she was an adequate candidate choice for the scholarship. A few weeks later, she was informed that her explanation had convinced the representatives of the foundation and that her studies would be funded. At the time, German academic curricula were still building on four year diploma programs.

After following the standard period of study, it was the initial plan to graduate in 2009. Aiming to make some pocket money (→ career-line), she worked alongside her studies for the local NGO KAROLA e.V. – a meeting point for Roma girls and women. Her work there, teaching local Roma women about the German language and traditions, would have an impact on her choice of an area of social work specialization, i.e. education. In addition, based on her personal experiences as a Roma migrant in Germany, Nadin was a great asset to the NGO (→ career-line) and it became evident that with graduation, professional opportunities might derive from this symbiosis. Seeing herself increasingly in the position to help her own people, Nadin developed a vision to improve the living environment of Roma in Surdulica – along the lines of Roma help Roma (→ social practice: Support of other Roma and family). Together with Thomas, she planned to execute her vision as the coordinator of the project from Germany. Her sister would carry responsibility at site in Serbia. If required, one intended to travel to Serbia for a while and work over there.

> "Well, you know, education and Roma children…it's complicated. That's when I first had the dream. […] I wanted to set up a project to found a Roma school and kindergarten based on German structures and components. […] Children [should] follow a regulated daily routine and their parents [need to] be educated as well. Roma children are always around. Don't misunderstand me, I really like the fact that children join festivities, […] but it's not like in Germany, where everything is organized around the child. There, children simply run around but don't get as much

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[14] The Hans und Gretchen Tiedje Stiftung is a foundation based in Hamburg.
[15] University of Applied Science

attention. Probably a mix would be the best. A regulated daily routine should be part of it. That creates security. If you miss out to do so, it will get pretty chaotic eventually. That's how it is in Serbia at least." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 1:63-64)

The initial plan to set up a project in Serbia changed, when Nadin received the good news that she was pregnant with her first child by the end of 2007. Thomas and Nadin decided that it was best, if she would put her studies on hold for a while. Valuing the little time she had been able to spend with her working Roma mother, it was no option for the young family that Nadin would keep on working. Hence, based on her own experiences with Roma traditions of parenting, she understood the significance of spending time together and integrating daily routines (e.g. little things such as brushing one's teeth, or going to bed in time). Additionally, the desire to introduce one's children to the Waldorf education scheme had derived from childhood memories (e.g. that Nadin and her sister used to play in the outdoors a lot) and Nadin's contact with her German friends. Friends such as Robert had benefitted from Waldorf influences and developed values she shared.

> "Millet pizza and Waldorf […] yes, that's true! I really want my children to follow a healthy diet and play outside. The Waldorf philosophy is about nature, my way of thinking was already in line with these values back in Serbia – I might even have brought these with me from Serbia. We really played outside a lot, as we simply didn't own any toys. With Waldorf it's similar; the idea is that children should play with what is on hand, what you can find in nature such as wood, branches, leaves and shells. And that's how we used to do it as well […]." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 2:25, 1:63)

Elias was born in 2008 and her second son was not long in coming. In 2011, Nadin gave birth to another healthy child called Noah. With the children growing out of toddlerhood, she decided to pick up her studies again in the beginning of 2013. After taking a break for such a long time, it turned out to be difficult to start again were one left off. At the time, Nadin was still in contact with KAROLA e.V. and the social pedagogue Christine Solano working for the NGO. Mrs. Solano had been in contact with a student [Marjorie Jochims] from the Wageningen University, who was interested researching local Roma. Realizing that both parties could benefit from one another, she established a contact between them and they agreed to a deal: Nadin would engage in a number of interviews (→ career-line) and in return benefitted from the student helping her with the conceptual framework of her thesis (→ career-line). In the end of 2013, Nadin was able to submit her thesis and graduated with the title 'Certified Social Pedagogue'.

A few months ago, she got a part-time job in a nursery, as an educator for children aged zero to six. Living in Germany and making part of the society for more than twenty years, Nadin describes that one's self-perception changes naturally. While she had always tried to hide

her heritage, the past years she learned to show off her belly dancing skills and take advantage in her exotic heritage and looks.

> "You see me as a Gypsy...exotic and fiery?" (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 11:16)

> "Yes, that's good, right?! Exotic is nice!" (Robert Schettker, personal communication, 11:16)

In her case, friends with migrant background convinced her to be proud of her origin and to openly recognize that she is Roma. Ever since, she has started telling her story, people reacted positively and receptive. Today, she chooses consciously to state that she makes part of the ethnic group of Roma and sees herself carrying responsibility to further decrease stigmatizations and prejudices.

> I gotta tell you a story...a woman lost her wallet at Budni[16] and I did not think about keeping it for a second, but gave it back to her right away! She told me I was such a sweet person and I only replied that I was a gypsy and that she had to keep that in mind! *'Now you have to reduce your prejudice'* and she couldn't stop hugging and thanking me! (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 11:3)

By the way, Nadin's parents reentered Germany in the beginning of 2013. They received statutory temporary suspension of deportation, emphasizing in their application that Boyko was seriously ill and his medical treatment could not be assured in Serbia (→ social practice: Leveraging personal vulnerability). Nevertheless, they got presented with a new deportation order in August 2013. Judika and Boyko thereafter had to report to the German authorities, to be sent back to Serbia in November. Nadin explains that they – just like many other Roma – are already looking for a new strategy to come back...

For the purpose of summarizing the life history of the case, Figure 14 provides a comprehensive overview of the most significant occurrences in the form of a time-line. At the same time, this time-line bases on the methodological contribution of Goffman (1970) regarding the notion of the career-line.

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[16] 'Budni' is the abbreviation of 'Budnikovski' – a German a drugstore chain.
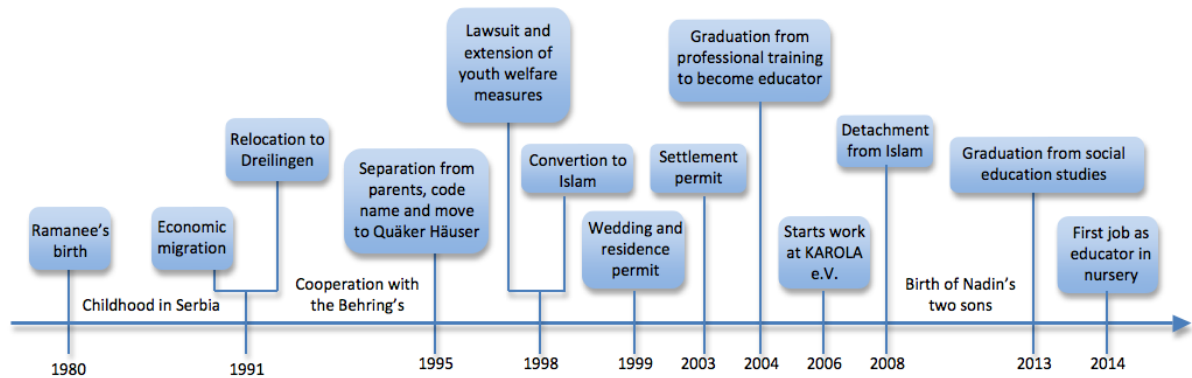
*Fig. 14: Career-line of Nadin Salihović-Müller*

### SRQ1.2: How do various actors constitute the development of a poly-actor career-line?

Concluding the discussion of the previous sub-research question (SRQ1.1), the career-line of Nadin Salihović-Müller was illustrated in this study. However, the narrative of the life history of the case has exhibited a number of examples of various actors succeeding and failing in the realization of their objectives. For the purpose of summarizing these various interlinked and mutually dependent objectives of the actors involved in the case, this study presents a visual depiction of a poly-actor career-line (Fig. 15) – or in other words, a clarification of the social relationships and occupations of (new) material positions. In respect of the notion of Goffman (1970), the poly-actor career-line can take on various forms, such as offer/request and response patterns, symbioses, as well as simple action and reaction mechanisms. In this regard, a symbiosis can be understood as a situation, in which both (or multiple) actors benefit from an exchange of for instance knowledge or support activities – in this sense, a win-win situation. The following paragraph strives to explain how to 'read' this poly-actor career-line.

In the narrative, the distinct objectives of the actors were marked as follows: '→ career-line'. These objectives are presented as white boxes in the poly-actor career-line. All of the actors involved in the case (e.g. the Salihović Family, Nadin or the Behrings) are represented in blue boxes. The blue line and the white arrows indicate the order of the mediations between these actors; starting with the first symbiosis (i.e. between the Salihović family and other Roma and family) in the upper left corner and ending with the last symbiosis (i.e. between Nadin and the Wageningen University student) in the lower right corner. Depending on, if an objective has been realized or not, plus and minus signs are attached to the objective boxes. To give an example, the first mediation exhibits that the Salihović family succeeded in accessing migration strategies and other support. Thus, a plus sign can be found on top of the white box depicting this objective. Aiming to prevent repetition, this section does not re-present the different mediations of actors, as mentioned in the narrative; rather, the poly-actor career-line is supposed to serve as a kind of map to be explored by the reader of this thesis. Finally, the blue arrow between the second and third mediation exhibits how the Salihovićs came up with an alternative strategy, realizing that they were not in the position to receive a translator from the German authorities.

Accordingly, the poly-actor career-line highlights situations in which actors succeeded in enacting agency, in order to occupy (new) material positions. However, this subject can solely be broached in the form of a poly-actor career-line. Hence, the subsequent sub-research-focus (SRF2) will illuminate this matter in more detail.

| Access to migration strategies and other support | Provision of a German translator → | Translation- and shuttle services, in-kind support, knowledge | Separation from her parents | Remain at institution and receive care |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Salihović family** | **Salihović family** | **Salihović family** | **Nadin** | **Nadin** |

| Other Roma and family | Immigration authorities | Behrings | Youth Welfare Services Uelzen | Quäker Häuser |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Access to migration strategies and other support | Rejection of request to save costs | Support with farm work | Questions efficiency and feasability of operation to save costs | Accommodate new cases and receive YWS payments |

| Acquisition of passport for Nadin and wedding with Thomas | Acquisition of ongoing YW measures | Provision of assessment to promote continuous funding | Pro bono legal support | Support in filing a lawsuit against YWS in Uelzen |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Judika and Boyko** | **Nadin** | **Nadin** | **Nadin** | **Nadin** |

| Serbian authorities | Youth Welfare Services Uelzen | Psychologist Dr. Weber | Attorney Mr. Hullerum | Quäker Häuser and Sabine |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cleaning services, in-kind- and monetary „donations" | Rejection of request to save costs | Professional interest in case | Promotion of professional status as case is a precedent | Writing an article about case and work of QH |

| Benefit from group affiliation, e.g. in form of guidance | Acquisition of residence permit | Income generation and support of other Roma | Escape from position of marginal | Support in developing conceptual framework for thesis |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Nadin and Thomas** | **Nadin** | **Nadin** | **Nadin and Thomas** | **Nadin** |

