

Appendix

Appendix 1: Short Summaries of the Five Testimonials Used as Data Material

Testimonial 1: ‘Anything can happen on Macedonia road’ – Anonymous (International Women* Space, 2015, pp. 181–187)

The testimonial is by an anonymous woman, who comes from Addis Abeba in Ethiopia. She has a daughter, who got bullied because of her Muslim name in a Christian community. This together with the security situation motivated the testimonee to flee. However, due to financial and security considerations, she left her daughter with her grandparents and left to Syria. Deducing from other information given in the testimonial, this must have been between 2011-2014. From Syria, she continued walking to Turkey and then arrived in Greece by boat. At this point, she was pregnant. Accompanied by her partner’s uncle, another family, and additional young men, she then proceeded along the so-called ‘old Balkan-route’ (UNHCR, 2020). From Macedonia she entered Serbia by foot, was pushed back to Macedonia and re-entered Serbia. She then attempted to cross Hungary by train but was pushed back again. In the end, a Syrian family offered her a ride in their car to Munich. After arriving in Berlin the next day, she gave birth to her son Adam shortly later.

Testimonial 2: ‘I was trafficked through Libya’ – Mercy (International Women* Space, 2018, pp. 71–83)

In 2007, the 14 year old Nigerian testimonee Mercy stopped going to school and was raped by her cousin shortly later. To continue her education, her sister’s boyfriend connected her with a woman* who was supposed to bring her to Italy for work. Before leaving Nigeria, Mercy was forced to participate in a voodoo ceremony. During their bus journey out of Nigeria, Mercy and her female companions got raped by soldiers. After arriving in Libya and after refusing to work as a prostitute, Mercy worked for her female companions before being sold to Emmanuel, who forced her into prostitution. After threatening to get him arrested, she could leave the prostitution house and started working for an Arab family that treated her poorly. In 2011, after the war in Libya started, Emmanuel and Mercy fled to Italy, following the so-called Central Mediterranean-route (FRONTEX, 2020). Again, and threatening her with voodoo, Emmanuel forced her into prostitution. After becoming pregnant, she decided to continue her journey and escape from prostitution. Together with a friend, Peter, she left Italy after multiple threats and attacks by Emmanuel. After crossing Switzerland, they reached Germany. There, the violence continued. She gave birth and learned that Emmanuel had followed her. After she pressed charges, he was convicted and imprisoned. Peter also had started abusing her and she spent some time in a psychiatric hospital. Peter continuously abused her and befriended Emmanuel. Out of fear of him revealing her address, she moved to a women’s shelter for a short while. Being denied a longer stay due to her legal title, she had to move back to her old flat in Stuttgart, where Peter and her neighbours further harassed her. Finally, in 2016 she moved to Berlin, where she continued her education and received a three-year residence permit.

Testimonial 3: Hey, you might be in a similar situation one day – Maryam (International Women* Space, 2018, pp. 99–109)

Maryam is an Iranian woman* and was expelled from university due to her political activities. Due to her fear of being politically persecuted, she decided to leave Iran with her boyfriend Ahmad sometime after 2009. After a first unsuccessful attempt to cross the border, they joined the Kurdish PJAK forces in Iraqi Kurdistan. While Ahmad wanted to stay, Maryam wanted to continue her journey to Europe which led to a lot of complications. In the meantime, Maryam became rather involved with the PJAK.

Because Ahmad was opposed to her idea to move to Rojava, they decided to move to Turkey. After a difficult and dangerous crossing, Maryam stayed in Turkey for a year before continuing her flight. Before her departure to Greece, she got raped by a smuggler and blamed for it by Ahmad and others in the group. She also continued her flight along the 'old Balkan-route' (UNHCR, 2020) via Macedonia, Serbia, then – after a push-back – to Hungary and then Germany. While being transferred to different camps, the relationship with Ahmad worsened, who continued to abuse her. Because of this, she left to Berlin, where she received a positive answer for her asylum case but had to be hospitalized into the psychiatric ward for 11 days.

Testimonial 4: 'I have many scars on my body' – Anonymous (International Women* Space, 2015, pp. 14–25)

The anonymous testimonee comes from an Afghani family living in Iran. In 2004 as 14-year-old, she got married against her will. Her husband severely abused her, resulting in a miscarriage. After filing for divorce and continuous violence, she and her family moved; First, within Iran and later to Afghanistan. Since the situation did not improve, they decided to join her older brother in Norway. Around 2009, they fled from Afghanistan via Iran to Turkey and then by boat to Greece. Using fake Romanian passports, they continued their journey by plane to Norway. After five years there, she was supposed to be deported and was jailed, where she started harming herself. After further unsuccessful court appeals, she fled with her family to Germany. During the time of the testimonial, it was still uncertain whether they could stay in Germany. Hence, the testimonee was afraid of being sent back to Norway or deported to Afghanistan.

The data material selected from this testimonial includes the time frame after leaving Afghanistan and ends with the arrival in Norway. Due to her Irani-Afghani origin, the relocation from Iran to Afghanistan did not appear to constitute an inbetweenness: Her family possessed land in Afghanistan and the move did not seem to constitute a major change in the testimonee's life – at least following my interpretation of her testimonial. Ending the data material with her arrival in Norway was motivated by the preliminary end of inbetweenness: The testimonee becomes subject of the Norwegian asylum system. However, her cross-national background and especially her experiences in Norway and the continuation to Germany demonstrate the urgent need to critically reflect on spatially and border-based approaches to flight. This includes the narratives of belonging and arrival, as further described in the discussion chapter of this thesis (see Chapter 5.5.2).

Testimonial 5: 'Don't label me, because I don't label myself' – Dania (International Women* Space, 2018, pp. 211–219)

Dania is a Syrian testimonee, who lived in Damascus during the beginning of the civil war in Syria. Shortly after the death of her younger sister, she started a relationship with a woman in 2013 and became well known for her activism in the LGBTQIA+ community. In 2015, she left Syria, when invited to a conference in Turkey. There, she was working in an organisation for homosexual Arab refugees and only left Turkey after the increased violence against the LGBTQIA+ community in Turkey. Together with others, she took a rubber boat to Lesbos in Greece, where she had to be hospitalized because of a knee injury. After a failed attempt to fly to Poland using a fake ID, she followed the 'old Balkan-route' (UNHCR, 2020) to Macedonia, Hungary and Austria. Although she wanted to continue her journey to Sweden, her health forced her to remain in Germany. There, she received permission to stay for three years and continues her political activism by giving seminars on Islamophobia, homophobia, and women's rights.

