

FOCUS: REFUGEES' TESTIMONIALS

Quarrels between Young Refugees and Young Germans in Bautzen: How Has it Turned into Bad Treatment against Refugees and What Are the Effects?

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Abstract. In recent years, more than a million asylum seekers have entered Germany, and it tries actively to integrate them into society. However, this massive process faces some difficulties especially in the east of the country. This article explores how the conflicts between young refugees and young Germans, mobilized, and turned to bad treatment, from some people in the city, against not only young refugees, but also against other refugees in the city, by studying kind of the communication between the host society and the refugees in two main areas: public places and the private sector. Comparing the results with the prior interviews conducted with fifteen unaccompanied minors and adult refugees in Hamm city, this article shows how the conflict that turned into bad treatment has negatively affected the feeling of security for the refugees, the homogeneity of the refugee community, and their views for their future in Germany regardless of the huge efforts of the government and the civil society to integrate the refugees in Bautzen city.

Keywords: *asylum seekers¹, bad treatment², Bautzen, conflict, Hamm, minors, refugees, young adult refugees, young Germans*

¹ I use asylum seekers and refugees concepts in this article, although the legal definition of these two concepts are different. An asylum seeker is someone whose claim has not yet been finally decided on by the country in which he or she has submitted it, while the refugee has had his/her claim officially accepted (UNHCR). Not every asylum seeker will be recognized as a refugee, but every refugee is initially an asylum seeker. In this article, we talk about the reaction of the people (in public places and private sectors), not about the reaction of the government institutions like the Office of Foreigners (Ausländerbehörde) and job center in this city. People who do not work with refugees do not ask themselves whether this person is still an asylum seeker or has been accepted by the government as a refugee. However, we will distinguish between these two cases whenever it is necessary.

² The meaning of the bad treatment concept in this study is: assault, harassment, or insult directed against refugees because they are a different group from the people of Bautzen.

Introduction

To understand the situation of the refugees in Bautzen³, nearly 40,000 inhabitants, we should be aware of some issues that make the situation in the city a part of conflict between young refugees and young asylum seekers from one side, and young Germans from another side. For instance, Bautzen is a city that inhabited by Slavic minority called Sorbs, although Sorb individuals appear only moderately isolated from other populations in the region due to the fact there no topographic barriers between them and others, unlike the case of Sardinians in Italy who are isolated on an island or the Basque who live in a mountainous region in Spain. The Sorbs are separated from their neighbors predominantly because of linguistic and religious differences, which may be weaker forces for maintaining isolation (Veeramah et al, 2011: 999). Yet, and due to the fact most of the refugees are Muslims this could create difficulties in accepting them to live with a minority that already has, as any minority, sensitivity about their identity.

Additionally, the city was part of the German Democratic Republic (GDR; German: Deutsche Demokratische Republik). That existed from 1949 to 1990. Although Over the last decade, Germany spent more than 7 billion EUR per year on active Labour market policies to combat the large and persistent unemployment problem in East Germany (Lechner and Wunsch, 2006: 5). The heritage of forty years of socialist rule could not be traded for the rules of democratic-capitalist development as easily as expected (Bontje, 2004:14). Based on the interviews with people in Bautzen, this forty years of the socialist life still seems to some older people to be easier than the life that they have now. Even now, as they described, they find difficulties adjusting to capitalist style-living.

“We had job stability, yes it was not always the dream job, but you did not always have the fear of losing it, which is now so. The people who have grown up in the GDR, have to learn that, and that is still really difficult... For us, losing a job still like the Titanic sinking, something like that. And to deal with it, maybe even sell yourself. That is always incredibly hard for me. That is still the case that makes me big bad mood... That is certainly the feeling of the people here, maybe not all of them. But we did not have this situation before” German man

³ The author of this article had the main responsibility for the analysis presented here. The description is representative of the situation as it appeared in the middle of 2017, and the situation might be changed.

“People were living together, young people had their cliques then their unions... now the mother has nothing to say to her children when they are fourteen years old. Bautzen has sold everything. Everything was privatized, even the places where the young can meet...” German man

So the shift from the socialist regime to the capital regime caused problems especially, for older people in East Germany, and that could influence, in a way or another, the situation of refugees in Bautzen. Some researchers have explored the effects of reuniting Germany on the people of East Germany. For instance, Kocka Jürgen found routines have broken down, trust has been shattered, new orientations are needed, anxiety is widespread, and self-assuredness is scarce. Crisis and rapid transition define the lives of many in the East, but not so in the West. Birthrate and marriage rate have sharply fallen, and the divorce rate increased between 1989 and 1992. Nothing comparable is happening in West Germany (Jürgen, 1994:185).

Demographic data show that the number of non-Germans in East Germany is substantially lower than in West Germany. The percentages of foreigners are 1.9 % and 9.7 %, respectively. Thus, the opportunity for contact with ethnic minorities is markedly less in the East than in the West. It is further assumed that, due to this lower density of foreigners, East Germans reported fewer contact experiences as well as less intensive or important contacts, such as friendships and other subjectively important encounters with foreigners (Wagner et al, 2003: 24).