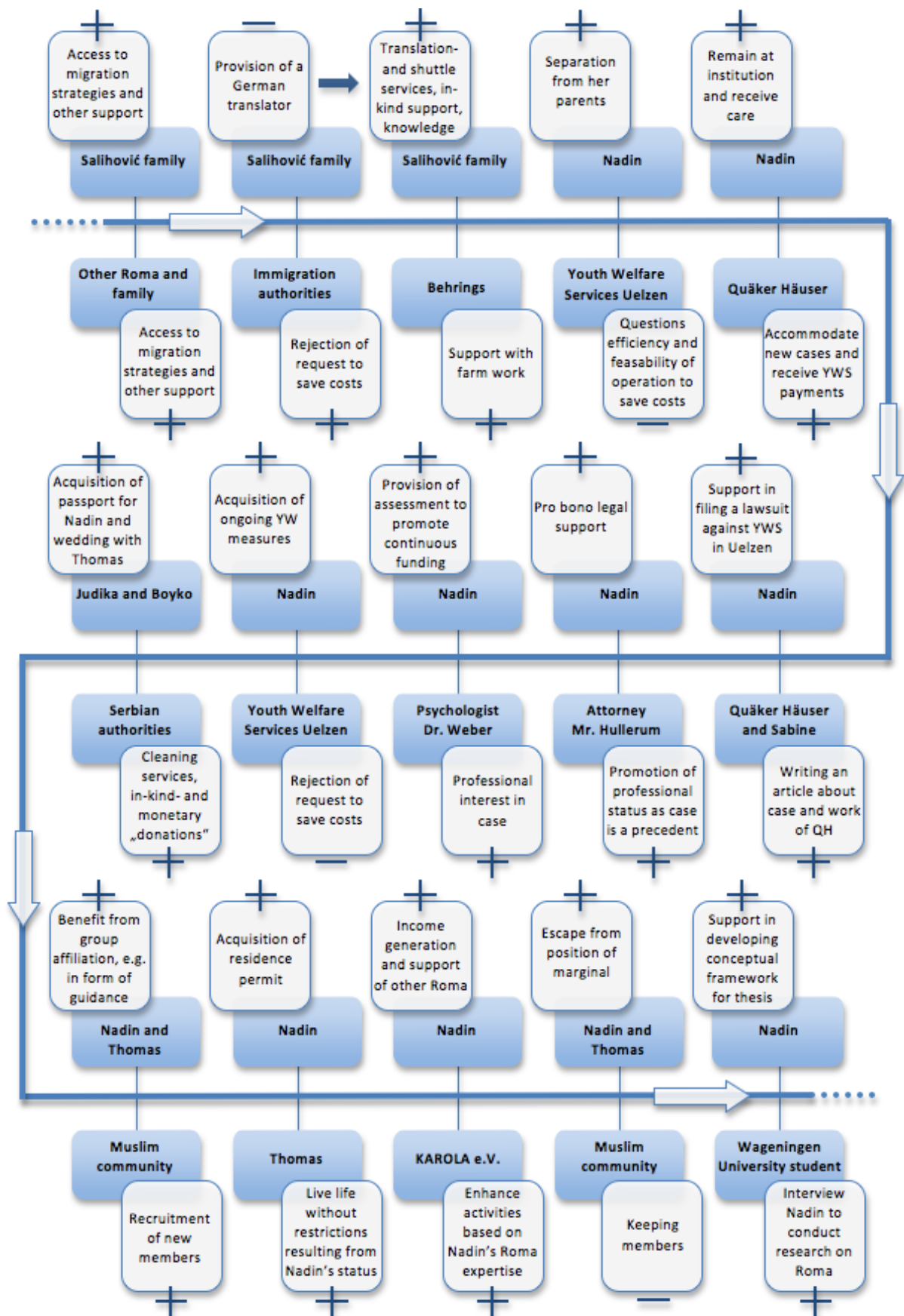| Muslim community | Thomas | KAROLA e.V. | Muslim community | Wageningen University student |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Recruitment of new members | Live life without restrictions resulting from Nadin's status | Enhance activities based on Nadin's Roma expertise | Keeping members | Interview Nadin to conduct research on Roma |

*Fig. 15: Poly-actor career-line of the case*

## SRF2: Application of the data to the conceptual framework

### *SRQ2.1: Which social practices do Roma migrants routinely engage in and how do they enact agency for these engagements?*

As depicted in the conceptual framework, Roma migrants engage in numerous social practices in the process of developing their career-line. The narrative has brought about a variety of examples of such social practices with regard to the life history of Nadin Salihović-Müller. This SRQ summarizes the presented social practices and outlines how actors enact agency to perform each social practice. In fact, it is an analysis of how actors develop capacity to act and engage in these social practices, for the ultimate occupation of (new) material positions. The conceptual adjustment to the framework of McGee (2004) serves as a basis for an analysis, dividing agency into the four main factors (i.e. actors, knowledge, discourse and space), as well as the four dimensions of space (history, access, dynamics and learning). Depending on what information is available, a picture as detailed as possible will be drawn in order to approximate an ordering of reality. The order of the above factors is a reference to the conceptual framework and as such there is no need to find an integration of all the factors of the framework; rather, one strives to create a fluid and cohesive analysis of the situations narrated in the case. By means of showing how various spaces are connected, the study strives to illustrate a multiplicity of levels of agency, conceptual blurredness and fluidity. Finally, the chapter will go on translating the gathered information regarding the composition of agency to the notions of memory and intentionality – an original contribution of this study to the sociological discussion.

The first social practice deriving from the narrative is that Roma ascribe great significance to the protection of family honor. Nadin describes that it is essential to receive visitors in a clean household, while displaying warm hospitality. In addition, the role of Roma fathers in protecting the virginity of their daughters was illustrated in this regard. Firstly, with regard to the collected empirical data, it is necessary to take a closer look at the notion of space within the context of family honor. Trying to understand why Roma choose to engage in the above-mentioned social practice, one has to examine cultural dynamics of space. In this study, the state of the art section has presented intrinsic cultural values as related to Roma purity codes. Building on the dichotomy between pure and impure, the notion of purity can be applied to physical and spiritual spheres of Nadin's childhood. It seems the compliance with social norms is primarily responsibility of the Roma individual; however, as it has been outlined in the literature review, community arrangements do exert a certain degree of shame in the case of non-compliance with Roma livelihood principles. Hence, Romani people personate the first sphere impacting Nadin in her own engagement with Romani culture and the social practice of 'protection of family honor' has to be considered a collective Roma practice, or that is to say Romani community organizing principles. Roma perceive and judge each other based on such cultural dynamics of purity codes; based on these judgments people attribute statuses and degrees of honor to one another.

An example of physical purity can be mentioned regarding the necessity to present a neat domestic environment. A clean household and property make for a higher degree of purity and by implication a higher degree of family honor, as perceived by other Roma community members. In addition to physical purity, an example for spiritual purity can be mentioned regarding the way Roma dress. Nadin explains how feeling uncomfortable, when being asked to wear a bikini at the swimming pool. Typically Roma are educated to keep the lower parts of the body covered at all times. These cultural norms outline why a young Roma girl would find herself hesitant to enjoy an afternoon in a public bath in Germany. Despite dress codes, spiritual purity can be addressed to the pursuit of Nadin's parents to protect their daughter's virginity until she gets married. In fact, breaking with these norms can result in being ostracized from the Roma community, as the unmarried woman is obliged to preserve the purity of her body and soul and thereby bring honor to her family.

> "I always knew my parents were watching me, […] it was part of our culture. It was a heavy burden being 13, 14 and the worst with 15. You realize you are becoming a woman and I knew that it was different with us: no sex before marriage, stay a virgin. […] My parents were scared about their reputation as well. They didn't want to look stupid in front of other Roma. What would they say? Other Roma also talk about us. It was about their honor. But honestly, back then I didn't care…I wanted to belong and have values. I tried to develop into a different direction" (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 7:32, 7:42).

In this case, agency is expressed in how Roma people perform their cultural dynamics of space in a new space, which is the one of the host society. The agency performance of Nadin's parents was no longer in line with her own understanding of space, enabling her to enact agency as a performance of the new relations she experienced with people of the German society. The host society taught Nadin that sex before marriage was not to be treated with condemnation – an understanding opposing Roma principles of virginity protection and personal freedom. As outlined in the state of the art section, traditional Roma populations believe that individual freedom is an illusion and that abandoning this belief results in physical and mental trauma (USAID, 2007). This understanding promotes the intention of Judika and Boyko to enact agency and comply with their internalized cultural norms. In the case, Nadin and her parents were impacted by differing degrees of access to German social networks, which ultimately led to variations in their enactment of agency to protect family honor. Nadin has presented a process of learning and made a choice to counter what her Romani cultural memory told her to be the right way to go about this issue. In fact, it can be said that Nadin's memory has evolved over time and no longer solely derives from Romani cultural principles. As a consequence, Nadin intends to mediate between spaces and to derive benefits for herself regarding personal freedom and independence. Here, intermingling spaces of cultural knowledge made the original sphere to implode, generating a fluidity and blurredness in Nadin's conceptualization of her own sense

of belonging. Thus, the constitution of a new sphere of life for Nadin has to be acknowledged, aiming to approximate a comprehension of the described events.

All in all, it can be concluded that Roma migrants may remember Romani cultural codes of purity, as well as German codes of personal freedom. Such dynamics bring about multiple forms of intentionality, promoting the engagement in a variety of social practices across different generations.

The analysis of agency continues with the second social practice as performed by Roma. In Surdulica, Roma consciously choose their address close to the city center to overcome effects of discrimination. Discrimination of Roma is a severe problem in the Balkans. The state of the art section presents a detailed picture of the statistical knowledge (UNDP, 2007) regarding local matters of vulnerability and discrimination. The numbers show that in many cases, positions that Roma applied for in various sectors, were given to less-skilled applicants of the majority communities. The Salihovićs know about these social wrongs and feel mistreated.

> "No, no…Serbians support Serbian…they get work! If we go and say 'Please help us' they say 'No, we don't have money…we don't have money'. They tell us to go to the municipality. The municipality says we have to go to the social welfare department. […] they help the Serbians…but not the Roma! We have a doctor's appointment at 2pm. They tell us to come and look at our name…for example Draga is a Serbian name…but Salihović is a Roma name. Thus, we don't matter to them." (Judika Salihović, personal communication, 9:50, 9:16)

Judika indicates that Serbs treat Roma like second-class citizens. Indeed, she feels the need to justify herself by explaining that Roma are clean people – just like the Serbs.

> "They come to us…they say they are cleaner than us. Roma are very clean…we are good people…we don't steal…but we don't have rights in Surdulica! (Judika Salihović, personal communication, 9:28)

As it can be understood from the results, the prevalent Serbian discourse reduces Roma to the level of beggars. Thereby, the factor of discourse reinforces dynamics of discrimination that in turn have an influence on Romani agency. The case shows that understandings of discrimination bring about grounds for Roma to act upon these inhumane circumstances and associate spaces that counteract any adverse effects of discrimination. The discussion continues illustrating how the Salihovićs enact agency to occupy such spaces.

Historically, the poor majority of the Roma living in Surdulica settles somewhere at the outskirts of the city, far away from the majority society of the Serbs that populates the city center. This is due to the fact that many Roma cannot afford a property closer to the center. Nevertheless, with rising salaries, Roma pursue to move up the mountain, in order to approximate the center and increase their access to the town infrastructure (e.g.

employment, education, etc.). The Beharovci clan has internalized this knowledge and consciously chooses to invest their limited financial resources in their property on top of the mountain. In fact, the Salihovićs prefer to struggle financially, instead of moving down the mountain, where they would have to pay less rent for a house of the same size. Hence, their conviction and knowledge regarding the fact that effects of discrimination may be decreased, depending on the location of their property, enables them to enact agency and accumulate financial resources to live further up the mountain.

Finally, the data shows that Roma families may increase vulnerability among their own compatriots. For instance, the family of Nadin strives to limit contact with those Roma, who cannot afford to live in their neighborhood. Judika and Boyko discourage their daughter to play with children of lower social ranks, who live further down the mountain. As a consequence, one reinforces interpersonal and geographical boundaries.

> "I probably took on some of my parents' views…they virtually put words in my mouth. I didn't get the idea that somebody was lazy by myself. When you are a child, you are not that interested in these kinds of things." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 3:14)

With the practice of narrowing social contacts to members of an equivalent social class, the Salihovićs enacted agency in raising their own status.