Appendix 2: Coded Transcript of the Content Analysis and Interpretation Meeting with Suh Mary on the 16.02.2021

Participants

R: Rebekka Rohe

S: Suh Mary

1 [...] #0:01:40#
2 R: Well, thank you so much for making this work. I am so happy to meet you (laughing). #0:01:45#
3 S: You are welcome (laughing). #0:01:46#
4 R: First of all, I really have a general question. Is it okay for you, if I record this conversation, so I can later transcribe it on the Computer? #0:01:55#
5 S: Yeah, it's okay. #0:01:56#
6 R: Okay, perfect. #0:01:57#
7 S: It's okay, so it can help you with everything. #0:02:00#
8 R: Thank you. Exactly, I will just put it into written words later on (laughing). So, first of all, I don't know, if you feel like it, if you want to, it would be super nice if you introduced yourself. #0:02:12#
9 S: Yeah but okay, since I want to be anonymous, am I supposed to say my name? #0:02:19#
10 R: Ah, okay, you want to stay anonymous? That's good to know. ##0:02:22#
11 S: Yes. #0:02:23#
12 R: Okay. No, then you don't have to say your name. #0:02:26#
13 S: Okay then. I want to stay anonymous. #0:02:28#
14 R: Exactly. Please share whatever you want. You don't have to say anything you don't want to say but whatever you want to say, you can say. #0:02:34#
15 S: Okay. So, I can just start by saying, I am from Cameroon and I came to Germany in 2017. I came with a visa. I came actually for visit before things turned out that I had to stay back. #0:03:00#
16 R: So, you came by plane to Germany? #0:03:04#
17 S: Yes. #0:03:05#
18 R: Okay, yes, good to know. Great. Also, sorry, just because you just said about the anonymous: Did you have the chance to read the document that I sent you yesterday? With the, with all the, that you can stay anonymous, that you don't have to say anything you don't want to say, stuff like this? #0:03:23#
19 S: Yes, I read it. Though I didn't really because yesterday I was really busy but I had to go shortly, just passing through to see what is necessary and what not. #0:03:33#
20 R: Yes, of course. Because it would be great, if-. Or do you have any questions about this? Was there anything you didn't agree with or that you would need further information? #0:03:42#
21 S: It's okay. The questions that I can answer, I answer it. And what it cannot, I just have to tell you. This will be good #0:03:52#
22 R: Of course. Because then it would be really nice, if you could just send me an e-mail with like one sentence, just saying, I have read it and it's okay for me. Because my university needs this proof that you have the information that

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I told you. Stuff like this, you know, that I did not force you to have those conversations, that I didn't force you to say your name, stuff like this is important for them to know. So, that would be really nice. #0:04:16#

23 S: Okay, I will send you a message. #0:04:18#

24 R: Perfect, thank you so much. Okay, and quickly could you just tell me what your motivation was to participate in this conversation? #0:04:26#

25 S: Ahm (thinking), talking to different people and telling people about my experience, it motivates me. It motivates me to keep going. Yeah, it's like, you have a burden and you say it to somebody, though the problem is not solved but it reduces the stress and it reduces because you have somebody to talk to. #0:04:59#

26 R: Yes, so you see it as form of helping yourself through talking about it? #0:05:03#

27 S: Yes, it's helping myself to talk about it and to learn more. From your questionnaires, I get to learn more from elsewhere #0:05:15#

28 R: Yes, and to make it public? So people know what is happening, right? #0:05:18#

29 S: Exactly, to create awareness. #0:05:23#

30 R: Yes, nice. So thank you so much, this is really helping me a lot (laughing).

31 S: You're welcome. #0:05:29#

32 R: What else? I wanted to ask something else. Oh yeah, last time you mentioned that you were also working as a volunteer with other refugee women? Is that true? #0:05:37#

33 S: Yeah, I was like a mentor, (unaudible: social?) worker at [name of women's rights organisation]. I did that just for a very short time that I was a mentor. A short while, yeah. #0:05:50#

34 R: So you helped them to arrive in Germany and to get along? #0:05:54#

35 S: I didn't help them to arrive in Germany, I just helped them to get along with the stress and the trauma, when it comes to human trafficking. Because they were living – they were involved in human trafficking. Yeah. So, all I could do was how to live – to remove the stress in them or how to live on without the stress. To forget about everything that has passed and move on with the present life that we have right now. #0:06:32#

36 R: Mhm (agreeing). Did you have a training for that? #0:06:35#

37 S: Yeah, I had a training, I had a training. I think I had four sessions training for that, yeah. #0:06:44#

38 R: Really interesting that you did that (laughing). Nice, do you have any further questions? I don't know whether you had a look at the documents or more generally? #0:06:54#

39 S: I had a look at the document but really not thorough. But I think right now I don't have any questions. We just have to dive into the questionnaires and then I'll see what I can do. #0:07:08#

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- 40 R: Of course, so, I think it makes sense that I just give you a very – I tried last time but I'm sorry, I feel that last time I was really not making it clear, so I'll really try to – because I'm so deep in the research that I feel, you know, once, it doesn't have to do much with real life anymore. Because I'm so stuck in all the documents (laughing), so I will really try to explain what it actually is. But please let me know, when you feel that you haven't quite understood something or that I really didn't make myself clear. Because it's really important for me that you really understand what, yeah (laughing). Because I'm really sorry if I'm talking too much or too abstract or something like this (laughing). #0:07:50#
- 41 S: Yeah, it's okay. #0:07:51#
- 42 R: So, just about myself, I mean, I introduced myself a little bit last time. I'm Rebekka, I am 25, and I am currently based in Berlin. Originally, I am from the South of Germany, so from, I don't know, do you know the Nuremberg area, Erlangen, Nürnberg. #0:08:07#
- 43 S: Yeah, Nuremberg, I know Nuremberg. #0:08:08#
- 44 R: Yeah, I am from close to there, that's where I grew up but now I am doing my masters in Berlin and I am almost done, so let's hope I can finish this master thesis (laughing) and be done with my studies. Yes, exactly. And so, what I am, I am really trying to keep it very short. So, what I am trying to do, is, find the connection between vulnerability and agency. So, vulnerability is the likeliness to be ahm (thinking) to suffer from violence, either indirect violence or direct violence. So, direct violence is quite obvious. It's getting hit or right, it's really the physical stuff what you normally understand as violence. While indirect violence is more structurally. So, if a woman doesn't get a job because of being a woman or, you know, somebody calling a woman a slut or something like this. It's not really...#0:09:09#
- 45 S: Mhm (agreeing). Traumatising a woman emotionally. #0:09:09#
- 46 R: Exactly, either traumatising them or just having the inequality. So, it's all the – it's not only the violence really happening, you can see but it's also all the chances a woman does not get because of being a woman, you know. It's not maybe something actively happening but it's just always being pushed down because of being a woman. And the other form is agency. So, agency is really on the one hand the will to do something, which every person has. So, I am, you know, I am not just passive but I am actively doing something or want to do something. And that every human has but often women are often seen to not have it. So, women are seen as an object, although obviously they do want to make decisions. So, this is one part, the wanting to make decisions, the will to act. And the other aspect is the actual power to act. So, what my theory is that women obviously all have the will to act but they sometimes have less possibility to actually act because of being a woman. So, what I am trying to find out is this connection, the vulnerabilities, so the likeliness of violence happening and the agency. So, I think in many situations, so you can think one relationship might be that a family thinks, for example, a father thinks that his daughter is weaker or something, you know, as a woman,