Bautzen is a city of rustic character, it has no university or higher learning institutes or any projects which would bring foreigners to this city. The newly arriving-refugees was the first experience for many to deal and live with foreigners, therefore, rejection is more likely to happen than acceptance. “Bautzen is far away from big cities. We were not used to seeing non-white people, and those who look different, we did not see on the streets people speaking a different language. I was in Freiburg, I have seen many more foreigners, while Bautzen is like a separated province” German man

The image of refugees in the mind of some people in Bautzen could also be catalyze the conflict between the two sides. Some people in Bautzen, as the refugees described, already have a negative view of the refugees, including assumptions that they have no civilization, no cars in their countries or they don't know how to drive etc. “when I go to the market and buy a lot of items, I see they are surprised, but they do not know we cook at home, while usually they do not. And we have children, while they often have less or no children, and that is why we buy from the market more than them. I mean there is a misunderstanding of us, they think we do not know anything.

For example, a German woman has a very ordinary car explained to us how to sit in the car seats, she thinks this is the first time we see a car!! This erroneous ideas has caused a lack of respect for the refugees. They believe refugee must accept any situation and must be happy with anything they give them. This leaves a bad impact on our psyche how we were living and now people here think we do not know anything” a refugee woman.

“They do not know about our history and our lives. They believe we come from the desert and we do not know anything. When they enter our homes and they see the cleanliness... Also when we show them the pictures of our homes, our cars, and our workplaces, they become amazed and say you had that!!” a refugee married man.

Additionally, due to the fact most of the refugees are young, and mostly dress well and carry modern phones, etc. Helped catalyzed envy and anger in this small city. It seems as some of the Germans feel that some refugees live better than some of them, so they become angrier about the refugees. “You only need to go to the center, only go to the center, to see them wear jeans from fashion labels that I cannot afford it. They all come dressed and ironed from head to toe. And that upsets people” a German woman

“...asylum seekers well dressed, they are young, and they have modern cell phones. They are able to work, but they do nothing. They pretend to be war refugees, but they look like they never saw the war. So, I should say, they are parasites” A German man

“I asked a student with me why you do not like us. He said: You are taking part in our salaries, you are wearing the best clothes, and we do not find what you find...” young adult refugee

In contrast, Hamm city is located in the heart of North Rhine-Westphalia state, the most populated state in Germany (approximately 18 Million people). This state has the biggest number of foreigners in Germany; 4.1 million people in North Rhine-Westphalia have a migration background. For more than every fifth inhabitant of North Rhine-Westphalia, migration is part of his / her personal or familial identity. 25.1 % of the pupils at public schools have a migration background (Ministry for Intergenerational Affairs, Family, Women and Integration, of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia, 2010: 7). The population of Hamm is around 180,000. Nearly 15 percent is minority groups. Some of these minority groups, like the Turkish minority have been living in Hamm for more fifty years.

The sample

I conducted thirty interviews (individuals and groups discussion) with forty-eight refugees, namely unaccompanied male young adult and minors, and married men and women living in Bautzen. The interviews were conducted in May 2017 and concentrated mainly on the conflict between young refugees and young Germans, exposure to bad treatment, and the effects of bad treatment on the refugees' lives. The interviews included open and closed questions. Interviewees were from different countries including Syria, Palestinian⁴, Libya, Pakistan, Iraq, and Morocco.

Before going to Bautzen I had conducted nine interviews (individuals and groups discussion) with fifteen unaccompanied young adults and minor refugees, all males from Syria and Iraq, living in Hamm, NRW. The interviews were conducted in February 2017 and focused on the main problems of young adult and minor refugees in Hamm, including problems with the host society and bad treatment against refugees.

The idea was to compare the lives of the refugees in Hamm as a safe and welcome refugee city, with the lives of the refugees and asylum seekers in Bautzen, which tends to be a not very safe city after the conflict that happened in summer 2016⁵.

Furthermore, we have 28 interviews conducted with German people who were living in Bautzen, some of them working with refugees in organizations established by the government or by volunteers to help refugees to integrate into the new society. All these interviews were conducted in the German language then translated to English language.

⁴ Palestinians refers to, not only those who came to Germany from the Gaza Strip and West Bank, but also those who came from other countries like Syria, Lebanon...etc., but they still define themselves as Palestinians.

⁵ The conflict between refugees and the host society in Bautzen received a local and an international media attention, as well on the social media, including: Germany migrants: Residents battle asylum seekers in Bautzen. BBC. 15 September 2016; Arson suspected in a German refugee shelter fire. CNN. February 22, 2016; Suspected arson at planned refugee center in Germany. Aljazeera. February 21, 2016; Far-right 'hunt' for refugees in German town, police accused of cover-up & inaction. RT. 3 November, 2016; Bautzen: Fragwürdiger Umgang mit Flüchtling.Exakt. 09.08.2017; Warum Flüchtling „King Abode“ trotz bedenklicher Vorgeschichte wieder in Bautzen ist. On line focus. 09 .o8. 2017; Bautzen, Tag und Nacht Vor einem Jahr machte die Stadt Schlagzeilen mit schweren Ausschreitungen. Jetzt zeigt sich: Bautzen ist immer noch nicht zur Ruhe gekommen. Zeit online. 12. 8. 2017; <https://youtu.be/oNI8tVTwy78>; <https://youtu.be/tQ5vn-Mxoss>; <https://youtu.be/A7b8ifb3k1k>

What were the conflicts about? And how it is turned into bad treatment for asylum seekers and refugees?