Furthermore, the results have brought about that many Roma conduct economic migrations from the Balkans to Western receiving societies. The agency of migrants to engage in such practices is impacted by a variety of factors, as for instance the experiential knowledge of local unemployment rates in Surdulica. Judika and Boyko Salihović report on the discriminating circumstances prevalent in Serbia, comparing the racism of the Serbs towards Roma to that Nazis demonstrated to the Jews in Germany during the Holocaust. Accordingly, simple things such as searching for employment become distressful.

> "There's no work…everything is expensive…Just like Germany [during the Nazi rule]. Or like it was for blacks or something like that in America back in the days. Now it's not good at all." (Boyko Salihović, personal communication, 9:11, 9:15)

In the case of the Salihovićs, the desire to escape from the dynamics of discrimination (i.e. in the labor market and additional spheres of life), was greater than the love for their Serbian homeland. In part, this desire generated the agency of the family to migrate to Germany.

In addition, the factor of discourse comes into play with regard to the agency of Roma to perform economic migrations. A discourse related to the success stories of the gastarbeiter, who had decided to move to Germany and help to rebuild the country during the sixties and seventies, has spread widely within the Roma community in Surdulica. These gastarbeiter took their chance to benefit from historic spaces (i.e. dimension of space) and opportunities evolving after the Second World War. Based on their economic well-being, Nadin explains

that gastarbeiter enjoy a high esteem in Serbia. In the case, a narrative promotes this discourse regarding the 'good life' in Germany:

> "It was easy to live a better life, also economically. My uncle who had already lived in Germany with his family told us that they had a good life [there]. My maternal grandparents had visited him there and told us that he did well in Germany. He had married a woman whose parents had come to Germany as gastarbeiter. [Also I remember] a Roma boy who had gone to Austria with his family - they were gastarbeiter - and we would always be really happy when he returned to Serbia for the summer holidays. His family held quite a high esteem in town - probably because they were gastarbeiter." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 4:49, 4:66)

In the case, intermingling spaces of knowledge between the Salihovićs and their gastarbeiter family members bring about agency to conduct the social practice of performing economic migrations. Despite geographic separation (i.e. Serbia and Germany) boundaries are blurry and actors engage in the exchange of experiential knowledge. Hence, striving to create a fluid analysis, emphasis is put on the understanding that agency is a concept building on a multiplicity of levels of knowledge and blurring.

Continuing with the factor of spaces and historical developments, a closer look will be taken at the influence of the collapse of the Soviet Union on Roma migration patterns in 1991. New conditions of space, as for instance visa-free tourist travel for inhabitants of the new member states, have enhanced intra-EU mobility – or making a reference to Collier and Ong (2005), promoted migration flows. Nadin notes nobody cared to check their IDs upon entering Germany by coach at the time. Consequently, the family was in the position to enact agency and migrate to Germany.

Until now, the author has mainly focused on highlighting how agency promotes action and social practices, facilitating agency in this sense. Striving to render ontological reality, it is necessary to equally depict effects of restraining agency. Over time, the collapse of the Soviet Union has induced growing anxiety of East-West floods. Since the mid-1990s, German newspapers report about the expected 'gypsy-treks', as well as the massive, partly-organized rejection of the German population against Roma (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2002). In fact, a discourse regarding the fear of welfare scroungers has rooted within the German populist population (Spiegel Online, 2014). Responding to such solicitudes, European states enacted restrictions regarding the provision of work and residence permits to migrants from the Balkans. As it can be seen from the case of the Salihovićs, these restrictions have hampered their process of integration in Germany. Until Nadin got married in 1999, she was not allowed to accumulate an income for herself and reap the fruit of her family's economic migration.

However, legal barriers do not keep people from migrating. The results show that Roma migrants have developed agency to increase their chances of obtaining residence permits, by

means of leveraging their personal vulnerability – the fourth social practice deriving from the narrative. As the literature review has brought about, Roma identities are often associated with vulnerability. Striving to take advantage of this state, Roma have learned to play that card and emphasize that their vulnerability puts them in a space, in which support of public authorities (e.g. regarding asylum) is essential and inevitable. In fact, the narrative exhibits that Roma utilize their experiential knowledge regarding their own vulnerability, in order to associate (new) material positions.

Among Roma it is common to exchange migration strategies and related information. Actors blend spaces of migration knowledge for the purpose of appropriating benefits deriving from higher quality of asylum homes and residence permits. Respective strategies can take on different forms and depend on the access of people to knowledge and individual understandings of space(s). Travelling to Germany by coach, the parents of Nadin strategized with other Roma about potential explanations for personal insecurity in Serbia. As the narrative illustrates, the group collectively agreed to tell a story the German public authorities that increased its chances of receiving residence permits. Hence, by means of explaining that the scars of Tatjana Salihović were war wounds, rather than "harmless" burnings caused from negligence in the domestic environment, the migrant group actively pursued to enact agency in leveraging its personal vulnerability.

> "Do you think your parents knew that they had a better chance to be allowed to stay in Germany, if they said they were persecuted politically?" (Marjorie Jochims, personal communication, 4:50)

> "Yes [laughing]…we were even told what to say exactly." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 4:50)

Realizing that economic motives would not satisfy the requirements of the public authorities in Germany to grant asylum, the Roma migrants demonstrated agentic capacity by means of constructing an understanding of space regarding the emerging civil commotions of the Kosovo conflict (i.e. motives of political persecution). This illustration of agency begs the question of how authorities determine in which cases granting of asylum is eligible and in which it is not. It seems impossible to formulate an all-embracing policy that satisfies the heterogeneity of development situations; rather, the empirical data justifies the assumption that agency is a concept building on blurredness and fluidity.

Moreover, community cohesion and solidarity can be considered essential cultural dynamics of space in composing a migrant's agency to leverage personal vulnerability. Striving to understand which dynamics promote Roma community cohesion, one needs to take a closer look at the history and culture of space. Historical developments, such as several distinct exoduses to receiving societies, have led to the fact that, today, the ethnos lacks a nation-state territory. As a result, Romani people promote the significance of community cohesion – a cross-border nation-state in this sense that cannot be reduced to a specific location.

Access to such social networks and community structures is perceived as absolutely essential; if one cannot fall back on nation-state structures, ethnic allies remain at the very least. Loose organizational structures serve to govern Roma networks and are based on wider family systems (i.e. clans and bands of up to a few hundred members). Reflecting the significance of the in-place system of cultural kinship, the Romani language contains a word for 'community family'. Following this understanding, the community is regarded as one's family and supported as such.

This understanding has rooted in the memory of Romani migrants, enabling them to intentionally distribute significant information (e.g. migration strategies) via a sound social network. In fact, the case exhibits that social networks play a decisive role in the enactment of agency of Roma migrants. Nadin describes to what extent other Roma and family have been a support during the first weeks in Germany.

> "I wasn't scared. My uncle was here and he spoke German. And there also were other Roma to help us. You know, one Roma always helps the other - that's how it is!" (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 4:62)

Knowing that one can depend on cultural systems of community cohesion, Roma organize and plan their social practices accordingly. The Salihovićs were aware that the brother of Judika would come and pick up the entire family in Mannheim.

> "With Roma you don't have to make an appointment like 'Yes, I'll be there soon'! Yes, of course you'll be there soon!' Like my brother yesterday…I said I want to go to Hamburg and he said 'Yes, of course you go to Hamburg'. And then you come…just happy and good." (Judika Salihović, personal communication, 9:30)

The case outlines that social networks replace the necessity to organize accommodation upon arrival in Germany. Hence, utilizing the support of family, the Salihovićs are able to associate spaces (e.g. a warm bed at the house of Judika's brother) that facilitate their reception process in Germany. This understanding is in line with the writings of Kuo and Tsai (1986), highlighting the significance of social networks related to reception processes in the receiving society.

In addition to the above-described facilitating type of agency related to community cohesion and social networks, an example can be listed with regard to refraining agency. Commonly, young Roma leave important decisions (e.g. regarding marriage) to family patriarchs in respect of the elderly. When making the decision of involving youth welfare authorities and moving away from her parents, Nadin consciously chooses to act against cultural principles of behavior and thereby violates codes of purity. Indeed, her behavior and goals are considered impure according to Roma beliefs. In general, involvement with 'gajo' is not encouraged, but particularly involvement with male 'gajo' (i.e. Nadin holding hands with her boyfriend) is not accepted in Roma societies. As explicated in the literature review, purity codes promote community cohesion and reinforce the boundaries with the 'gajo'; vice versa,

impurity breaks the intercommunity-balance practiced and internalized over many years (USAID, 2007). Thus, Nadin was impacted by restraining agency to some extent, when making the decision to engage with the 'gajo' of the Quäker Häuser and associate spaces that require the crossing of prohibited boundaries according to Romani cultural principles. Years later, Nadin would still be experiencing anxiety attacks resulting from this restraining agency, i.e. the fear associated with breaking cultural norms of community cohesion and losing her family.

In line with this understanding, the case selection process has brought about that Roma pursue to maintain intercommunity balance by means of avoiding engagement with 'gajo'. When asking for the possibility to conduct a short interview with the Landesverein der Sinti in Hamburg e.V., the secretary instantly clarified that it was not perceived necessary to support the research – the research of a 'gajo' in this case. The space of the secretary was impacted by historical dynamics regarding the Nazi rule and the research conducted by the biologist of Hitler during that time. In honor of the Roma ancestors, who had lost their lives during the Holocaust, the secretary enacted agency and refused to cooperate. As a result, it can be stated that boundaries between the spaces of the secretary and the researcher were too strong to be overcome in this case.

Continuing a discussion of agency, the social practice of registering in Northern Germany may be examined. Besides exchanging strategies of leveraging vulnerability, Roma migrants teach one another about the fact that registration in Northern Germany can make for higher qualities of asylum homes, as well as increased chances of obtaining a residence permit.

In 1991, the family of Nadin was aware of the high per capita numbers of asylum seekers in Southern Germany, resulting from the collapse of the Soviet Union. Insider knowledge (i.e. experiential knowledge) of migrants, who had already dealt with German asylum application procedures, impacted the Salihovićs in their choice to register in Northern Germany. Apparently, Roma perceived registration facilities in Hamburg to be less overcrowded as the facilities in Bavaria or Baden-Württemberg.

> "In Hamburg we first applied for asylum. The other Roma in Heidelberg had warned us not to apply for asylum there, saying that authorities would put one into asylum homes right away. People deliberate options all the time. Where is it better? Where is it worse? Where can you find the best conditions?" (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 4:53)

> "And Hamburg appeared to be a good choice? Or was it the best choice considering the two areas were you guys had family?" (Marjorie Jochims, personal communication, 4:56)

> "Yes, like that. Family was an important support – our leg to stand on basically! And we also thought that the chances to be deported would be slimmer in Hamburg or

Lower Saxony, than in Southern Germany." Lower Saxony is a bit quieter. (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 4:56-57)

As it can be seen, in the case, social networks make for the intermingling of spaces of experiential knowledge. This exchange of knowledge in turn enables the Salihovićs to enact agency and register in Northern Germany.

Finally, a few notes can be made regarding the notions of memory and intentionality. Roma remember that agency can derive from the experiential knowledge of their compatriots living in Germany. Hence, migrants intentionally strive to create access to such spaces of knowledge exchange. Subsequently, social practices will be adapted, as based on the advice that other Roma provide, in order to occupy (new) material positions (e.g. granting of asylum).