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some stereotype, she is less smart, something like this and so, she is not allowed to take care of her financial situation but her brother gets to do it. So, she has less agency because she is seen as vulnerable. So this is one possible relationship. But at the same time, it could also be that the father thinks: Ah, the girl is stupid, so I give her the money because then she won't cheat on me. So then she gets to take care of the money. So, because she is seen as vulnerable, she actually gets more agency instead of less. So, it could be both. It could go in both directions in a way. So, in the interviews, what I would really like us to do, is, check what is the relationship in different situations. Where are the situations, where a woman is vulnerable, where are the situations where a woman has agency. Exactly, where she is vulnerable, where she is less vulnerable, where does she have agency, where does she have less agency and how does it belong together. And for this relationship, there is some factors. So, for example, what the literature said that companionship, so, does a woman travel by herself or does she travel with her family, does she travel with strangers, all this plays a role. Because if she travels with strangers, she might be more sexually abused by them or something like this. If she travels by family, she might be less vulnerable #0:12:03#

47 S: She is more secure. #0:12:04#

48 R: Exactly, she is more secure from outside but more vulnerable for inside stuff happening, so all this. Then, the second one is the financial situation. It says, the more money a woman has, the easier, or the less vulnerable it gets. So, for example, if she can go to a hostel, she doesn't have to go to a camp or something. You know, has more, can pay, or even sometimes that the smugglers, if the woman cannot pay financially, she has to pay with her body. So, the more money, the less vulnerable, is what the theory says. Also says that social class plays a role, which kinda goes hand in hand with the financial situation. So, women for example, that can speak other languages, they have a chance to better communicate or you know, they can find work more easily, stuff like this. And also nationality and ethnicity: The literature says that for example for Syrians it was much more easier since the civil war because in refugee camps, they got more rights, they got more privileged and they got treated more nicely from border guards and stuff like this. And the last one is religion. That in Europe, because of being such a Christian continent that people who were Christian are much more seen more positively and getting more help than for example Muslims. Because for example also German society, sorry, not German, European, society has more priority #0:13:27#

49 S: Than the muslim. #0:13:28#

50 R: Exactly. So this, do you, because that is like the broad (laughing), trying to make down, this is- #0:13:35#

51 S: Yeah, I understand (inaudible). I understand the summary. #0:13:39#

52 R: Okay, great, because then if it makes sense for you, I'd like to go through the documents and look for those aspects and also, for example, if you notice something else, for

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example, if you see: Okay, we haven't talked about health or something, the literature does not talk about health situation or disability or sexuality but we see those in the literature, in the interviews that we also then say: the literature has not said it but we also recognize them and we also include them. So, it's on the one hand looking for the things that already exist but also looking maybe for new things we find out. #0:14:18#

53 S: Okay. #0:14:19#

54 R: Okay, great. What do you think about it so far? Do you think that makes sense the relationship? Or do you? #0:14:25#

55 S: Yeah, it makes sense. It makes sense for me. #0:14:28#

56 R: Do you have any comments so far? Anything you have thought about so far? #0:14:30#

57 S: Ah (thinking), as we were talking I could understand everything but maybe I will have something to talk about after getting those questions. #0:14:40#

58 R: Of course. I mean, also, when we go through the document and you feel that there is some point, for example, a woman you talked to, she has something similar, it also helps me a lot if you say: Yes, I feel this point is really important or this point seems less important or stuff like this. #0:14:54#

59 S: Okay. #0:14:54#

60 R: Okay, great. So, how do you want to do it? Because it's nice if we read it together. Do you have the documents? Or should I read them out? Or? #0:15:02#

61 S: Ahm, ah (laughing). I'm using the same phone, so actually you just have to read it out because if I have to leave here [the Whatsapp call] then I don't know. It might be interrupted. #0:15:14#

62 R: (laughing) Sure. So I will just, I will read them out and whenever you feel or I feel that one of those situations is happening, one of the factors, we can just stop and talk about it. Does it make sense? #0:15:23#

63 S: Yeah, yeah. #0:15:26#

64 R: Okay. I will just start with the one, it's called 'Anything'- Have you, have you read through them? A little bit you said? #0:15:32#

65 S: Yeah, I just, I just went through them a little bit, like, because yesterday I was really busy. #0:15:38#

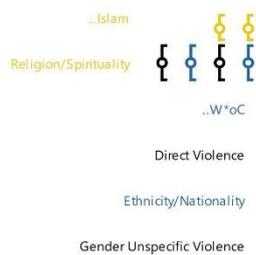
66 R: Sure, sure, of course. #0:15:40#

67 S: Yeah, so I went through them a little. #0:15:42#

68 R: Yeah, also like I just said you don't- you didn't have to, just for my (laughing), whether you- #0:15:46#

69 S: Mhm (agreeing). #0:15:47#

70 R: Okay, so I think I will just start with the one, it is called 'Anything can happen on Macedonia road' and it's from an anonymous woman, who comes from Addis Abeba in Ethiopia and has a daughter -I'm, because this is the part I just summarized from the documents - she has a daughter with a Muslim name in a Christian community, which gets



bullied because of having the Muslim name and the daughter and being bullied is actually, was one of the main reasons for the woman to leave because she wanted to go to a place, where the daughter could be comfortable and in a secure place. But she actually had to leave the daughter behind with her mother because ahm it was too dangerous and also too expensive to take the daughter, so she is still with her grandmother. But she hopes that she can bring the daughter to Germany as soon as possible. So just as a background. So, coming to the flight, I will just read it out, okay (laughing)? #0:16:44#