In the middle of Bautzen, there is a square, and around it are most of the city amenities like markets, cafes, clubs, restaurant etc. Young Germans used to come to this square to socialize. By the end of 2013, Syrian refugee families arrived in Bautzen, through UNHCR resettlement refugee programs that aim to relieve pressure on countries around Syria, like Lebanon and Jordan where a large number of refugees are. They were the first foreign minority came to Bautzen to live there. At that time, there were nearly no major conflict between refugees and the people of Bautzen. However, the number of refugees who were coming to Germany by illegally crossing the borders increased rapidly, especially in 2015. Since this kind of asylum journey is very difficult, most of the arrivals were unaccompanied young male refugees. Statics show in 2016 alone more than 722,370 asylum seekers entered Germany (BMF, 2016:19). Moreover, 65.7% of the asylum applicants in 2016 were male, almost three quarters of them (73.8%, 532.799) were younger than 30 years old (BMF, 2016: 22). Hundreds of these young male refugees were sent to live in camps inside and around Bautzen.

In a place very near to the city square (Dresden Street) a camp was opened for minor asylum seekers and refugees. Due to their young age, they have learned the language very fast. Additionally many of them have been integrated into the German schools, and that helped them to learn the language and have German friends. However, in the minor accommodation centers, most of the time, every minor have only a bed in a shared room. The law does not allow for the minor to have his/her own apartment before he/she becomes 18 years old. Hence, they are not able to be good hosts to their friends at the place where they live. Moreover, the minors have special case-workers called (Betreue), they buy to minors their needs. Minors only have in cash a very small monthly salary (40 Euro), it is much less than the salary of adult refugees (320 Euro), so they cannot go with their friends to cafes or clubs etc. The square, therefore has become the point meeting for those young boys and girls where they have good opportunity to socialize with their peers and get relief from pressures that they have as refugees and as minors separated from their families because of the war, etc.

However, the square was already a meeting point for some minors and young adult Germans, yet, young adult and minor refugees have become more and more visible in the same place. They started gathering in big groups, sometimes



more than twenty, drinking beer, turn on loud music, and using the free internet that was available in the square. Furthermore, young refugees attracted some German girls, especially those who are younger than 17 years old, who wanted to have friends and boyfriends among the young refugees or just discover the newcomers. The legal situation of refugee minors could encouraged them to quarrel with young Germans since they could not be sent back to their original countries or even to the first European country they had entered according to the Dublin refugee agreement between the European countries (Johnson, 2015: 6). Also, legally it is hard to send them to jail in Germany like adults, hence, they could have felt that there were no punishments to deter them. As a result, they start challenging young Germans, or what they called Nazis, by using the same language as them, showing off to girls, and one of the young asylum seekers even named himself “king of the city”.

“I met a girl and we start meeting in the square, then she brought her friend, then young Syrian refugees came with their German friends, and became more and more people coming. Nazis saw us happy and dressing better than them...We do not have a life inside our dirty camp, our lives start outside the camp... they were angry how Arab refugees have German girls!! But the girls with us are happier. I bought a scooter and walk on the roads. They wonder how a black refugee can buy this expensive toy, I heard bad words and comments from them...I live better than them and I call myself the king of Bautzen, although I live in debts” Young adult refugee

“I think the main reason of the conflicts is the jealousy, the young Nazis saw the young refugees sit down with the girls, drinking beer and laughing and that is what the Nazis do not like it” young adult refugee

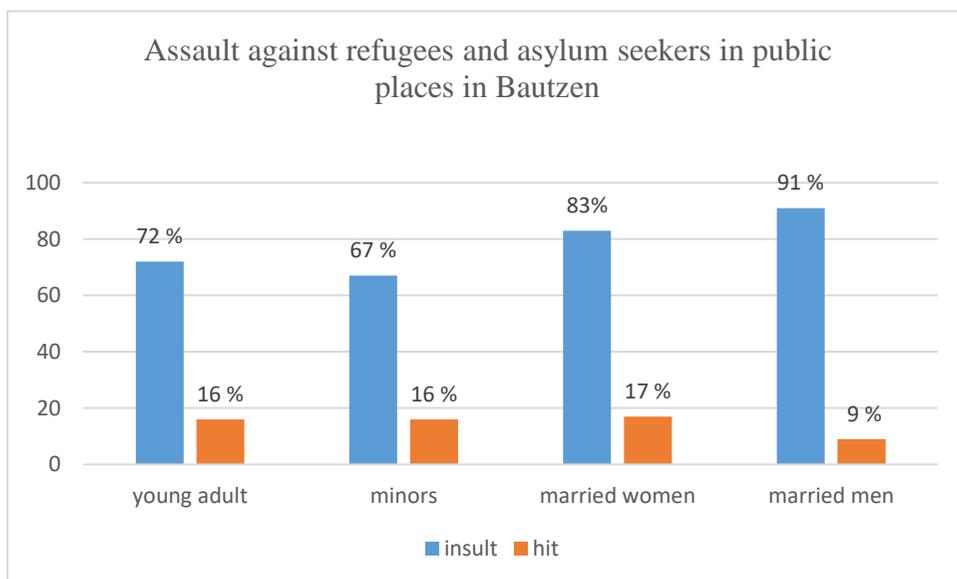
Young German more likely have understood the sudden appearance of the young refugees as threatening to them, occupying their square and taking their girls. Therefore, they started their struggle to restore what they have lost by many means. At the end, they succeeded in portraying bad image of the refugees. They wrote provocative phrases on the walls of the city like “we are the folk”, “we are the original people”, “it is our square”, “foreigners should be send out of Germany” etc. Some of these phrases were used by the right-wing parties. By focusing more and more on the differences between the refugees and the Germans, and who is original and who is stranger (Auslander) some adult Germans became sympathetic with the German youth. Young Germans from villages around Bautzen came to participate in protests against refugees that happened several times. Some Germans, as some refugees reported, stopped doing volunteer work to refugees, especially after the biggest

confrontations between young refugees and young Germans in summer 2016, which resulted in some injuries and attracted a lot of the national and international media attention. In this way, these conflicts have poisoned the relationship not only between young refugees and young Germans, but also between some people of Bautzen and refugees in the city. More people started to treat refugees and asylum seekers badly, and we will explain some aspects of this bad treatment next.