The narrative outlined that migrants often choose to conceal their Roma origin. Instead of revealing ethnic roots, many Roma prefer to indicate origin from specific countries such as Serbia, Macedonia or Romania. The secondary data as presented in the state of the art section supports these findings, exhibiting a prevailing ambiguity regarding Roma identity. In line with these findings, the case has brought about that the Salihovićs registered as Serbs, rather than Roma, upon their arrival in Germany. Besides the family of Nadin, other migrant families applying this social practice were mentioned in the narrative. Which dynamics influence Roma to enact agency and hide their origin?

Firstly, historical dynamics of space play a decisive role in determining the agency of Roma migrants to conceal their ethnic origin. Being portrayed as socially-alien persons and exposed to persecution and genocide during the Nazi regime, Roma migrants consider the history of space, when developing migration strategies.

> "No, you know how it goes…we talked to other Roma about that and they warned us. We were not sure if there were still Nazis in the village. In the end they treat you bad because you are Roma." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 7:13)

> "Ok, so that was a conscious decision, not to say that you are Roma?" (Marjorie Jochims, personal communication, 7:13)

> "Yes, it was." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 7:13)

Secondly, Roma agency to decrease impacts of discrimination is restrained in the Balkans, due to the fact that e.g. Serbs recognize Roma instantly, based on their physical appearance. Typically, Germans are not capable of identifying Romani people by their looks, which alters agency with the process of migration. In Germany, Roma have the opportunity to associate spaces free of prejudice against the Romani ethnos, by means of concealing their origin. Nonetheless, Roma origin may be disclosed unwillingly from time to time, as it was mentioned in the paper of the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia

(2005). In the described case, a German landlord refuses to accept a Romani family on the basis of their ethnicity. As it can be seen, the discourse regarding Roma being lazy and dirty has spread in Germany just like it did in Serbia. Secondary data exhibits that Roma are associated almost exclusively with topics related to criminality (60%) and conflicts (37%) in the local press (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2002). This discourse promotes Roma migrants in their pursuit to actively shape their own process of migration by means of concealing their ethnic origin.

However, the understanding of a Roma migrant of social reality in the host society may change over time. Striving to increase her access to the prevailing, degrading discourse regarding German Roma, Nadin decided to work against stigmatizations and prejudices by means of disclosing her ethnic origin and telling her story about the found wallet (p. 74). Over time, Nadin realized that she herself can enact agency deriving from her self-confident and extroverted character. In the narrative, it is mentioned that Nadin takes advantage of her Roma origin, when applying for a scholarship and declaring that she applies for an entire city of Roma students, who will never be presented with the opportunities she is facing. Nadin has learned to identify and occupy spaces, in which the disclosure of her Roma origin is lucrative. Her understanding of space has altered and as a result, her capacity to act has changed as well. Sabine Blume explains that the character and self-determined behavior of Nadin makes her want to support the Roma girl.

> "You were also conducive to your own situation...somehow changing the neediness into something valuable. You did not suck people dry like they say, only stating you wanna have, have, have. You also gave something in return - your fight…your fight to contribute something yourself and to constitute change for you and your compatriots so to speak!" (Sabine Blume, personal communication, 10:26)

Nadin herself created access to a space by means of expressing her determination to support her compatriots. Thus, she succeeded in making her well-being the interest of others, i.e. establishing solid social relationships.

Another example of Roma openly communicating their ethnic origin can be associated with those Roma, who have lived in the Federal Republic for many generations and managed to represent their interests in organizations such as the Zentralrat der deutschen Sinti und Roma e.V. Agency of these Roma to conceal their origin changed with the association of Roma into self-organizing representatives – an active contribution to their own development. Thereby, Roma have created access to political spaces and promoted the recognition of the ethnos as a minority in the Northern German federal state of Schleswig-Holstein.

All in all, it can be concluded that Roma migrants have learned to conceal their origin, aiming to decrease impacts of discrimination and increase chances of finding employment or accommodation. Likewise, Roma that have lived in Germany for many generations

intentionally promote their ethnic roots to derive benefits, as for instance resulting from the status of being an ethnic minority.

The next social practice deriving from the case is associated with Roma migrants tackling language barriers. Language skills are an essential asset in the 'migrant backpack'. They put the migrant in the position to respond to official paper work and enable one to get in contact with neighbors and locals, i.e. to establish a social network in the receiving society.

> "I escaped isolation with the help of the German language." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 7:12)

As the case exhibits, Nadin realized early on that mastering the German language would enable her to associate essential spaces of integration in Germany. As a result, it can be argued that tackling the language in the host society enables a migrant to trigger a process of osmosis between spaces of isolation and integration.

This knowledge was also applicable for her parents. In the beginning, Judika and Boyko followed requested a translator from the authorities. The Salihovićs did not have access to spaces of public authorities providing the family with a translator or a language course. In general, asylum-seekers are eligible to receive what they need for their day-to-day life only (BAMF[4], 2014), integration courses (i.e. including a language course) were offered to migrants with a residence permit (i.e. limited or unlimited) exclusively. Hence, as their request was rejected, it was about time to make a change of plans and look for support at an alternative source. Striving to counter these challenges of agency, the Salihovićs made use of their daughter's relationship with the Behring family. As it has been mentioned in the narrative, Helga Behring did not have grandchildren herself and came to take on the role of a kind of substitute grandmother for the Salihović girls over time.

In addition, a reference shall be made to Nadin's life history. Nadin had a special relationship with her grandmother due to the fact that she was the first born girl and got to carry on the name of her passed aunt Ramanee. Nadin describes reflecting that relationship on the one she developed with Helga, thereby fortifying a trustful connection between the two.

> "Grandmas like me…[smiling] I am the grandma-type…they are crazy about me [laughing]! And she [Helga] also kind of reminded me of my grandma." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 7:4)

Finally, these dynamics of relationships created the basis for the brokered deal: Judika and Boyko agreed to help with the harvest and in return, the Behrings would support them with official German paper work. Eventually, the Behrings started to feel responsible for the well-being of Nadin and her family. Consequently, it can be argued that the social network established between the Salihovićs and the Behrings, in combination with the personality of Nadin (i.e. being the 'grand-ma type'), enabled the Roma migrants to enact agency and associate spaces, in which language barriers could be tackled.

Completing a discussion of agency with regard to the social practices as identified in the case, the last social practice of Roma migrants marrying German citizens comes into play. In the Federal Republic, legal regulations regarding the admission of residence permits are built on the understanding that married couples shall not be separated geographically and that foreign spouses receive the permission to remain on German grounds over time. Hence, as it was applicable for Nadin, marriage may ultimately lead to the admission of a settlement permit.

Nadin explains that her desire to stay and Germany and counteract the fear of deportation has been a significant determinant in her decision to get married. Having exploited various strategies of vulnerability during the previous years, she did not have access to any new knowledge, or that is to say space(s), which would have enabled her to reapply for a residence permit in 1999.

> "What was the reason for it to get rejected again and again?" (Marjorie Jochims, personal communication, 8:13)

> "I would say that I had run out of cards to play. I wasn't persecuted politically or anything like that." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 7:9)

Nadin indicates that going back to Serbia was unthinkable and thus, she felt pressure to consider the option of marriage. Naturally, she had always dreamed to marry the man she loves. That was the case with regard to Thomas. Only the dynamics of space had been restraining her from doing so – after all, who wants to marry under pressure? Besides the fear of deportation, she felt too young to marry. Living in Germany she had learned that the majority of the Germans does not marry before their late-twenties or mid-thirties. Hence, her experiential knowledge constituted boundaries of space that conflicted with the space(s) of wanting to receive a residence permit. As it can be seen from the empirical data, the agency of Nadin to engage in the social practice of marrying a German citizen is complex and multilayered.

In addition, her husband Thomas comes into play as a second actor. The two of them had been together for over three years when they got married. By their own admission, they were very much in love at the time. Thomas grew up in a broken home, with his father abusing his wife and son and his mother suffering from an alcohol addiction. Nadin describes that his childhood experiences led to Thomas wanting to establish a sound family environment for himself. Hence, experiential knowledge impacted the agency of Thomas to get married.

Moreover, the case shows that both of them suffered from the status of Nadin, as they had to ask for permission for minor issues, such as making a day-trip to Hamburg. Thomas had been catching the tears of his girlfriend for many years and he started to feel the need for change.

"So you and Thomas realized 'Either I gotta go, or we have to come up with a plan B'?" (Marjorie Jochims, personal communication, 8:15)

"Yes, especially as we had already lived together. I still had my own flat, but we were together all the time anyways. At one point I just moved in completely. At that time I didn't get financial support from the authorities, only some kind of food stamps. Thomas realized how sad all of that made me, and it bothered us in our life together as well. Thomas really felt the consequences of me never knowing, if I would get deported, or not. Hence, he experienced the direct disadvantages himself: We could never go on a holiday together, or even only drive to Hamburg without filling in some kind of a form. We did that anyways of course, but there always was some pressure on us when doing so. I guess he felt that it was a burden for him as well." (Nadin Salihović, personal communication, 8:15)

This quotation emphasizes the significance of experiential knowledge, while pointing out the direct disadvantages of Nadin and Thomas. Sharing the painful experience of fearing deportation, the couple came to pursue the association of the same space(s), i.e. getting married.

Finally, social networks can impact the agency of a migrant to engage in the social practice of marrying a German citizen. To give an example, the attorney Mr. Hullerum can be mentioned. Over time, both of them have developed a relationship, making Mr. Hullerum feel the need to support Nadin to the best of his knowledge. Being an attorney, Mr. Hullerum had access to legal spaces that the Roma girl was not familiar with. In fact, he advised her off the record to consider the strategy of marrying a German citizen. The association of this space of knowledge enabled Nadin to ultimately resolve the issue of residence.

### SRQ2.2: Which (new) material positions do Roma migrants strive to occupy by engaging in these social practices?

The previous sub-research question has brought about an analysis of the various factors impacting Roma migrants to enact agency and engage in particular social practices. In the conceptual framework, this analysis would be referring to the spheres X (i.e. agency) and Z (i.e. social practices). Hence, in order to satisfy the research objective and align the theoretical underpinning with the empirical data, a final analysis will be attributed to sphere Y – occupied material and new material positions. Following the notions of Coole & Frost (2010), this paper is based on the understanding that migrants strive to gain access to tangible (i.e. material) and intangible (new material) phenomena. In fact, declaring that solely tangible phenomena are embedded in networks of power is perceived to be naively representational or naturalistic. In the analysis, these phenomena will be referred to as positions in a social world. Each social practice, as mentioned in the previous section, can be associated with one particular – if not multiple – (new) material position(s). Consequently,

this sub-research question will discuss a total of nine cases of occupations of (new) material positions.

The first analysis took a closer look at what factors impact the migrants to engage in the social practice of protecting family honor. But the question remains, what do migrants ultimately expect to gain by means of carrying out related activities? In the social world of the Salihovićs, people attribute statuses and degrees of honor to one another based on behavior and protection of cultural as well as economic dynamics. Hence, by means of refusing one's daughter to have a boyfriend and fulfilling codes of purity regarding housekeeping, Boyko Salihović pursued to occupy a new and intangible material position in his social world. In this case, 'status' can be considered the new materiality. Acknowledging that materiality materializes, this case-study strives to evince modes of self-transformation that provide access to think of causation in far more complex terms. In Surdulica, Roma marry according to status. As it has been outlined in the narrative of the life history of the case, the cousin of Nadin was not allowed to marry a girl originating from a family with a low social status. Thus, occupation of the new material position of 'status' may enable Roma to marry off their daughters and gain access to other tangible materialities such as 'wealth' (i.e. the dowry of the bride). In this sense, synergy effects may be associated with materialization.

Secondly, Roma consciously choose their address as impacted by financial means. People move up the mountain with rising salaries to approximate the center of the town. For once, property itself can be considered a material position. However, the ultimate objective in this case is the same as for former social practice – Roma strive to enhance their statuses and increase proximity to power (i.e. new materialities). In addition, with a geographical approximation to the city, better job opportunities may be brokered, by means of opening the door to a number of material positions related to occupation and financial means.