- 71 S: Mhm (agreeing). Yeah, I'm listening. #0:16:46#
- 72 R: "When I decided to leave Ethiopia I went to Syria. From Syria I walked to Turkey. If you walk straight from Syria to Turkey, it is just a few hours to the border, but it took us 3 days as it was winter and also because of the various types of control points we came across. I stayed in Turkey for a while and I thought that maybe I could bring my daughter there. Soon though I realized through the experiences of my friends that their Muslim kids were getting bullied. I also observed that although the people were nice, there was a lot of racism." So, I feel those are already the points of what, like, ethnicity and racism that religion and nationality. #0:17:27#
- 73 S: Of religion #0:17:29#
- 74 R: That religion, I'll just comment those. (...). Because it doesn't involve her directly but she hears about it, so I think it counts as well. (...). So, I'll comment here. Sorry. It's a bit complicated with the phone and the laptop (laughing). #0:17:50#
- 75 S: Yes, I understand. #0:17:51#
- 76 R: So, it's the role of ethnicity and religion. Sorry, I'll have to put you here (laughing). Muslim is religion. (...). Did you see anything else or do you think those were the two points so far that were made? #0:18:11#
- 77 S: Mhm (thinking), I mean the, the – what you read just now? #0:18:17#
- 78 R: Yeah, that was, did you see anything else? #0:18:18#
- 79 S: No, I didn't see anything else. #0:18:20#
- 80 R: Yeah, me neither. Just to make sure (laughing) whether #0:18:25#
- 81 S: Nah, nah it's okay (laughing) #0:18:26#
- 82 R: "The schools don't teach anything in English and they were very expensive. There was no way I could afford that and it made no sense if she would still be bullied, maybe even more, so I just continued my journey to Athens." I say with the expensive: Also financial situation. (...). Would you say the same? That she couldn't afford the school? #0:18:48#
- 83 S: Yeah, she couldn't afford the school, I saw that point. #0:18:50#
- 84 R: So, it's financial. Ahm. "So I just continued my journey to Athens. It took me 5 more months until I reached the border. We had to wait for the water to calm until we could cross.

When we finally did it, I went to Athens where I stayed for another 5 months. On the boat from Turkey, there were 36 adults and 8 children. The boat was for 24 people. It was terrible, we could not breathe. I was only a couple of months pregnant and the children were all over you, on top of each other and they were panicking. It was actually only one hour but it was horrifying because in the middle of the sea there is an island and we had to swerve around it, as we were doing so the water came in, people were screaming and all the salty water was coming in your mouth. The kids panicked. It wasn't easy." Do you think there was anything? Did you see anything there? #0:19:42#

85 S: Yeah, yeah, I see it (laughing). Just keep reading and I'm understanding you perfectly. #0:19:50#

86 R: No but I mean, do you, because did you see anything we could use? #0:19:54#

87 S: In my text, yeah I saw it. #0:19:56#

88 R: Because I (stumbling), did you see any, any part of the answering the question? Because I didn't see anything, what like, agency and vulnerability, did you see anything in the boat scene? #0:20:08#

89 S: in the text you sent to me? No, no. #0:20:12#

90 R: No, what I read right now. Did you feel there was anything we missed? #0:20:16#

91 S: No, no. #0:20:19#

92 R: With the boat and I didn't feel there was anything. #0:20:20#

93 S: No, I didn't feel that. #0:20:22#

94 R: Okay. "There are people who don't know the way and then it takes five, six hours and that's when accidents happen. We all left our bags, but there were some Syrians carrying huge bags, which they don't need for Athens. It was really crazy, you couldn't move. The good thing was that we had fuel; we had extra oil, which they put in a plastic container, and could use in case the boat stopped working. This was really good and because of it we were safe. If it wasn't for that, anything could have happened. Athens police were there" ahm sorry, "Athens police were there, they watch but they don't do anything. When we arrived, we were met by the military police in Greece, they were very young boys, 18 or 19 years old. They were really nice, they gave us water and told us to rest." So, that might be, that the boys were nice to them, do you think that is because she is a woman or do you think they were just nice? #0:21:19#

95 S: For me, I don't think they were nice because she was a woman. Because there were many people there. I think they were mixed: They were women and they were men. The police were nice because of the risks that were involved. #0:21:30#

96 R: Okay, so we don't use it? Because it doesn't have to do anything with women, right? #0:21:35#

97 S: Yeah, it doesn't have to do with gender basis. #0:21:38#

98 R: Okay, good, ahm "I know I was lucky, so many people have told me worse stories. It is not that it is always this

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good, it was just my experience. They took my fingerprints in Greece, but that doesn't matter for Greece. That is just a record for the border. I wasn't told to apply for asylum. It was just a record of migrants entering from Turkey to Greece. But once you ask for asylum, they will give you a card and that is when the European Union can be sure you have your fingerprints in Greece, which now doesn't even count because of the current situation there." I don't see anything there. Yeah. #0:22:13#

99 S: Me, too. #0:22:14#

100 R: Okay. "I tried so many times to get there but it was always so expensive and it never worked out. " 'Expensive', I'd say financial situation, right (laughing)? #0:22:14#

101 S: Yeah, financial situation (laughing). #0:22:25#

102 R: But if you don't have the money, you can't, you can't- #0:22:28#

103 S: Yeah, you can't, you can't live freely. You can't get a comfortable apartment for yourself. #0:22:33#

104 R: Yeah, and you also can't pay the smugglers anymore, right? #0:22:37#

105 S: Yeah. #0:22:38#

106 R: Have you heard of, do you know of your experience, also with the women, if that is a problem? Probably, right? #0:22:43#

107 S: (...) The woman that comes here, especially the one that come through Italy, it's always a problem for them. #0:22:50#

108 R: The financial-? #0:22:51#

109 S: But the one that, yeah, they always have a financial problem. But the one that come directly to Germany, they do not complain that much about financial problem because they are always have, if not so good, accommodation but a little bit better place for them to lay their heads to sleep. #0:23:10#

110 R: Yeah, you mean those who come directly without-, coming by plane, you mean, or? #0:23:16#

111 S: Yes, yeah, coming by plane. #0:23:18#

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112 R: Yeah. (...) Yeah. True. Okay. "I worked for a month with the uncle of my partner so we could get to Macedonia by train." Do you feel that is something? No, right? That she was working with the uncle? #0:23:33#

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113 S: (...) Ah, I don't know how we can use it in this situation. #0:23:39#

114 R: Yeah, maybe like having the connection or something? Like that helps? Knowing somebody on the way? #0:23:45#

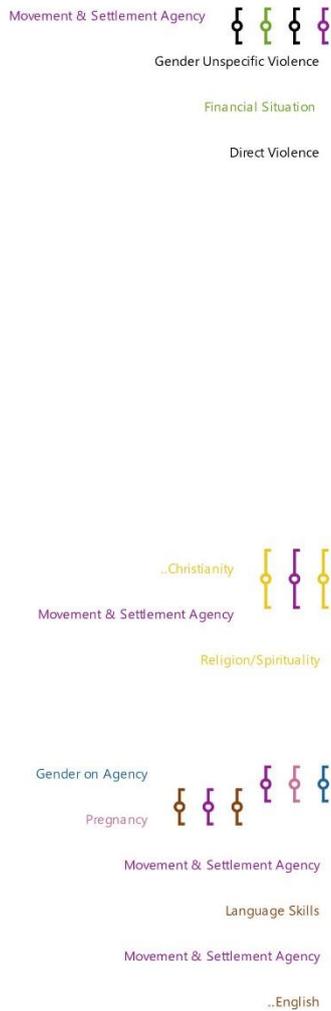
115 S: Yeah, that helps! But through her uncle, I don't know why, but it helps. It helps to, to, to give her money. #0:23:55#