Insult and beatings in public places

Many members of the sample said they have been exposed lately to bad events in public places like in parks, streets, and the downtown square. Some of them said they were exposed several times to insults.

An African refugee reported, “last winter at seven o’clock in the evening, while I was walking back from a supermarket to the camp, a group of youths were standing in a park, and said to me “come here”. I thought they were tourists, but when I arrived, one of them grabbed me and hit me... The same thing also happened to a friend of mine”. Young adult refugee



Another one reported “...I was riding my back home from the supermarket, when a Nazi person hit me with his car, I fell down with my purchases. Nevertheless the car driver didn’t stop ... That is why I avoid going out of my home”. Young adult refugee

A refugee woman described what happened to her “The biggest problem for

me is wearing my veil... I was walking in the city center when two young Germans pulled my veil..." A refugee woman

Penelope Scott conducted a study in East Germany about African refugees and found that there was a double jeopardy of being both an "asylum seeker" and a "black African" in eastern Germany. Right wing racially motivated attacks are statistically more likely to happen in eastern states and among the most targeted groups are African asylum seekers (Scott, 2104: 136).

Harsh treatment in private sectors

Some of unaccompanied young male refugees in Bautzen have reported being exposed to harsh treatment and even being hit in some places (Discos) things that limited their chances to meet young Germans from the local society.

"I went with my friend to a disco... When we arrived, a group of young Nazis attacked us. One of them hit me and said: why did you come to Germany..." Young adult refugee

Some of sport clubs, as some refugees reported, refused to register refugees, and others make the registration conditions difficult. "I suffered personally from Sport clubs problems. First the contract is for two years, but they don't ask Germans to sign two year contracts, they pay monthly or sign a six month contract..." Young adult refugee

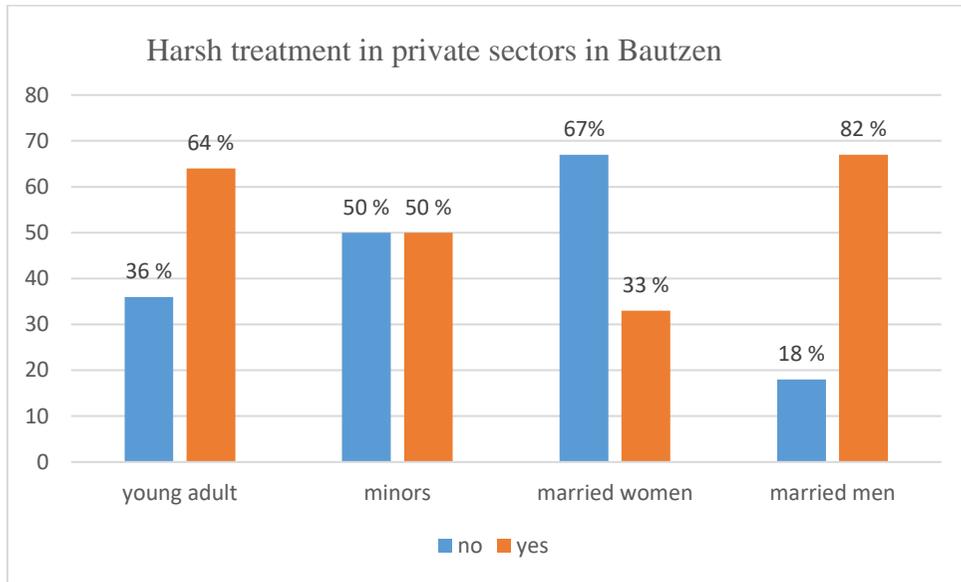
In Bautzen there are housing companies that refugees have to register with in order to get a flat, but some of these companies denied refugees registration. Therefore some stayed in camps even after they receive asylum and are legally become able to have their own flat.

"Since 2016 only two housing company rented to refugees ... As a result, some refugees don't find a flat and stay in the camps..." Young adult refugee

Adult young asylum seekers suffer from this problem more than minors because minors have their separate accommodations (shared flat or camp), and it is not allowed for them to get their own flat before the age of eighteen, even if they receive asylum. Adults should leave the camp after they get asylum. This problem has become decisive for families who not yet get asylum because their children have to live in an unusual atmosphere, most of the people around them are adults, and they don't have enough space to live the life of a normal child. "...I can't raise my children well. They see drunk people, and fighting between asylum seekers... I left my country not for me but for my children, I wanted them to have a good future". Married refugee man

Another person said “... Some families have been living in this camp for long time...children are growing up in poor conditions”. Married refugee man

In contrast, asylum seekers in Hamm can get a flat after six months of applying for asylum, regardless of the final decision.