Thirdly, it has been stated that Roma perform economic migrations, in order to live the 'better life' in Western Europe. In this regard, the better life can be defined as having access to a number of material positions in the social world, such as employment, welfare support and access to education. The brother of Judika Salihović for instance occupies a respective material position in the German social and economic world that other Roma migrants pursue. He reports having a solid income and his children get to go to school.

It has been outlined that Roma migrants exploit and exchange strategies to leverage their personal vulnerability. Naturally, it is essential to have access to a certain kind social network, in order to "be in the (new) material position" to exchange such intangible strategies. Thus, social networks may be considered intangible materialities and shall be recognized with regard to making implications for sociology. In the long run, one strives to obtain a residence permit and finally a settlement permit. These permits may be considered tangible materialities, as migrants can hold them in their hands in the form of papers.

By means of registering in Northern Germany Roma migrants strive to increase proximity to power (i.e. new materiality) – that is to gain access to networks of political power presenting lower thresholds and entrance barriers, than those in Southern Germany. As it was the case for the previous social practice, proximity to power may be considered the new materiality functioning as a gatekeeper for the tangible material position of a residence status – written out on a paper and cast in stone as they say.

The most significant materiality with regard to the social practice of supporting other Roma and family is associated with family ties (e.g. the brothers of Judika Salihović) and social networks. Having access to a wide-spread and sound social network – occupying a respective new material position in the social world – Roma may derive benefits for themselves, as for instance regarding the knowledge of migration strategies or the quality of asylum homes. The latter can be considered a tangible materiality, i.e. quality of accommodation and rations.

Having suffered from effects of ethnic discrimination (i.e. in Serbia and Germany) and the genocide during the German Holocaust, Roma tend to conceal their ethnic origin. In this regard, Judika Salihović vents her displeasure describing how Roma are treated at the doctor's office in Surdulica. On the one hand, Roma apply this strategy to escape classifications as thieves and lazy freeloaders. This is expected to result in a higher degree of 'belonging' in the German society – an intangible materiality in this sense. In addition, it can be understood as a measure to flee from Nazis, who are expected to still be hiding in German villages. Finally, 'belonging' may promote access to employment and social welfare benefits, which can be described as tangible materialities.

It is perceived to be essential to master the German language, for the purpose of filling in official paperwork and applying for the residence permits (i.e. tangible materialities), as well as to establish social relationships in the neighborhood (i.e. intangible materiality). The Salihovićs soon invested in establishing a relationship with the Behrings, upon their arrival in Germany. Besides advantages regarding language skills, the Behrings supported the Salihovićs by means of providing a transport service (i.e. tangible materiality) to go and buy groceries in the neighboring town.

Finally, the last social practice of marrying a Germany citizen may be analyzed based on the occupation of varied material positions in the social world. Roma migrants that do not possess a residence or settlement permit suffer from constant fear of deportation. Nadin describes being so tired and frustrated from this feeling after all these years that she very much longed for security (i.e. new material position). One strategy to counteract the fear of deportation is to marry a German citizen and thus receive a residence permit (i.e. tangible materiality). Besides deportation, material benefits as for instance welfare support and the right to work may be derived from the engagement in this social practice. Nadin had never been allowed to work or commence an apprenticeship. With her wedding she was allowed to start the schooling to become an educator after all. Thereby, she approximated the

material position of economic stability. In general, the process of seizing German economic and social standards can be understood as accessing the new materiality of democracy. Finally, reference can be made to Roma culture regarding the desire of the parents of Nadin to marry off their daughter and comply with codes of purity. Again, this can be interpreted as a pursuit of occupying new material positions of spirituality and status.

## SRF3: Implications for the ontology of agency and (new) materialities

### SRQ3.1: Which implications for agency can be formulated based on the results?

The narrative of the life history and subsequent analysis of social practices has brought about a number of implications for agency and the (new) materialities. First of all, in line with the theoretical underpinning of McGee (2004) and Miller and Rose (2010), the empirical data shows that agency is composed of a total of four factors: actors, knowledge, discourse and spaces. These findings are very much in line with the conceptual framework.

The factor actor refers to all the various people, institutions or entities involved in enabling a person to act. Actors may impact human agency in a supporting or restraining manner. Actors in the case are Nadin, Thomas, Judika and Boyko Salihović, the Behrings, Sabine Blume, other Roma, the youth welfare department in Uelzen, the managing director of the Quäker Häuser and many more, who were active entities in the career-line of Nadin.

The second factor is knowledge. Two types of knowledge can be derived from the results, being official knowledge (e.g. UNDP statistical knowledge regarding matters of Roma vulnerability and discrimination in the Balkans) and experiential knowledge (e.g. discrimination of Roma in the Serbian labor market and in their interactions in Germany). In general, differing knowledge may lead to variations in the implemented social practices. That was the case for Nadin and her parents, when disputing the issue of virginity. Nadin had taken on the knowledge of the German majority society and her parents pursued to comply with Roma cultural values. Therefore individual knowledge impacted agency in varied ways within people belonging to the same ethnic group.

A third factor has been mentioned being discourse. A discourse can be understood as a wider set of values and is rooted in societies (McGee, 2004), i.e. in a societal sense of collective verbal expression. With the collapse of the Soviet-Union the media discourse has induced growing anxiety among Germans and other Western European citizens regarding East-West floods of immigrants. In this case, discourse has had its impact on the success of for instance the social practice of economic migration. Furthermore, community narratives can be part of a political discourse and promote it, if they describe specific stories that are in line with the respective broader set of values. The Salihovićs decided to narrate the story behind the scars of their daughter as based on the dangers of war, rather than on the dangers of the household. In fact, one strived to promote the discourse that remaining in Serbia and the Kosovo was a threat for Roma with regard to political persecution. Hence,

higher chances to receive a residence permit were expected to result from exploiting vulnerability.

Finally, the last factor spaces can be mentioned with regard to agency. As it has been stated in the literature review, spaces provide "a useful lens through which to view the everyday politics and practices of actors who are engaged in […] [social practices], and to examine how their power to act is enabled" (McGee, 2004, p. 15). The gathered results in this study are in line with the understanding of McGee that spaces build on the dimensions of history (e.g. regarding the Kosovo war), access (e.g. regarding residence permits), dynamics (e.g. regarding codes of purity) and learning (e.g. regarding changing cultural values; from Roma to German). In the model of McGee (2004), a fifth dimension of spaces is integrated, i.e. mechanics. According to McGee mechanics are the physical context of a space, as reflected in an actor's behaviors and practices. The dimension of mechanics was taken out of the model and 'replaced' in the form of social practices (i.e. sphere Y) in the conceptual framework (Fig. 4). This choice was made, in order to emphasize the role of social practices in occupying (new) material positions in a social world. In fact, the researcher pursued to examine mechanics with a magnifying glass in the context of development situations, which enabled one to take a closer view on social practices.

Moving on from a discussion regarding the factors of agency, we shall continue taking a closer look at the complexity of its composition. The empirical data has indicated that spaces of agency are often intermingled. For instance the social practice of marrying a German citizen (i.e. the ninth social practice) is connected to the pursuit of protecting family honor (i.e. the first social practice). As it has been explained above, social practices make part of the notion of space. Both social practices are impacted by e.g. codes of purity and a plethora of additional dimensions of space. Following the understanding of Arce and Umans (2014), the relations between the various spaces in this example dissolve in a flow. Hence, agency is multidimensional and impacted by fluidity. This results in a constant construction of new positions, which are not hierarchical and static forever. This conclusion promotes a position that critically assesses the work of Bourdieu and his notion of positions to explain action as a social field. The same construct can be applied to the notion of actors. It has to be recognized that identifying all actors involved in the process of engaging in a social practice is a task that solely can be approximated (e.g. determination of granting asylum) – by means of following and analyzing the actors' interactions and their construction and maintenance of networks. This is ultimately blurring the analysis in terms of the hierarchical positions that apparently delimitate a particular field of action. In a nutshell it should be recognized that a multitude of factors (e.g. spaces) constitutes the multidimensional and fluid concept of agency. This conceptualization of agency brings about the dissolution of existing hierarchal spaces that used to justify the existence of hierarchal structures in society. Therefore, an all-embracing picture of this concept of agency will always have to integrate the notion of blurredness, but also the dissolution of the hierarchical positions that results with the act of actors' actions of associations, i.e. the establishment of networks.

Finally, aiming to increase tangibility of the concept of agency, this case study utilizes the metaphor of the DNA. DNA is known to be the genetic material determining the makeup of all living cells and many viruses. Two molecule strands consisting of a total of four different nucleobases (i.e. guanine [G], adenine [A], thymine [T] and cytosine [C]), sugars and phosphates are coiled around each other and form the so-called double helix of the typical DNA molecule. Agency can be understood as the genetic material determining the makeup of matter, i.e. the ontology of development situations. In the same way that DNA consists of a total of four nucleobases, agency is composed of four different factors (i.e. actors [A], knowledge [K], discourse [D] and spaces [S]). In addition, instead of sugars and phosphates, fluidity and blurredness function as the supporting backbone of the concept that constitutes the orientation of actors to build networks, as part of their actions and the performing of everyday practices. The multidimensionality of the concept is approached with regard to the double helix figuration; nonetheless, it deserves to be further converted into a helix composed of an infinite number of strands based on the empirical results of actors' multitude of experiences and situations. Through overlapping, struggles and assemblages, we can perhaps place actors in a course through the vitality world of belonging to ethnic-groups and state-national ontologically-coded as the legal or illegal status of migrants, into a perspective that already takes into account an actor's search for social relations and identity, when receiving the 'sociality' of the host. This understanding is based on the impression that actors have to challenge and dissolve through associations of modern domains, establishing in this process their right to be citizens. Thus, Figure 16 aims at depicting this understanding of agency composition in a visual manner, while recognizing that a double helix can only be understood as an approximation of rendering reality.
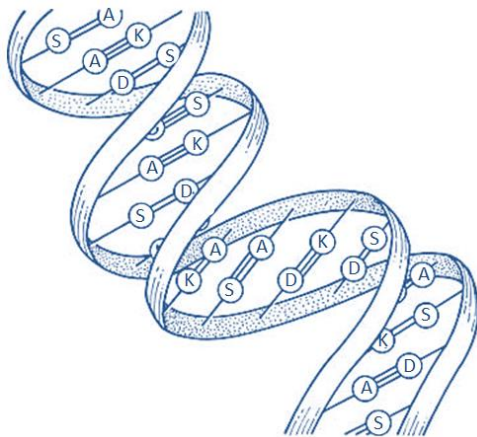


Fig. 16: Composition of agency

Besides discussing the composition of agency, implications can be made with regard to types of agency. The empirical data has brought about that agency may be restraining or facilitating. On the one hand, restraining agency hampers an actor in his or her capacity to act. An example has been mentioned regarding Nadin feeling anxiety to break with her cultural values. In fact, her agency to detach herself from her parents was restraint by Roma principles and norms of kinship. On the other hand, facilitating agency fosters an actor in his

or her capacity to act and make associations of domains previously separated hierarchically. In this regard, the case outlined that the lack of a Roma nation-state reinforces ethnic cohesion. Nonetheless, agency may change over time from facilitating to restraining and vice versa. Nadin for instance has spent a lot of time at her friends' houses and therefore adapted German values of freedom and independence. While her Roma values would restrain her to detach herself from her parents in the first place, changing dynamics led to her agency becoming the facilitating type in the end. Consequently, it can be stated that actors may present changing capacities to act over time.