116 R: So, something like: Having contacts on the way. Something like this? Knowing people? #0:23:59#

117 S: Mhm, yeah. Yeah, knowing people on the way. #0:24:01#

118 R: Okay. "After Macedonia we walked for almost a month. We stayed in Serbia for 2 days, Hungary for 2 days, but all

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in all it was 26 days. We were walking along the railways, we did not have GPS, and we didn't have people in our group who knew the directions. During the journey we saw many mafia. The first mafia was actually the police. They took money from us and they let us pass. After 1 hour they called another group." I guess with the 'they took money from us' and 'they let us pass': If you don't have money, they don't let you pass. #0:24:34#

- 119 S: Yeah. Mhm (agreeing). #0:24:36#
- 120 R: So, a lot of financial- #0:24:39#
- 121 S: Yeah, a lot of financial situations. #0:24:42#
- 122 R: So but I feel what we found so far was always the inbetween, what influences vulnerability and agency but we have not really found a case of violence yet or a case of agency yet, right? #0:24:51#
- 123 S: We haven't found case of violence and we haven't found case of gender basis. #0:24:56#
- 124 R: Yeah. Yeah. #0:24:57#
- 125 S: I think so, now. #0:24:58#
- 126 R: So, it's just, okay. Because I think she just hasn't described it, the situation concretely but it's good that (laughing) we feel the same way. #0:25:05#
- 127 S: Yeah (laughing). #0:25:06#
- 128 R: "After 1 hour they called another group. The people I was walking with were Muslims. When they saw me, when they saw that I had a cross on my necklace, they let me pass." So, religion. #0:25:18#
- 129 S: Mhm (agreeing), that's religion. #0:25:22#
- 130 R: And, religion in the sense that Christian is being preferred, right? #0:25:25#
- 131 S: Mhm (agreeing), yeah. #0:25:26#
- 132 R: "They also saw that I was pregnant and they said 'You can go' but as nobody else could speak English, I demanded to stay." So, being pregnant and they said 'you can go' that is also probably a factor, right? #0:25:39#
- 133 S: That, that is favourism in the side of the women. #0:25:43#
- 134 R: Yeah, so it's more agency by being pregnant. #0:25:26#
- 135 S: Yes, yes. #0:25:48#
- 136 R: Did you, is that your experience? Have you heard of that? That women get treated better being pregnant? #0:25:55#
- 137 S: Yeah, yeah (laughing). I've been experiencing it (laughing). That's my experience, I actually had the experience, when I was in the police. When I went to report the ahm the case of my human trafficking. Actually, I was pregnant. I was pregnant then and I really had, I had at least four hours interview and I had interview for at least four hours. And it was really pressing, it was actually depressing because there was a lot of pressure on me. And actually, when I told the woman because , my pregnancy was really small, it was just five months, it was not really big that she could notice that I am pregnant and I was like 'Oh, I am tired, I am pregnant, I

actually need to relax myself" and she was like 'Ah, oh you are pregnant?' I said yes and she gave me a five minute break and when I came back, the interview was just closed. #0:26:50#

138 R: Okay. Great. So you see that with the favour. So, just that, for my understanding. I, I, if you don't want to, I won't use it but if you want to tell me. So, you said you came by plane with a visa to Germany? #0:27:02#

139 S: Yeah. #0:27:03#

140 R: But then after arriving you had to go to the police here? #0:27:06#

141 S: No, when I arrived I was in Deutschland for about nine months. I was about, because, when I arrived, actually, I became a victim of human trafficking. But that got me right in Germany. #0:27:26#

142 R: Ah, so you were trafficked into Germany? #0:25:28#

143 S: Yes. So, ahm, so when I left, when I run away from them I had to go to the police because I needed to report the woman that had to use me for that prostitution also. So I had to, I was supposed to report the woman, to give a report to the police. So they can look for the woman for me. #0:27:48#

144 R: Of course, do you know if they found the woman yet? You don't, of course you don't- #0:27:51#

145 S: No. #0:27:51#

146 R: No? #0:27:52#

147 S: They, no. No. #0:27:54#

148 R: Okay. (inhales sharply). Oh man. I really hope that the police system will find her. #0:28:00#

149 S: Yeah, they still, they're still doing investigation. They sent me a letter, they can't find her but it's, they're searching, they keep searching because actually then, when I just came, I didn't know Germany, I didn't know how (laughing), in my country we don't have -I'm sorry, I have to cut this short (laughing) - in my country we don't have house numbers, we don't have address, we don't have streets, so when I came here, I didn't know Germany is like: This street, this number, this. So I didn't know, when I was there with the woman, I was just so blocked and I couldn't keep all those information in my head. So that makes it very difficult for the police to look at her. It's sad. #0:28:43#

150 R: Yes, that's very true. I really hope all the best, that she will be found. #0:28:51#

151 S: Yeah, exactly. I hope so, too. So, I think there is a favourism for pregnant women. #0:28:58#

152 R: Okay. #0:28:58#

153 S: Which is right, which is right. Because they go through a lot. #0:29:00#

154 R: Yeah and at the same time I think because being pregnant makes the journey more difficult. So I wouldn't say it's just, it's not just positive being pregnant but giving birth during the route is dangerous, so, you know, it's both. On the one hand it may be, in a little way it's good but in a bigger picture it's also very dangerous. And also, women become

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more vulnerable being pregnant I guess. #0:29:23#

155 S: Yeah. #0:29:24#

156 R: Or how do you see it? #0:29:25#

157 S: Travelling with pregnancy is very difficult, it's stressful. Because some, some pregnancies differs. Some comes with so many sickness, some comes and the woman is so strong, then, just imagine taking that risk of travelling in a desert, in water with pregnancy. So, if they favour pregnant women, for me it's perfectly right. It's perfectly okay. #0:29:51#

158 R: Yeah, definitely. #0:29:52#

159 S: They go through a lot. #0:29:53#

160 R: Yes, so I will put as the factor that pregnancy definitely plays a role: On the one hand being treated better but at the same time also having more risks and more dangers of something happening. #0:30:04#

161 S: Something, yes. Mhm (agreeing). #0:30:06#

162 R: And especially if you don't have medical care and stuff, it's getting really dangerous, yeah. #0:30:09#

163 S: It's getting more dangerous. #0:30:11#

164 R: So I guess you could also say in a way it's a form of indirect violence. If you're pregnant and you don't have access to a hospital, and women just need it more than men, then the hospital not existing is more going against women than against men? Or maybe not. #0:30:27#

165 S: Yeah, it's indirect violence. Yeah, I see like, I see like (laughing), this emotional trauma is indirect violence. #0:30:36#

166 R: Yeah. Definitely. #0:30:37#

167 A: Because when you are pregnant, you can't go to the hospital, you don't have anybody there for you. Automatically you become traumatized. #0:30:44#