Efforts of the local society in Bautzen to integrate refugees

Although the conflict between young refugees and young Germans has badly influenced the relations between the new comers and the host society, many people in Bautzen have made huge efforts to integrate refugees and make their lives easier. For instance, for every refugee family in Bautzen there is a German family to help them with many issues, like translating and writing letters, accompanying them to the doctors or hospitals, helping them to solve the problem in their children schools etc. This relation most of the time turned to a friendship between the refugee family and the Germany family.

Furthermore, in Bautzen there are several organizations that work to help refugees, some funded by the government and others by volunteers. They do great job although some of them are influenced by the people how sentiments against refugees coming to Bautzen. “In Bautzen, there is a large network, we are actually lucky that there is such a civic alliance, Bautzen Bleibt Bunt Organization (Bautzen Remains Colorful), have an office in the Stone House offering advice to refugees. And it is a broad alliance where very many people are also inside. Churches also have a



lot of people who work with refugees and asylum seekers. We have also Welcome to Bautzen Organization which is a very broad coalition. And out of this alliances, associations, and organizations there are many of volunteers people go to the asylum seeker shelters to help with children care..." German employee working with refugees

Some of these organization applied modern methods to help asylum seekers and refugees express themselves, and avoid the bad effects of racism or any hard situation by acting out the situation. They have theater and let refugees act out their journey to Germany, or their lives in their countries, or the hard situations that they are exposed to in Bautzen. "We start with self-confidence, we strengthen self-esteem in the refugees, and we have a music project, a band workshop, and a theater, we are using the method of the theater of the oppressed, in order to teach them how to deal with racism. The theater provide them with strategies they can use it in the actual situations..." German employee working with refugees

Many of people in Bautzen are not happy with the problems that happened between young refugees and young Germans, and they fell shame about it, especially after the name of their city was repeated in the international media. "Last year I was in Berlin when a friend of mine who was in Spain on vacation called me and said please turn on the TV and see what happens in Bautzen. I said, "What?!" I was totally shocked that the news already was abroad" A German woman

Some of the citizen have a positive view of the future, especially in the second generation of the refugees. "I think this generation will be a bit ambivalent, but the children (second generation) will grow up in the kindergarten together. So for them it will not matter whether the child is dark or white, they just play together and then everything develops. Then they go to school ... If the parents say that you do not play with this child. He will say, he is my friend or she is my friend..." a German woman

What reflects the huge efforts of the government and the civil society are facts such as, in the House of Resources Organization only there are about 20 permanent employees and 150-200 volunteers. They do about 20000 volunteer hours yearly. So extensive effort has been made by the civil society in the city to counter activities of people who are against refugees. However, the conflict and the bad treatment impacted the life of the refugees badly, especially when we compare their lives and the lives of the refugees in Hamm.

Effects of conflict and bad treatment on refugees in Bautzen

Before talking about the effects of conflicts and bad treatments on asylum seekers and refugees in Bautzen, it will be helpful to have a look at some studies that were conducted by researchers about the effects of bad treatment and segregation on minorities and diaspora groups.

By using national mortality and census data, Chiquita A. Collins and David R. Williams, found an association between residential segregation and mortality in 107 major U.S. cities. Black social isolation tended to predict higher rates of mortality for African American males and females, although the strength of the association was varied by cause of death (Chiquita and Williams, 1999: 495). Also, James Nazroo found that in the United States non-Hispanic Blacks and Native Americans were reported to have higher rates of mortality than non-Hispanic Whites (Nazroo, 2003: 277). African Americans (or Blacks) have an overall death rate that is 1.6 times higher than that of the white population, and racism ranks eighth of the ten leading causes of black death (Williams, 1999: 174).

In the United Kingdom, although mortality data are not available by ethnic group, the data on immigrant mortality rates and morbidity again suggest heterogeneity of experience across minority groups. For most outcomes, Bangladeshi and Pakistani people report the poorest health, followed by Caribbean people and then Indian people, with Chinese and white people having the best health (Nazroo, 2003: 277).

Several studies have also examined the association between segregation and infant mortality. Laveist found that the infant mortality rate for African-Americans is roughly double that of whites (Laveist, 1992: 1082). Poverty unemployment, low family income, low adult education, and crowded housing rate, all predicted higher rates of low birth weight (Roberts, 1997:602).

Researchers also found, segregation was positively associated with cancer death rates and heart disease mortality, for black and white males and for black females (Chiquita and Williams, 1999: 517). Poverty can lead to poorer nutrition, less access to medical services, and higher levels of stress (Roberts, 1997: 601). Racism is associated with increased psychosocial stress and blood pressure in blacks (Tull et al, 1999: 447). The negative effects of racism could extend from parents to their children. For instance, Caughy et al, found that, experiences of and responses to racism among African American parents have important effects on the well-being of

their young children (Caughy et al 2004: 2118).