This line of thought introduces a final discussion of the two main concepts in this study: memory and intentionality. The first concept of memory can be defined as "the mental faculty of retaining and recalling past experience" (TheFreeDictionary.com, 2014). With regard to such experiences personal accounts play as decisive a role, as do narratives people echo and the social environment they act in. The results have exhibited that Roma migrants establish their memory over time, as based on the four factors of agency (i.e. actors, knowledge, discourse and spaces). One example mentioned is that Roma remember the stories of the gastarbeiter living the good life in Germany (p. 59). In this regard, for example experience reports of family members or acquaintances have nurtured the mental 'hard drive', i.e. representations of the new generation of Romani. Furthermore, based on personal memory, Roma migrants may or have developed an intentionality to engage in a certain social practice and ultimately occupy (new) material positions. According to TheFreeDictionary.com² (2014), intentionality is "the property of being about or directed toward a subject […]". Reusing the example of the 'the good life in Germany', it can stated that Roma migrants develop the intention to follow suit and derive comparable economic benefits for themselves, as their family members and acquaintances did. Trying to make this concept more tangible, the metaphor of the compass may be utilized. The memory of a Roma migrant can be considered the foundation stone of the compass, its magnet. The magnet enables the compass needle (i.e. intentionality) to function and guides its user towards occupation of (new) material positions.

Finally, a few implications can be made regarding the issue of vulnerability as introduced in the literature review. Often, Roma migrants are being portrayed as the victims of development. The research paper 'At Risk: Roma and the Displaced in Southeast Europe' as published by the UNDP in 2006 can be considered an example of this discourse. Bauman (2004) goes as far as to degrade people as human waste and declares that "our planet is full" (p. 4) with regard to policies and languages emanating from sociological and political spheres. Following his understanding, the poor have no access to democracy and have to be considered the victims of development. Contrasting such views, this case study has brought about new empirical data supporting the assumption that humans have agency and capacity to act to establish their own positions, although, not always under circumstances that they can totally control.

Agency is a capacity and ability that is not one-sided and it does not enable an actor to engage in whatever social practice he or she desires; nonetheless, its very existence cannot be denied either. Hence, in line with the theory of Arce and Long (2000), poor people are considered active participants in their own development. This should be acknowledged as part of the understanding of social change as a social field of transformation.

*SRQ3.2: Which implications can be made for materialities and new materialities?*

Having discussed the spheres X (i.e. agency) and Z (i.e. social practices) of the conceptual framework, a few implications can be made for the sphere Y, being that of (new) material positions. For many decades, science and public statistics solely focused on classic developmental factors when referring to such positions, as for example regarding occupation, education or property. That is also the case for the UNDP paper, determining vulnerability of Roma in the Balkans e.g. based on their access to employment, education and welfare benefits. With the emergence of critical social and political concerns (e.g. population flows and climate change) Coole and Frost (2010) declare that it is time to reconfigure an understanding of the nature of matter and introduce the notion of the new materialities. From the very beginning, this case study strived to give new materialities their due in shaping development in line with the thought of Coole and Frost. Therefore a definition of material positions acknowledging the existence of both materialities was introduced in the first chapter as follows: tangible and intangible positions occupied by individual actors in a social world relative to one another. Moving a step further, the analysis of the results has brought about the significance of such a definition. In the case, Roma migrants occupy a multitude of varied material and new material positions through their engagement in social practices. A list of the (new) material positions occupied by actors taking part in this case study has been summarized in table 8.

| Material position | New material position |
|---|---|
| Wealth | Status |
| Property | Power |
| Occupation | Social networks |
| Welfare benefits | Belonging |
| Education | Security |
| Residence permits | Democracy |
| Accommodation | Spirituality |
| Transport service | |

*Tab. 8: Examples of (new) material positions existing in a social world*

In line with the initial expectation of the conceptual framework, the materialities deriving from the empirical data can be distinguished based on their fundamental mode of existence. These modes of existence have been characterized as tangible and intangible. On the one hand, tangible materialities (i.e. material positions) are those materialities that present an actual physical existence and can be assigned a value in monetary terms. These materialities can be seen, smelled, tasted, touched, or stored. Residence permits for example are written

out on paper and can be checked in passports. On the other hand, intangible materialities (i.e. new material positions) lack physical existence and therefore are not corporeal. In fact, if the term immaterialities would not deny the very existence of intangible materialities, it would suit this purpose very well. Social networks as fields of interpersonal ties satisfy this description and thus can be classified as intangible materialities.

Another implication for (new) materialities is that materiality materializes and embeds "agentic capacities" (Coole and Frost, 2010, p. 10). In this sense, matter becomes, rather than that it is. But how does that happen? With the occupation of a specific (new) material position in a social world an actor may find him- or herself having access to other positions, which initially were not within range. For the purpose of further rendering reality regarding a respective development situation, an example from the empirical data can be provided. Based on the case study, it becomes clear that Roma people attach great significance to compliance with codes of purity. An essential objective of this social practice is to occupy the new material position of status. Only with a high status, Roma may marry into wealthy families and thereby secure monetary material positions. Consequently, it may be the case that one (new) material position necessitates the other; or vice versa, that one follows logically from the other in what could be the constitution of networks. Indeed, it can be concluded that materiality holds intrinsic modes of self-transformation and association between domains that before the actions of actors, remained separated.

Moreover, the data has shown that different social practices may bring about the same (new) materialities. In this regard the example of the residence permit can be mentioned. Nadin has described multiple factors and strategies that followed the intention to obtain a residence permit. In the end, the interplay of factors enabled her to stay in Germany and obtain a settlement permit. The conclusion deriving from this observation is that spaces are interrelated and actors may present various forms of agency that ultimately lead to the same consequence (i.e. an occupation of a [new] material position).

Finally, for the purpose of bringing together the implications made for all spheres (X, Z and Y), the relationship between agency, social practices and (new) material positions shall be pointed out. The initial hypothesis was based on the assumption that agency enables actors to engage in social practices, which in turn lead to the occupation of (new) material positions (Fig. 9). The empirical data has brought about prove that the assumption was correct and this can be supported based on scientific grounds. Nevertheless, an addition to the initial hypothesis has to be made with regard to circularity and infinity.

The case study has exhibited that the relationship between the three spheres of X (i.e. agency), Z (i.e. social practices) and Y (i.e. [new] material positions) is an infinite one. The implications as formulated for the (new) materialities highlighted the fact that materiality materializes. The mere fact that one materiality brings out other conditions, a reconsideration of the spheres X and Z is due. How does a newly occupied (new) material position impact the agency of the actors in a social world and hence enable them to perform

additional social practices? How do these new social practices bring about even more (new) material positions?

It seems that the occupation of a new material position and with this the repositioning of their status, the agency of Roma migrants may change regarding their potential to act and marry into a high class family. The new status as outlined earlier can thereafter be considered as the consequence of the engagement in this social practice and their ability to construct networks. This line of thought can be developed further and further. As it can be seen, in this infinite construct of development mechanisms, spaces are interrelated and spheres follow the rhythm of circularity. The infinity of interrelations implicates bringing blurring and fluidity to existing hierarchical spaces – on the micro level within spheres, as well as on the macro level between spheres, spaces are reorganized and reinterpreted by the actors involved in the development process. Figure 17 aims at depicting this ontology (i.e. nature of being) behind development situations.
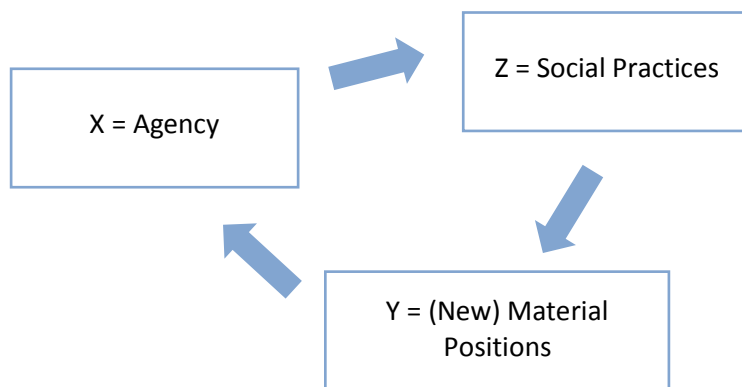


*Fig. 17: Development ontology deriving from the case study*

# Chapter 5: Conclusion

The final chapter aims at summarizing the results in a number of conclusions. Subsequently, the author will continue making recommendations as based on the findings. For the purpose of rounding up the case study, it is decisive to bear in mind the initial main research question. This study pursued to answer the question of how do Roma migrants enact agency in their habitual engagement in social practices, for the ultimate occupation of distinct (new) material positions. A total of three sub-research foci served to explore the problem in more detail. The first sub-research focus (SRF1) dealt with the introduction to the case of the Roma girl Nadin Salihović-Müller. In this regard, the narrative introduces a number of social practices that Roma engage in to derive the most diverse tangible and intangible benefits in the course of their career-line. A total of nine social practices stood out as significant based on the empirical data as follows:

1. Protection of family honor
2. Choice of address
3. Performance of economic migration
4. Leveraging personal vulnerability
5. Registration in Northern Germany
6. Support of other Roma and family
7. Concealment of Roma origin
8. Tackling language barriers
9. Marriage with German citizen

Secondly, the author applied the data of the life history of Nadin to the conceptual framework (SRF2). In fact, one pursued to configure how actors enact agency to engage in these social practices. The first conclusion of this sub-research focus is that the agency of the case actors is impacted by the four factors of actors, knowledge, discourse and spaces. Many actors influencing development situations can be listed. Just to name a few, Nadin, her parents, her sister Tatjana, other Roma, the Behrings, Sabine Blume, German friends and acquaintances, representatives of public organizations, state officials and psychologists had their impact on the case. The task to grasp the entire field of actors involved remains a challenge. As the case study has brought about, a certain degree of blurredness has to be acknowledged, when describing development situations and the association of different spaces. In addition, knowledge of historical facts and personal experiences has to be kept in mind, when determining the capacity of a person to act and build networks. For example the fact that Roma know about the collapse of the Soviet Union, or having increased chances when registering in Northern Germany, can be mentioned as important knowledge in respect of a migrant's capacity to act and establish social networks. Furthermore, the discourse among Western-European citizens related to East-West floods of migrants contributed to the development of a difficult situation on policy level. While such discourse

restrained migrants from coming to Germany, stories about family members living the 'good life' of the gastarbeiter in the Federal Republic facilitated migration. Finally, the fourth aspect of spaces impacting Roma migrants can be divided into the dimensions of history (i.e. Kosovo war), access (i.e. to a case-handler at the initial reception facility), dynamics (i.e. Roma codes of purity) and learning (i.e. evaluating Roma culture versus German culture).

The social practices discussed (SFR2) can be considered a combination of ethnic and cultural principles in a new development situation (e.g. migration). As such they constitute a kind of field that is full of situations, tensions and contradictions. This is in part the outcome of actors encountering positions and spaces in their actions that they have to deal with in everyday life situations. Agency impacts the actors in their pursuit to deal with these situations. It is this complicated fluidity that results from the interface between positions and actors' associating different spaces with the one that generates the networks. Nadin understands that networks form the social ground in her final incorporation, as an outsider to the German civil sphere of citizenship (i.e. legal status to become visible in public life).