168 R: Yeah. So, I- #0:30:47#

169 S: A little bit of indirect violence. #0:30:48#

170 R: Yeah, I will put this down as well. Maybe we find some cases that are more concrete because in this situation it's just, they say, they say, she is nice to her but I will definitely put it more broadly into the work (laughing). #0:31:02#

171 S: Mhm, mhm (agreeing). Yeah. #0:31:04#

172 R: Shall I continue? Are you ready? #0:31:05#

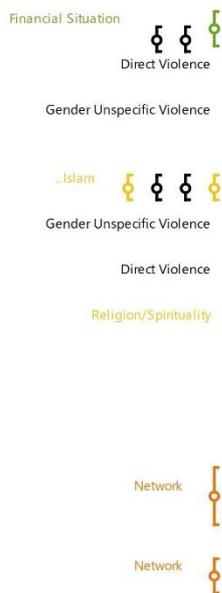
173 S: Okay, yeah. #0:31:06#

174 R: And also, please I know, I, I, I haven't mentioned it at the beginning but whenever you feel that something is too much or too intense or triggering something or you feel retraumatized, or anything that makes you uncomfortable, please let me know and we will stop. Because I, I really don't want to do any harm to you with this conversation. #0:31:26#

175 S: Oh, it's okay. No, it's fine, I can take it. #0:31:30#

176 R: Okay. Ahm: "But as nobody else could speak English, I demanded to stay.". Would you say the speaking English plays a role? Is that? #0:31:42#

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- 177 S: Yeah, speaking English actually plays a lot of role I would say in the whole world. (...) It plays a bigger role in the whole world. If you speak English, even here in Deutschland that they don't speak, it's not an English speaking country but you can still get people who understands English. Yes, you can get people. I have friends that speaks only French and they find it very difficult for them. So, they will always tell me 'Oh, you can speak English, you can speak French, it is a little bit easier for you because there are people that understand English, so for me, like English is a worldwide language. You just need to understand a little. #0:32:24#
- 178 R: So, speaking English maybe in the small but in the bigger it would be educational background or something like this? Or social class or what would you say? Or just language skills? #0:32:32#
- 179 S: Just language skills. (...) You can live where there is a, you can live where they speak English and you don't go to school. You get to learn it in the streets. #0:32:45#
- 180 R: True. That's very true. So I just put 'speaking English'. Okay. #0:32:47#
- 181 S: Mhm (agreeing). Language skills, yeah. #0:32:49#
- 182 R: Yeah. "I told them that I was not going anywhere." I think that's agency. She is just saying no, right? She says no and doesn't go. That's agency. #0:32:59#
- 183 S: Yeah, that's agency. It was like, she was being forced to go somewhere #0:33:04#
- 184 R: Exactly, and she says 'no' and stays. So she decides herself. #0:33:08#
- 185 S: Agency. #0:33:09#
- 186 R: "They were asking for money, those of us who didn't have any, got beaten with a very thick stick." So- #0:33:37#
- 187 S: Violence. #0:33:18#
- 188 R: Violence and financial situation. #0:33:21#
- 189 S: Yeah. #0:33:22#
- 190 R: I mean (...) 'got beaten with a' is direct violence (...). "They showed us that they hate Muslims." Religion. #0:33:33#
- 191 S: Religion. #0:33:35#
- 192 R: Was that your experience as well? Did you feel that religion played a very big role? #0:33:40#
- 193 S: Mh (thinking), no. I didn't feel it. I am a catholic, so. Since I was a victim of human trafficking, I didn't live in the asylum camp. So I had lucky, I went to [name of women's rights organisation] and that was the best place ever I could be (Laughing). #0:31:01#
- 194 R: Nice, that's really good to hear (laughing). Okay. "It is very easy to find the smugglers. There is a site on Facebook where anybody can go and check. There is a phone number to contact them. The tricky thing is that they are aware the police can pretend to be refugees, so they are very straight about how it works. You need to know somebody, who will provide you with a code. Usually there a coffee places that you just go to and leave from there. You will have to be a

foreigner. Because no citizen wants to leave their country in an illegal way." So, would you say access to social media? That is also important, right? #0:34:38#

195 S: Yeah, it's so important. #0:34:40#

196 R: Because if it's going via facebook page, I would say without having social media, you cannot access or like, without the technology you cannot reach the smugglers. You cannot go. #0:34:50#

197 S: Yeah, social media is very important. It's so educative. #0:34:54#

198 R: Or even to get help. To know where to find help, right? #0:34:58#

199 S: Yeah, yeah. #0:35:00#

200 R: Okay, ahm (...). "You have to be a foreigner. Because no citizen wants to leave their country in an illegal way For example a Turkish person can get a visa to go to Greece. They don't need to risk their lives going by boat. It doesn't really matter what age you are. Everybody is a person." So that is also interesting. That age does not play a role. Did you feel that? That- #0:35:18#

201 S: (...) Yeah, I feel it. Age does not play a role to travel from Turkey to Greece. Yeah but that, yeah, it's good. #0:35:32#

202 R: Do you feel generally age plays a role in other contexts? #0:35:36#

203 S: Mhm (thinking), no, no, I don't feel so. For the age issue I don't feel I have any idea. Maybe some country will reject some old people but nah, for me, nah (laughing). #0:35:50#

204 R: No but that is also just interesting that there are some parts that don't matter (laughing). #0:35:51#

205 S: Yeah (laughing). #0:35:54#

Movement & Settlement Agency  
Financial Situation

206 R: "Everybody is a person. You pay as one, you go as one, for them you are just money." That is also financial situation again. (...) "Because there is a code, most of the time from Turkey to Greece you don't pay unless you are there, it is by code. But after Turkey it gets really tricky. If you are going by foot, of course you have to pay first because it is not their business if you don't come back. For them it doesn't really matter if you are a woman or a man, as long as you pay you can go." So, that is also interesting that apparently money is more important than gender." #0:36:30#

Movement & Settlement Agency  
Financial Situation

207 S: Yes. Money is more important than gender. #0:36:33#

208 R: Did you feel so, too? That gender is-? How did, sorry, I didn't ask you this but do you feel, gender plays a big role in fleeing? #0:36:45#

209 S: Ah, I don't, I know, you mean gender play a big role in what? #0:36:51#

210 R: During flight or coming to Germany, the whole journey to Germany, does it? #0:36:57#

211 S: No, for me if you have money there is nothing like gender basis. There is nothing like: You're a man, you're a woman. I don't know, for me, if you have money, you can go. #0:37:06#