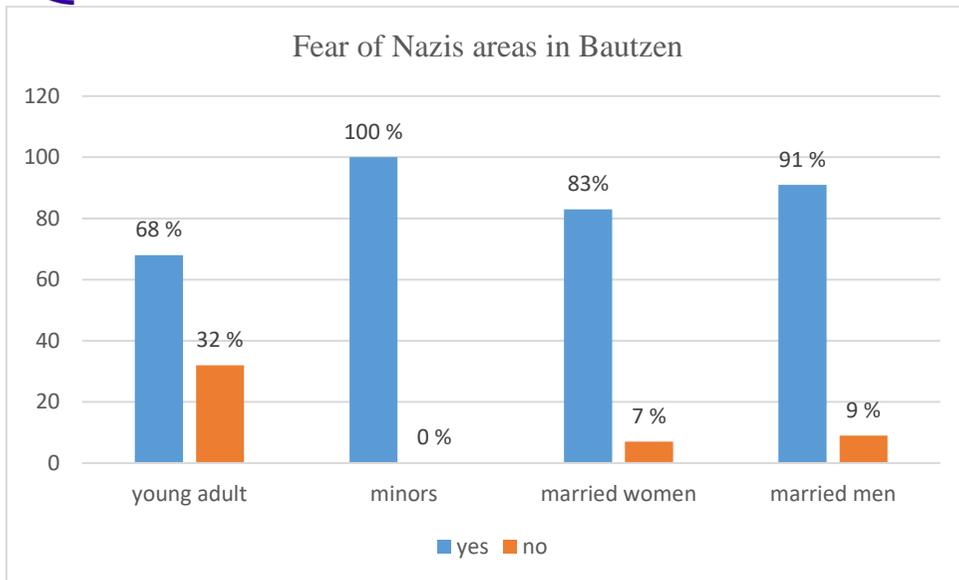
Other researchers studied the psychological effects of segregation. For instance, Dennis R. Combs et al, suggest that, perceived racism acts as a stressor for African Americans and may be associated with a variety of negative psychological consequences, notably paranoia. Paranoia among African Americans is believed to reflect the lower end of the paranoia continuum based on experiences with racism (Combs et al, 2006: 87). In a sample of 247 African American colleges, Thomaseo Burton et al, found that, students who reported more racism experiences also had poorer levels of psychological functioning as indicated by higher levels of psychological stress and psychological distress (Burton et al, 2007: 64). By using more specific types of encounters with racism, it may be possible to show that targets of racism are harmed psychologically from the stress and perhaps trauma (Carter, 2007: 14). Racist incidents are potentially traumatizing forms of victimization that may lead to increased psychiatric and psychophysiological symptoms in targets (Ocampo and Davis 2005: 479). In the case of racial/ethnic discrimination, physiological reactions may include changes in eating patterns, sleep, blood pressure, and increased use of alcohol and other substances (Thompson, 2002: 113).

Other researchers studied the relation between segregation and some social problems. For instance, Logan and Messner found that residential segregation was positively related to homicide, robbery and violent crimes, in the suburban rings of 54 metropolitan areas (Logan and Messner, 1987: 523).

Researchers have explored many health and psychological effects of segregation, bad treatment, and racism, but little attention has been paid the effects of conflicts and bad treatment on feeling of security, cohesion of community, and prospects of the future among targeted groups.

The feeling of security

Many of the interviewees expressed a fear of going to the places that were usually occupied by young Nazis, mainly the city center, and at certain times like at night, and on the weekend, when the streets are nearly empty.



Due to the lack of feelings of security, some asylum seekers and refugees in Bautzen have tried to move to West Germany or even to big cities in East Germany, like Dresden and Leipzig. Also, some have tried to avoid bad situations by staying home. Lack of security has affected the professional choices of some refugees. For instance, they have avoided starting a career in Bautzen and preferred to find jobs in another cities.

“My profession is a hairdresser, I will do training then I will open my own salon, but of course in West Germany, not here. I went to Hamburg. There is no distrust of refugees there...in West Germany they laugh and talk with refugees, so it is easier to start a job there... I am afraid if I open a salon here, they will destroy it, or even do worse...” A young adult refugee

In contrast, young adult and minor asylum seekers and refugees in Hamm don't have a bad relationship with the host society, however, some minor refugees are exposed to violence in public places from immigrant minors, especially Turkish minors. This violence against them has affected their ability to move freely inside the city. We don't know the exact reasons for this kind of conflict, but some refugees think that immigrant communities in Germany, think that refugees will rival them in the kind of work they do in the near future, so they classify refugees as outsiders and practice violence against them.

“There is no bad treatment from Germans against refugees, but from Turkish immigrants against Kurdish and Arab refugees. Turkish immigrants have been working in Germany for more than fifty years. Then Kurdish and Arab refugees came

to Germany. They know we will work and we will be a threat to them. I think they do not like us. Many times they gathered to attack us in the city center. They made up reasons just to attack us..." Minor refugee

It is interesting that in Germany many of the immigrant communities aren't part of a welcome or open arms policy in Germany, as some refugees reported, yet, they keep trying to get an advantage from the refugee wave to Germany.

"Arab immigrants did not help us. Their aim is on how to exploit the Arab refugees. For instance, when a refugee doesn't know the German language, laws, and prices, they rent him a bad flat with a high price... there is no Arab immigrants who help us, although a lot of them are really successful, like those who work in big companies, or universities..." A young adult refugee

Some social researchers explain conflict and violence between diaspora communities by the economic competition theory. For instance, Stephanie Chavez explain the conflict between African Americans and Latinos workers by this theory. He says that: "the two groups are competing for the same dry bone" (Chavez, 1992:1). Native-born black workers and new immigrants are cast as players in a desperate survival game, as someone throws out 200 bags of grain and 500 people who are going for it (Gordon and Lenhardt 2007: 1).