In establishing the relation between the empirical data and the conceptual framework, the author came about with theoretical implications for the ontology of agency and (new) materialities (SRF3). As explicated in the previous sub-research foci (SRF1 and SRF2), it can be concluded that the empirical data suits the conceptual framework, being in line with the theory of McGee (2004). A difference can be attributed to the fact that social practices replace the McGee sub-dimension of mechanics in the conceptual framework. This conscious decision was made in order to highlight the significance of the human action in relation to the capacities and abilities of the notion of agency to associate spaces as hierarchical 'domains' in a social world. The significance of dynamics is demonstrated by the construction of networks and actors' occupying (new) material positions. In addition to the four factors, the case study has exhibited how the blurring and fluidity of existing spaces and their conceptual boundaries are important in conceptually recognizing the importance of the notion of human agency. For the purpose of increasing tangibility of the concept of agency, the author utilizes the metaphor of the DNA. In this regard, agency can be regarded as the genetic material determining the makeup of matter. Building on the four factors (i.e. nucleobases) of actors [A], knowledge [K], discourse [D] and spaces [S], as well as fluidity and blurredness (i.e. replacing sugars and phosphates as outlined in the SRF3 section of the study), the double helix of agency can be depicted. Still, it shall be concluded that a double helix is only an approximation to the multi-dimensional concept of agency. Rendering reality an "agency helix" has to be composed of an infinite number of strands.

In general, agency to associate hierarchical spaces can be the restraining or facilitating type. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that agency may change over time, e.g. with changing dynamics of spaces and varied access to knowledge. Such findings inspired the working out of the concepts of memory and intentionality as spheres that deny stability and transform the zones between actors and their material positions into an animated sphere. It is here

where Nadin is enchanted by her achievements of imperceptibly gaining German citizenship, floating out into the space of 'possibilities'. However, she asked what will happen to those, who are nobody's existential concern? Indeed, do all lifestyles that exist ethnically and go their own separate way remain contained in a legal institutional framework of integration? It is clear from the case that there are those actors that are lacking in 'agentic capacity' to associate spaces in their places of origin. But what happens to those Roma, who do not succeed in associating the various spaces significant for e.g. establishing access to a legal German citizenship? So the central issue is how to make policymakers and European citizens consider the case of the Serbian Roma as relevant to the present German policy of minority integration? How can this need of European or else global equality be satisfied?

In summation, it can be stated that actors accumulate a memory over time that enables them to derive intentionality and reflexivity to occupy (new) material positions.

Finally, implications made for the (new) materialities and general ontology can be summed up. Most importantly, the findings indicate that it is time to reconfigure an understanding of the nature of matter and concede the new materialities their due in shaping ontology. By implication new material positions as for instance status, social networks and spirituality, complement the present understanding of materialities, as e.g. wealth, occupation and education. This distinction may be based on fundamental modes of existence, being tangibility (i.e. materialities) versus intangibility (i.e. new materialities). Furthermore, it has been determined that materiality materializes. Accordingly, the occupation of a specific (new) material position may bring about new capacity for an actor to occupy additional (new) material positions. In fact, it can be concluded that materiality presents intrinsic modes of self-transformation and reflexivity. This insight brought about additional implications for a general ontology of diverse groups' interactions. In sum, it can be stated that development situations are based on the search for a circularity of experience that usually is expressed by the need of all actors to belong to the world or being contained as a whole (i.e. network or group) in democratic, civic and free action like an ineradicable purpose or intentionality. Hence, the initial hypothesis was advanced from a finite sequence of three spheres (i.e. sphere X → sphere Z → sphere Y; Fig. 9) to an infinite circle of mutually dependent spheres (Fig. 17) based on the empirical data.

## Recommendations

In the end, on the basis of the above presented results and discussions, a number of recommendations deriving from the case study can be made:

- ➢ It is recommended that additional research on cases of Roma migrants will be conducted, aiming to gain increased confidence in the findings on Romani people. In this regard it is significant to focus on cases that represent the criteria of case selection.

➢ Moreover, it is suggested to apply the brought about ontological theory to further spheres of development. Instead of cases of Roma migrants, one could for instance focus on Turkish migrants; or a step further, on any possible case of an actor developing capacity to act to occupy (new) material positions. Thus, a case could involve discussion of how Mexican street children accumulate an income in their respective social world.

➢ With regard to methodology, it is recommended to investigate the efficacy of additional research methods as for example observation. Based on the fact that the level of observer interference is decreased, as e.g. compared to common interview techniques, impacts of reflexivity may be reduced.

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# Appendices

## Appendix 1: Informal interview guides

**Informal interview 1: Introduction**
- ➢ Personal information: name, introduction
- ➢ Family: members, names, values
- ➢ Summary of life-history

**Informal interview 2: Childhood in Serbia**
- ➢ House: description, furniture, garden, property
- ➢ City: name, location, neighborhood, infrastructure
- ➢ Leisure activities: sports, games, hobbies
- ➢ School: performance, significance, teacher-student relationships, trips
- ➢ Life as a Roma: description, experiences, stories, memories
- ➢ Roma community: principles, dynamics, values
- ➢ Roma life in Serbia: discrimination, feelings, employment
- ➢ Music
- ➢ Clothing
- ➢ Jewelry

**Informal interview 3: Migration to Germany**
- ➢ Reasons for migration
- ➢ Process of migration
- ➢ Organization: preparation, involvement of family members
- ➢ Trip to Germany: route, transportation, travel bodies, strategies
- ➢ Reception in Germany: involvement of family members
- ➢ Accommodation in Germany
- ➢ Feelings
- ➢ Memories

**Informal interview 4: Settling in Germany**
- ➢ Memories of first weeks in Germany
- ➢ Initial reception center
- ➢ Asylum homes: quality, location
- ➢ Support of family in Germany
- ➢ First impressions & reactions: country, culture, people, lifestyle, food
- ➢ School: remedial teaching
- ➢ Language: German as a foreign language, difficulties, role of language
- ➢ Social relationships: neighbors, friends, teachers
- ➢ New life in Germany: activities, parents, employment, treatment, prejudice
- ➢ Perception of Roma culture out of new perspective

➢ Feelings about Roma origin

**Informal interview 5: Puberty and separation**
➢ Friends: differences, feelings, memories
➢ Relationship with parents: values, conflicts
➢ Separation from parents: reasons, process, support
➢ Parents' experience of German culture: feelings, perceptions of German teenage girls
➢ Separation trial: process, actors, support, documents

**Informal interview 6: The Quäker Häuser**
➢ Quäker Häuser: institution, facilities, activities, impressions
➢ Social workers
➢ Feelings about decision to leave parents
➢ Support of additional actors: social relationships
➢ Best friend Robert: relationship, impact on integration

**Informal interview 7: Individuality in Germany**
➢ Marriage with Thomas: meeting, story, advantages
➢ Marital behavior: German versus Roma
➢ Conversion to Islam: reasons, advantages
➢ Comparison of Islamic and Romani culture: analogies, differences
➢ Reunion with parents: feelings, discussions, differences, process, changed values
➢ Education: social work study, thesis, funding of intuition fee, support
➢ Social welfare
➢ Music
➢ Priorities
➢ Values

**Informal interview 8: A new family**
➢ Parenting: Waldorf, Roma versus German culture
➢ Family life
➢ Roma heritage
➢ Relationship with parents
➢ Feelings about Serbia


## Appendix 2: Focus-group discussion guides

**Focus-group discussion 1: Judika, Boyko and Nadin Salihović**
➢ Personal information
➢ Information about Nadin
➢ Childhood in Serbia: experiences, school
➢ Migration to Germany: reasons, process

- Settling in Germany: integration process, support of public authorities, role of German language, relationships, employment, difficulties
- Youth in Germany: puberty, boys, culture
- German versus Roma culture: advantages and disadvantages
- Separation from Nadin: feelings, trial
- Reunion with Nadin
- Marriage with Thomas
- Résumé

**Focus-group discussion 2: Sabine Blume and Nadin Salihović**
- Personal information
- Work at Quäker Häuser
- Meeting Nadin
- Impression of Nadin
- Relationship with Nadin
- Integration process: difficulties, impact of her personality
- Social work support: objectives, time frame, achievements
- Trial: process, documentation, precedent
- Social welfare support
- Youth welfare service
- Impact of support on Nadin
- Role of social environment

**Focus-group discussion 3: Robert Schettker and Nadin Salihović**
- Personal information
- Meeting Nadin
- Impression of Nadin: Roma versus German
- Relationship with Nadin
- Integration process: difficulties, impact of her personality
- Impact of friendship on integration
- Heritage pride
- Conversion to Islam: reasons, process

## Appendix 3: Empirical data abstract of the code 'Discourse discrimination'

Report: 14 quotation(s) for 1 code

| | |
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| Edited by: | Marjorie Jochims |
| Date/Time: | 2014-08-09 23:35:13 |

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Quotation-Filter: All
Discourse discrimination

**P 1: Informal Interview 1.docx - 1:37 [It's funny that she didn't com...] (22:22)**

Codes: [Discourse discrimination - Family: Discourse]

Nadin Salihović: It's funny that she didn't compare me with the Serbian children [smiling cheekily] #00:04:37.6#

**P 1: Informal Interview 1.docx - 1:66 [There's so much corruption and..] (74:74)**

Codes: [Discourse discrimination - Family: Discourse]

Nadin Salihović: There's so much corruption and everything is dealt with based on connections. #00:16:28.2#

**P 1: Informal Interview 1.docx - 1:67 [Some of them don't even see th...] (74:74)**

Codes: [Discourse discrimination - Family: Discourse] [Experiential knowledge - Family: Knowledge]

Nadin Salihović: Some of them don't even see the necessity to send their children to school, as they won't find employment in Serbia anyways. #00:16:28.2#

**P 3: Informal Interview 3.docx - 3:4 [At first, my father had steady...] (7:13)**

Codes: [Discourse discrimination - Family: Discourse] [Narrative jobs and unemployment] [Social practice employment]

Nadin Salihović: At first, my father had steady employment and then later not anymore. He kind of cheated himself out of it. Although he had graduated from high school according to Serbian law. Ya, right…and then my parents started selling jeans, as there was no work. They drove to Turkey and bought goods from there, in order to resell these back in Serbia for a profit. Or they had a little job somewhere such as helping with the apple- or cherry harvest. Then, my grandma would look after us. #00:02:40.0#
Marjorie Jochims: Quite the survivalists! #00:02:47.1#
Nadin Salihović: Yes, always depending on the season – on demand… #00:02:53.7#
Marjorie Jochims: Just like marketeers? #00:02:57.7#
Nadin Salihović: Yes, on the market, but they didn't do that for a long time. They are not the typical marketeers [laughing]… #00:03:00.9#
Marjorie Jochims: Not the cliché-gypsies [laughing]?! #00:03:11.4#
Nadin Salihović: No, no…[smiling] #00:03:13.5#

**P 3: Informal Interview 3.docx - 3:12 [cliché that Roma are unemploye...] (34:34)**

Codes: [Discourse discrimination - Family: Discourse] [Discourse unemployment and laziness]

Nadin Salihović: cliché that Roma are unemployed and lazy #00:13:33.1#

**P 3: Informal Interview 3.docx - 3:14 [Often it simply wasn't possibl...] (36:36)**

Codes: [Discourse discrimination - Family: Discourse] [Discourse unemployment and laziness]

Nadin Salihović: Often it simply wasn't possible for Roma to work, as there was no work and all the jobs were taken by the Serbs. Everything was handled via connections and there was a lot of corruption. I probably took on some of my parents' views…they virtually put words in my mouth. I didn't get the idea that somebody was lazy by myself, when you are a child you are not that interested in these kinds of things. #00:16:00.7#

## P 3: Informal Interview 3.docx - 3:15 [Did I understand you right tha...] (37:40)

Codes: [Access to space - Family: Dimensions of space] [Discourse discrimination - Family: Discourse] [Living in Serbia]

Marjorie Jochims: Did I understand you right that people somehow lived geographically separated from one another? I mean, the Serbs rather had their houses on the top of the mountain, the lower class of Roma on the foot of the mountain and you guys somewhere in the middle? #00:16:20.5#