Environment & Institutions



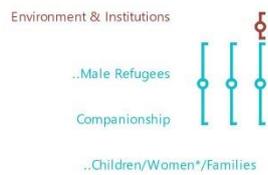
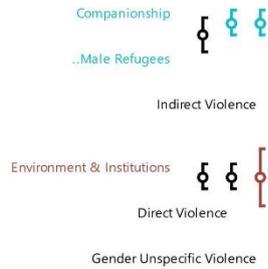
- 212 R: Okay. But for human trafficking? Maybe? #0:37:08#
- 213 S: In cases like that women are always considered. Women are always considered in this case. For example, if they are taking them into the boat, they always make sure women are on the safer side. Yes #0:37:24#
- 214 R: Okay, good. But for example, stuff like human trafficking, I do think it probably has a gender component, right? So women will be more victim of human trafficking? #0:37:34#
- 215 S: Women are victim, women are more victim of gender ahm of human trafficking. It's always women. #0:37:43#
- 216 R: Yeah. So maybe it's not the journey itself but what can happen on the journey, right? #0:37:47#
- 217 S: Yes. #0:37:48#
- 218 R: (...) They don't really harass women when you go from Turkey to Athens, because Turkey is a country where you can call the police anytime, even if you are an illegal immigrant you can call the police and tell them that you've been harassed and the person can go to jail." So, I would say, there is definitely because, I would say this has violence and it has agency? Both of it? Because women do not get harassed, so they can act more freely and this is because there is a police existing, so the security environment plays a role? #0:38:20#
- 219 S: Yeah but you have to know that ahm you are working with boat immigrants, right? Because now that is a story of a Syrian passing through Turkey. So, hers might be better but a story of a Nigerian or a Moroccan passing through Italy- #0:38:46#
- 220 R: But she's Ethiopian. Yeah, sorry. Yeah? #0:38:48#
- 221 S: Mhm, but passing through Italy might be different because the women are always yeah, the women are always harassed on the way. They always be harassed. Sexually. #0:39:01#
- 222 R: Okay, so we can say that in this case, it may be an exception, in this case it seems that the protective environment works? Because she says because there is police they didn't dare to do something but that in many other cases, I will also put that, does not always happen but that often enough the police existing does not help. #0:39:19#
- 223 S: Mhm (agreeing). #0:39:24#
- 224 R: (...) Do you think it is okay, if I put it like this? Just saying that in this case it helps but normally it doesn't or in other cases it doesn't? #0:39:30#
- 225 S: Yeah, it's okay if you put it like that. In that case it helps but in other cases it doesn't at all. #0:39:39#
- 226 R: Yeah, okay. "There are so many mafias. You can go to them and say 'This person is following me' and they will go after him. In Turkey they can do that. But after Macedonia anything can happen to you. We hear so many things about this Macedonia road. Women don't walk alone for example. They go with these young men, who they don't know, but they walk with them and anything can happen." So, so this is companionship? That they don't go alone? #0:40:06#

..Male Refugees

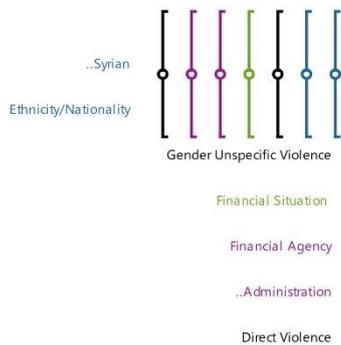
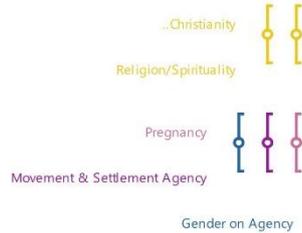
Companionship



Indirect Violence



227 S: Yeah. #0:40:07#
 228 R: But then it's also violence. #0:40:10#
 229 S: That it is also violence. Because they are running away from violence. #0:40:12#
 230 R: Yeah, and also they go with the men and then anything can happen done by those young men they don't know. #0:40:17#
 231 S: Yeah. #0:40:19#
 232 R: " If not with these strange young men, it can be that the street mafia do something." So, also violence. (...) Right? Yeah.
 233 S: Yeah. #0:40:30#
 234 R: "Anything can happen in Macedonia road. People will see you, but they won't do anything to protect you. If you are coming from Macedonia and something happens to you, there are no Macedonian police that will give a damn." So, you could say that also another factor is again the protective environment or if it's not there. Because there is a lack of protective environment, people will not do anything, so violence will happen? #0:40:54#
 235 S: Yeah, there is no protection. There is violence. #0:40:55#
 236 R: Yeah (...). "I have friends who were robbed and they called the police but they got the mafia, they got the people and they took the money from them and then sent the people back to Greece. This is what they do." So, money again. And violence. #0:41:14#
 237 S: And violence. #0:41:16#
 238 R: 'Back to Greece ahm yeah that's push- (mumbling). "Nobody is going to help you. So it was not an easy trip." 'Nobody is going to help' again, environment (...). "I went through Macedonia because my partner's uncle was with me and I felt really safe with him as well as with the young men and the family who was with us." So that is again the companionship, right? That she doesn't travel alone. #0:41:48#
 239 S: Companionship. Yeah. So she got protection. #0:41:51#
 240 R: 'Protection' (...). What I wonder though is the connection to agency. Do you think she can also act more freely because of the companionship? #0:42:03#
 241 S: Come again? #0:42:04#
 242 R: Because what I'm looking for is not only that not violence is happening but also that she can act more freely that she has agency. Do you feel that companionship enables agency in women? That if they don't travel alone they can make decisions more? #0:42:17#
 243 S: (...) Ah, women that they don't travel alone? If they have money, they can make decisions more. Because in routes like that only financial stability can solve out their problems. #0:42:33#
 244 R: Okay. #0:42:36#
 245 S: Some women are used sexually to make them cross or to make them travel that is sexual harassment. So, when you have money, you are protected. You keep moving. #0:42:49#



246 R: Okay, so you would say that it is- that money is more important than having other people with you. #0:42:53#

247 S: Yeah. Financial stability is more important. #0:42:57#

248 R: Okay. "When the mafia came and they were really after something, what could have happened? They were actually really nice to me because I was wearing a cross with the Virgin Mary on it." Religion I think (laughing). #0:43:08#

249 S: Yeah, Christian. That's religion. #0:43:10#

250 R: (...) "That was an advantage. I was wearing a big jacket, so you couldn't really tell I was pregnant and when they realized it, they stepped aside. Even amongst the mafia there were some good ones." So, I'd say again pregnancy as protection. #0:43:25#

251 S: Favourism, yeah. Protection. #0:43:28#

252 R: Or favourism, that's better (laughing). #0:43:30#

253 S: Mhm (agreeing), yeah (laughing).

254 R: "There are so many worse things we saw on the railways. We saw blood. People got beaten up. We saw some Ghanaian people who were tied up and left on the street." I mean, this is obvious violence but I think it's not really the gender, it's not-, it's the violence that happens, right, to everyone but it's not- #0:43:48#