Refugee Community Cohesion

The way in which refugees acknowledge their situation in Bautzen, and how they try to cope the difficult situation after summer 2016, is complicated. On one hand they try to feel more secure by walking in groups, especially at night. "I avoid going out at night. I am afraid of problems... But if I have to go out at night, to the train station for example, I ask some of my friends to company me..." a married refugee man

"At night, if I have to go out, I go with two or three of my friends, racists can't attack a group of refugees. They only target individuals who walks alone..." A young adult refugee

On the other hand, the refugees and asylum- seeker community in Bautzen has conflicts within despite the fact they have lack of security in some areas of the city and in some groups after summer 2016. An instance of these cracks inside refugee community is the conflict that exist among refugees from different Arab countries. They get in arguments with each other sometimes in public places, and every group of them accuses the other one by saying "you are Arab" you are

terrorists, get out of Germany we don't want you here"!

"Many problems happened among refugees from Arabic countries. Refugees from Morocco, Algeria, and Libya cursed us, although we did nothing bad to them".

A young adult refugee

"I was walking with my friend, when suddenly a group of refugees from Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, and Libya started shouting at us, "Arab people are not good, they come to Germany only to do problems, and they were cursing at us"

Interviewer: What are reasons for that in your opinion?

Respondent: I don't know. They tell Germans "Arab people are not good" as they were not Arab people!!

Interviewer: Has this situation been repeated?

Respondent: Yes, but not as often as the attacks from young Nazis). A young adult refugee

Immigrant groups sometimes get in to conflict and violence with each other because some of them try to convince the majority or the host society that, they are part of the host society, not part of the immigrants' community. To achieve this goal, they practice discrimination and violence against one of the immigrant groups much more than the host society does. For instance, in order to attain a certain degree of social standing, the Mississippi Chinese had to actively distance themselves from blacks to show whites that they had no sympathy with blacks and their plight. As such, the Mississippi Chinese began to see themselves as having more in common with whites than with blacks and acted on that perceived commonality (Scotto, et al. 2006: 573).

The same thing was done by Cuban immigrants during the mid-twentieth century, which pursued a strategy of racial distancing, seeing themselves as being in economic and social competition with black Americans rather than as natural allies in the fight for social and political equality (Scotto, et al. 2006: 573). This (whitening up) strategy, which means sharing whites' negative attitudes toward black, is also used by Latinos. In a survey of black, white, and Latino residents (n =500), the results show, for the most part, Latino immigrants hold negative stereotypical views of blacks and feel that they have more in common with whites than with blacks. Yet, whites do not reciprocate in their feelings toward Latinos (Scotto, et al. 2006: 571).

Therefore, this kind of conflict inside asylum seekers and refugees community is a psychological defense mechanism use by a weak a group in order to convince the dominant group that" we are part of you" in order to be more accepted.

The asylum seekers from these countries, Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, are the weakest asylum seekers in Germany, since their countries have no war so it is hard to be given the right to stay in Germany as refugees. Usually their applications rejected, so they are more wary and unstable in this country. Therefore, they try to get sympathy from the host society by showing Germans they are worried about refugees in Germany from refugees too. It is attempt and sacrifice of the threatened, worried, unstable community or group to survive by abandoning and attacking part of it, and to make it a scapegoat.

In high risk situation, people commit strange actions just to survive. For instance, the victims sometimes justify the violence committed against them, or even defend the perpetrators. This phenomenon was formally named in 1973 by Stockholm syndrome (Adorjan, et al, 2012: 457. In this context, it was interesting how the woman that was attacked by young Germans justified the aggressive behavior against her: "...If you do not interfere in the racists' affairs, they will not interfere in your affairs and will not attack you. Interviewer: Did you interfere in their affairs when they pulled your veil? Respondent: Of course not, but this is their nature, and we have to accept and bear them, because we are living in their country" A refugee woman

As such, adults and minors in Bautzen who get in conflict with what they called Nazis, have found themselves threatened not only by Nazis but also by other refugees. A Palestinian refugee widow whose son was involved in the conflict with young Nazis, said "I was blamed by the refugee community more than by Germans. Some refugees even threatened that, they would strike my child, which means that, some refugees want to play the role of the police. As a single widow woman, I found myself under great pressure from Germans and the refugees together". A refugee woman

The hope for the future

89 % of young adult refugee in Hamm expressed their trust in a good future. In contrast, only 44 % of young adult refugee in Bautzen expressed their trust in good future. Also, 73 % of married refugee men in Bautzen expressed their pessimist about their future in Germany. The percentage was similar for women. Only minors in Bautzen expressed a high rate of optimism 83 %, which is the same percent to the minors in Hamm.

"I am distracted. I do not know what will happen to me in the future. I am

pessimistic about my future in this country. I may need something necessary for my success in this country, but they refuse me for some reasons”. A young adult refugee

“I don’t have a future in this city, so I will leave it... I am afraid of failure. Failure in Germany means a destruction of the future because I am alone here, and no one will help me ...” A young adult refugee

The feeling of desperation, and the fear of the future increase when refugees have difficulty getting asylum. For instance, those who came from Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Lebanon, and Pakistan have a lower chance of getting asylum than Syrians. The problem is that those refugees have made the journey, put their lives under high risk, and paid their money to smugglers. Yet, most of the time their asylum applications rejected. Therefore, they often have no work and no school to learn the language, so they spend their time hanging around in streets of Bautzen and sitting in the city center and killing time. Hence they are more likely involved in conflict with young Germans than those who are accepted as a refugees.