Nadin Salihović: Yes somehow it was divided geographically. We did not really live outboards, but about a quarter of an hour away from the center maybe. Normally, the Serbs only have Serbian neighbors and the Roma only Romani neighbors. But due to the foreign workers that returned and now where in the position to buy big houses as well, you would only sometimes also have Serbian neighbors. But the Roma that had always lived in the city would remain among their kind. #00:17:02.7

Marjorie Jochims: So both sides were responsible for this? #00:17:10.0#

Nadin Salihović: Yes, I think so. #00:17:12.3#

## P 3: Informal Interview 3.docx - 3:17 [Did you realize all of this al...] (41:42)

Codes: [Discourse discrimination - Family: Discourse]

Marjorie Jochims: Did you realize all of this already, when you were still a child? The discrimination, condemnation and inferiority as adjudicated by the Serbs? #00:17:26.7#

Nadin Salihović: No, being a child I didn't have that feeling. In school I sometimes heard things like 'you guys are gypsies'. But I can't really say that I was troubled by it, or aggrieved – that didn't suit my sense of life I guess. Nonetheless, when I returned to Serbia as an adult in 2005, I realized to what extent hatred and discrimination on the part of the Serbs affects the lives of the Roma people. My parents told me that they are often treated as second-class citizens. That was the first time when I really felt misplaced. I don't really belong to the Roma, but also the Serbs wouldn't accept me as being a Serb. #00:18:23.8#

## P 7: Informal Interview 7.docx - 7:18 [Well yes…I knew about the disc...] (60:62)

Codes: [Discourse discrimination - Family: Discourse] [Narrative discrimination]

Nadin Salihović: Well yes…I knew about the discriminations and insults from Serbia…this wasn't new to me. In Serbia they recognize you being Roma right away – already based on your skin color. Here it was good, you didn't have to worry about that, as people wouldn't recognize you. #00:14:21.3#

Marjorie Jochims: So you only had one option I guess: Not to tell. Do you think it depressed you or frustrated you at one point that gypsies were discriminated in society through history? #00:14:41.2#

Nadin Salihović: Yes, always. There was a time when I was really sad about that and even cried about it. Sometimes I was only passive and thought it's sad that everybody is against us. And sometimes I thought I change it, give lectures about it and inform the people about how we really are. There were two sides inside of me. Sometimes I thought it's the fault of the others that they put us in such a bad light and other times I thought it's our fault, as we almost did nothing about it. And sometime I even

think that certain Roma very much fit the picture – that is the worst, if people misbehave like that. #00:15:28.2#

**P 9: Focus Group Discussion 1.docx - 9:5 [but Surdulica not that good] (25:25)**

Codes: [Discourse discrimination - Family: Discourse] [Discourse unemployment and laziness]

Judika Salihović: but Surdulica not that good #00:03:27.9#

**P 9: Focus Group Discussion 1.docx - 9:8 [We are really good Roma. We are...] (32:32)**

Codes: [Discourse discrimination - Family: Discourse] [Discourse Roma culture - Family: Discourse] [Discourse unemployment and laziness]

Judika Salihović: We are really good Roma. We are Roma…we are clean…the whole house…we want a lot of work…want it all…school…everything…but we have no money! #00:04:40.6#

**P 9: Focus Group Discussion 1.docx - 9:9 [Would you say that you are an...] (35:36)**

Codes: [Discourse discrimination - Family: Discourse]

Marjorie Jochims: Would you say that you are an exemption, or do you think all Roma in Surdulica are like that? #00:04:46.1#

Judika Salihović: [thinks about it] The Serbs are different #00:04:55#

**P 9: Focus Group Discussion 1.docx - 9:15 [Roma are very good people…but...] (42:43)**

Codes: [Discourse discrimination - Family: Discourse]

Judika Salihović: Roma are very good people…but Serbs are not… #00:05:45.6#

Boyko Salihović: Just like Germany. Or like it was for blacks or something like that in America back in the days. Now it's not good at all. #00:05:57.6#

**P 9: Focus Group Discussion 1.docx - 9:22 [It's not going well with Roma…] (66:66)**

Codes: [Discourse discrimination - Family: Discourse] [Discourse unemployment and laziness]

Judika Salihović: It's not going well with Roma…for example, what are we supposed to do in Serbia? It's very difficult! #00:09:41.2#


## Appendix 4: Empirical data abstract of the code 'Dynamics of space residence permit'

Report: 7 quotation(s) for 1 code

| HU: | Atlas Analysis Empirical Data |
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| Date/Time: | 2014-08-09 23:37:38 |

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Dynamics of space residence permit

**P 7: Informal Interview 7.docx - 7:58 [And also at the authorities in...] (136:136)**

Codes: [Access to space residence permit] [Discourse Roma culture - Family: Discourse] [Discourse Roma law] [Dynamics of space residence permit] [Experiential knowledge Roma culture] [History of space residence permit] [Narrative residence permit] [Social practice residence permit]

Nadin Salihović: And also at the authorities in Uelzen, such a case had not occurred hitherto. I remember how the deputy director of the youth welfare service asked Petra, if she really wanted to go through with it? And if it wasn't better, that the Roma clan would deal with the situation itself? The Roma had their own laws anyways and I only was 'geduldet' and feared soon deportation anyways. But Petra assured him that we would fight our way through the system until we found a solution. 00:54:52.3#

**P10: Focus Group Discussion 2.docx - 10:40 [Interviewer: And despite this...] (228:230)**

Codes: [Access to space residence permit] [Dynamics of space residence permit] [Narrative mastering language] [Network Sabine]

Marjorie Jochims: And despite this verdict, you told me that it always was a problem that Nadin wasn't allowed to work, did you also help her in this regard to establish herself? #00:26:28.6#

Sabine Blume: I accompanied her to the consulate...there you had to pay a lot of bucks and you couldn't understand them...they had an accent or something like that... #00:26:45.0#

**P10: Focus Group Discussion 2.docx - 10:46 [S. Blume: Refugee Council...bu...] (248:256)**

Codes: [Access to space residence permit] [Dynamics of space residence permit] [History of space residence permit] [Narrative residence permit]

Sabine Blume: Refugee Council...but there we only went once. We also went to an attorney at the Holstenwall here in Hamburg, who also got into contact with attorney from Hannover. He said that he didn't see a big chance. What was it about? I think you wanted to arrange your residence permit. But he also only told us to go to the consulate and you gotta pay the money, fill in their forms and to tread that path. #00:29:13.0#

Nadin Salihović: But why did I have to pay the money again? #00:29:19.9#

Sabine Blume: For your ID, you had to apply for your own ID, aiming to get your right to permanent residence granted. #00:29:29.0#

Nadin Salihović: A Serbian ID? #00:29:30.7#

Sabine Blume: Yes, and that was not very easy, as everything laid in ashes and it wasn't ensured that you would get your papers #00:29:44.6#

**P10: Focus Group Discussion 2.docx - 10:47 [Nadin: My parents arranged tha...] (258:270)**

Codes: [Access to democracy] [Access to space residence permit] [Dynamics of space residence permit] [Experiential knowledge democracy] [Experiential knowledge residence permit] [Narrative corruption Serbia]

Nadin Salihović: My parents arranged that for me later. Now I know that my uncle arranged my second ID underhandedly via certain connections he had. Still I am not listed anywhere as being married. So my parents had to pay for me again - always corruption... #00:30:27.4#

Sabine Blume: I still remember that you told me you were so happy that you were here in Germany,

as we have laws here and people abide these. In comparison to Serbia that was quite impressing... #00:30:39.2#

Nadin Salihović: Yes, that's right... #00:30:39.7#

Sabine Blume: Sometimes I still doubt that but at least you always have the opportunity to find a way and file a lawsuit and state 'You can't do that with me!' And then again, I think we also have become such as banana republic...I don't know... #00:31:08.2#

Nadin Salihović: There everybody is corrupt. People pay in kind and my mum had to go and clean the house of the officials she was dealing with regarding my ID...also, they bought candy for their children and stuff like that...and of course money...secretly... #00:31:43.5#

Marjorie Jochims: Candy? How funny is that! #00:31:46.2#

Nadin Salihović: Candy...foods...money of course and then cleaning on top of it! Otherwise they say it doesn't work, they can't find my papers or that I have to come myself to Serbia...they always have an excuse...but I really needed it, my ID had already expired for 3 years ago. #00:32:07.8#

**P10: Focus Group Discussion 2.docx - 10:50 [So in the end, things regardin…] (278:282)**

Codes: [Dynamics of space marriage] [Dynamics of space residence permit] [Narrative marriage] [Narrative residence permit]

Marjorie Jochims: So in the end, things regarding the residence permit worked out due to the wedding with Thomas, right? #00:32:50.1#

Sabine Blume: Yes. It still was a long way...the attorney was the one saying it is best to get married. Then you told him that you have a boyfriend who wants to marry you and he responded 'Then you should do it!' That's the easiest thing. Nadin was like: 'Yes, but I don't want to get married, only to receive the permit...that also has to do with me as a person!' 'Yes' I told her, 'but you love him!' And eventually, they got married! #00:33:17.9#

Nadin Salihović: He also told us that a lot of women got married, right?! Or another way, that paternity was declared and thus the mothers could stay as their children were German...ya right...that was another way... #00:33:47.7#

**P10: Focus Group Discussion 2.docx - 10:53 [Interviewer: I already asked,...] (338:340)**

Codes: [Dynamics of space lawsuit] [Dynamics of space residence permit] [Dynamics of space YW support measures] [Narrative newspaper Quäker Häuser] [Network Quäker Häuser]

Marjorie Jochims: I already asked if you could think of any benefit the Quäker Häuser might have had based on Nadin's case...could you maybe still come up with anything? Nadin also told me that you guys already wrote a newspaper article or something like that... #00:40:56.0#

Sabine Blume: No! We also discussed this in the car...the Quäker Häuser publish a small newspaper, called 'Der Quäker', in which all of our friends or interested people describe aspects they care about. Things they experienced that are also related to the work of the Quäker...that they want to describe there. And we get this newspaper as well...and Uwe said it would be nice if we could talk about Nadin's life story and how we supported her on her way...that it would be nice if I wrote about it! Until now, I didn't have the time to write this article, but in retrospect I feel like writing it in the form of Nadin's life story and not putting the focus on the Quäker Häuser. She also decided to study social work and how did it happen to be like that? Did we contribute as you lived with us and based on our philosophy of life and regarding the human being? In the widest sense, that might have been an aspect with regards to benefits for the Quäker. I don't think they would want to see it like that..that they benefitted, but that they contributed to you developing your independence...that would be our

benefit! Other than that...I don't think it's adequate to talk about benefit in this regard...that also wouldn't fit their philosophy. #00:43:08.1#

**P10: Focus Group Discussion 2.docx - 10:58 [S. Blume: Lately, you've been...] (368:372)**

Codes: [Access to democracy] [Dynamics of space residence permit] [Dynamics of space self-perception] [Narrative corruption Serbia]

Sabine Blume: Lately, you've been dealing with the subject more intensively, right?! Well, her statement 'I am happy to be here in Germany, because here it is steady and we have laws, and I can depend on the fact that these are effective!' says a lot about her...that was the German that you liked to take on... #00:49:37.1#

Marjorie Jochims: Did you also see in her that she might have tried to push away the parts of herself that were Roma? #00:49:42.5#

Sabine Blume: Hmm...yes...at that point for sure...she chafed at her heritage and all the corruption, and the typical unreliability...sometimes they say yes and sometimes they say no...you can't depend on anything...that made you mad and hurt. It makes you so helpless, as you are so dependent on a decision that is completely arbitrary. And that for sure was an orientation towards the German and now it's maybe rather towards your own culture, right? #00:50:34.5#