“I feel lost, I had an ambition, a dream, and reasons that led me to flee my country. I put my life in high risk to achieve my dream. It is not easy to come without your family. I was 20 years old when I arrived to East Germany. I am staying here despite the difficult circumstances and have learned some of the language. I had ambitions, and a hope of finding good Germans who would change my life and make it much better, but everything has vanished. I found difficulties and obstacles in Germany much more than the country that I had fled...” A young adult refugee

Actually, sometimes asylum seekers and refugees suffer from losing the hope of a good future neither because of bad treatment, nor for not getting asylum, but due to psychological problems related to their previous lives in their home countries, especially, those exposed circumstances of war. I interviewed only one refugee who had this problem.

“The depression that I suffer because of many personal problems that occurred with me, made me feel lost. There is no goal in my life. Always to succeed you have to have a goal, and I don’t have any...I can’t achieve anything then I lose it, just like what happened with me in Syria. I lost a lot, and that is enough... I can’t focus, I always forget. My mind is still in Syria, only my body is in Germany. I feel like I am in a nightmare and can’t get out of it. I can’t believe I am in Germany. How did the war begin? And how did we get out? And how did we come to Germany? It is a nightmare”. A young adult refugee

Discussion

The conflict that might be at some points appear ideological began as fighting between competitive young Germans and young asylum seekers and refugees. In a study of the conflict between youth groups in a Norwegian city, Bjorgo found the ideological consciousness not necessary in the new Nazis groups. Being a 'neo-Nazi' was to them mainly a group identity, and not necessarily an ideological identification. Most of them were rather ambivalent about the notion of neo-Nazism. What mattered to them was the loyalty of the group more than its ideology or politics. However, expressing racist views was part of what was expected of them as group members. And gradually, they adopted the views as well (Bjorgo, T, 2005: 50). It is impossible to rule out that the situations of young Germans in Bautzen, who were against refugees and who the refugees called Nazis, is very similar to what this study described. Due to their young age, it is hard for them to understand and believe in Nazism as an ideology.

However, this conflict seriously damaged the relationship between refugees and many members of the host society. We find the effect of the conflict between two young groups was not limited to them but attended to other refugee groups. We find married men are exposed more to bad treatment: 91 % are exposed to insults, 9 % exposed to assault in public places, 82% are exposed to harsh treatment in the private sector. The reason is that married men in Bautzen stay outside their accommodation places more than other group of refugees, because they accompany their children to schools in the morning and home when they return. Also, they accompany their wives when they need to go outside to places like the Doctors, markets, hospitals etc. Also, they more than the other groups, have to go to government institutions (job center and office of foreigners) for issues related to them or to their families. All that makes them the most exposed and affected group in terms of conflicts in Bautzen although they were not part of it directly.

“... I have a permanent job in this city. Every day I have to accompany my children to their school, because I am afraid for them”. A married refugee man

“In this camp there are forty single adult asylum seekers living together with twenty asylum seekers families....I have to accompany my wife whenever she needs to go, because I afraid a drunk asylum seeker will harm...”. A married refugee man

Furthermore, we find this conflict resulted in some bad effects on refugees in Bautzen. For instance, because married men are exposed more to bad treatment

than other refugees group, this has affected on trust in the future. 73 % of married men expressed a fear for the future, and this percentage is the highest of the four refugee groups. That helps to affirm the positive relationship between exposure to bad treatment and loss of hope for a good future. How we can understand that minors in Bautzen expressed a high rate of optimist in their future (83 %) which is the same percent in Hamm.

Minors in Bautzen have more organized lives than adults. They have school every day, and they have special case-workers called (Betreue). They plan their time, even for the weekends and holidays. Moreover, due to their age, minors don't have contact with the job center (they aren't required to work). They don't have a contact with office of foreigners, as their case-workers do that for them. Hence, minors are less exposed to bad treatment than other refugee groups. Furthermore, minors in general are less worried about the future compared to adults. They are not afraid of being returned to their countries and they don't have to return to the first European country they entered before they arrived to Germany, as the case for adults according to Dublin Regulation (Johnson, 2015: 6).

Some young adults, married men and women, those who came from Syria and other war zones, often had steady lives compared to minors, then they suddenly lost it because of war, so it is difficult for some of them to start again and trust the future, even if the possibilities for having a good future are much better here in Germany. In contrast, minors had no steady life because they were children when they left their countries. They didn't suffer the same losses as other groups who might, for example have been students at a university, were employed, were doctors etc. As a result, fear about the future is much less with minors because of their age, their previous life in their country, and their current life in Germany. Due to that, although minors the most fearful refugee group about their safety, due to their weakness to defend themselves, they do not have fear about their future in Germany.

Additionally, we find married men, usually accompanied by their families. As a result they do not only worry about themselves, but also about their families. They have a high rate of fear (91 %) about going in to areas of the city that are usually occupied by Nazis like the city center, or from walking alone after dark, or in streets where there are no pedestrians.

Basing on these results we can say that, the street fighting that happened between some young adults and minor refugees and young Germans, in the summer

of 2016, has mobilized, and turned to be bad treatment from some people in Bautzen against not only young refugees and asylum seekers who quarreled with young Germans but also other groups of refugees. These other groups were not in conflict with young Germans (married men and women) but also targeted, even more so than minors and young adult refugees.

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