255 S: It's the general violence. #0:43:50#

256 R: Yeah, that is terrible but it's not really the gender, the aspect we look for. #0:43:55#

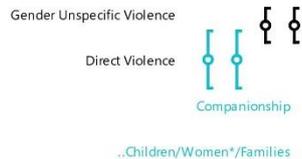
257 S: Yeah. #0:43:56#

258 R: Ahm, "Most of the time these are smugglers who work with the mafia. They know who is coming and who is not. They are connected. They know, for example, that most Syrians come with money, that they can be carrying two or three thousand Euros in their pockets. So usually they take away all the money the Syrians have been given by their family and friends. They collect all this money together and they get robbed on the way." So, in a way you could say financial situation is important but there it's also, it's on the one hand that you, that nationality is not helping because they think you are Syrian, so they rob you because you are Syrian. And at the same time, it's also the financial situation also leads to you being more robbed, right? #0:44:35#

259 S: Yeah but, yeah but some other people they always- See, they know that the road is very risky, some people used to share their money. Because that is sure that is for everybody, they robs everybody. So, some people will like 'Okay, let me keep this money here and I keep this one here, in case I be robbed they can take the little one and I will still have more money to push my journey, really. #0:44:59#

260 R: Yeah, that makes sense. Definitely. But in this case I would say that, would you agree, because normally, what the literature says is that Syrians will get treated better. Because they have more legal rights. But in this situation, you will be more likely to be robbed. So, I would say this is- #0:45:17#

261 S: Yeah, because you have money, if you are a Syrian, yeah. #0:45:18#



262 R: Yeah, so it is more violence based on nationality I guess instead of favourism. #0:45:26#

263 S: Mhm (agreeing). Yeah. #0:45:27#

264 R: Ahm (...). Yeah, so you-. And again, I mean this has to do with financial situation of course. #0:45:37#

265 S: Mhm (agreeing), financial situation. #0:45:38#

266 R: (...)Ahm, "I can't remember now but everywhere we went, there was mafia to deal with. They robbed us, they took so many things from us. The police saw us but they didn't send us back, they wanted us to continue because we had a lot of children with us." So, I guess this is also favourism because of children? #0:45:59#

267 S: Yeah, yeah, they always favour little children. They always favour little children. #0:45:46#

268 R: So they are allowed to go because they have children with them, right? #0:46:09#

269 S: Yes, yeah. #0:46:10#

270 R: "We were walking on the main street and they told us to go the other way. They were supportive because I was pregnant and there were four children with us." So, it's pregnancy and children. #0:46:23#

271 S: And children. #0:46:24#

272 R: "The first group of police were not wearing uniforms, maybe they were not police. We finally made it to the smugglers after twenty-six days. When we got there, some Albanian mafia told us they were going to take us to the smugglers to cross to Serbia. It wasn't a choice, so we went there and we didn't" I mean, "it wasn't a choice, it's clearly not-agency but it's not really gender-based, right? #0:46:46#

273 S: It's not gender-based, yeah. #0:46:48#

274 R: (Laughing). I'll just put it in case it helps. 'No agency'. #0:46:50#

275 S: Mhm (agreeing). #0:46:51#

276 R: Ahm, "We told them we didn't have any money to pay and they said 'No, no, come. come.' They demanded 1000 Euros. There were 10 of us, so 100 Euros for each person." So again, it's money but it's not really agency. #0:47:06#

277 S: It's money, financial. #0:47:10#

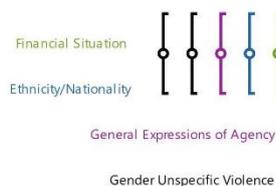
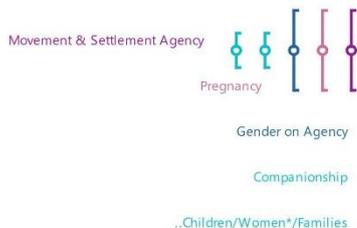
278 R: Financial but somehow without agency, right? Because they don't wanna come, but they say 'come, come, you have to come with us'. #0:47:17#

279 S: Yes. #0:47:18#

280 "They made us walk through a sort of farming place. We were walking through muddy soil. It was the most horrible walk because all the previous weeks we had been walking on the railway. When we finally got to where we were going, we told them we only had 500 Euros and gave it to them." Yeah, finan- but it's- #0:47:38#

281 S: They reduce it. It was reduced. #0:47:42#

282 R: Yeah, because they don't have more. But do you think this is a real factor? I think, this is more an explanation of what happened but not really a-. Do you think? #0:47:49#



283 S: I don't (laughing). I just think ahm (laughing), I don't know. I don't know how to say it, yeah (laughing). #0:47:57#

284 R: Because what I feel is that in before, like, the part where they want 1000 Euros and they have to go with them, this is where I feel financial plays a role. But this is more the aftermath, that it has been- #0:48:08#

285 S: I think they used some tricks to reduce the money. Because they said they don't have the money. Maybe, they wouldn't have gone with them. That they say: 'Okay, we have it' and when they got there, they just say: 'No, we just have 500 Euro'. And they have no choice but to collect 500 Euro. So that was some trick. #0:48:24#

286 R: Ah! Okay. So it is agency! They use- #0:48:28#

287 S: Yeah. #0:48:29#

288 R: So they use tricking, tricking the smugglers and pretending to have a better-. #0:48:35#

289 S: (Laughing) Yes. #0:48:36#

290 R: Pretending having better financial situation. Okay. Ahm. "Then there was more walking and of course most of us were really, really exhausted. We rested for one night and the next day they made us carry on walking. They told us to walk until we found a car, they said there was a car, but there was no car. They just walked with us for a few hours and then they told us to keep going straight. We went on until the Serbian police caught us. The policeman saw I was pregnant and sent us back to Macedonia. They took the kids and their parents, they took them in, but when they saw I was pregnant, they said 'It is going to be born here, no, go back!'. So, we went back to the same smuggler and tried again. So, this is not favourism. It's- #0:49:26#

291 S: Yeah, that is, hm (thinking) #0:49:29#

292 R: It's pregnancy and children but it's more the opposite: Of being disadvantaged, right? #0:49:31#

293 S: Yeah. Because they send them back. So, they had to take the same way back again. #0:49:37#

294 R: Yeah. Because they didn't want the child being born in- #0:49:42#

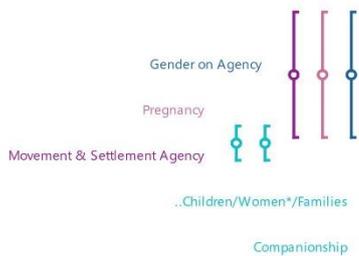
295 S: In Serbia, yeah. #0:49:43#

296 R: So, often it seems pregnancy is good but there it's clearly a case of being disadvantaged. #0:49:50#

297 S: There are some disadvantages. Mhm (agreeing). #0:49:53#

298 R: "This time we made it. Getting to Serbia again, the most horrible process was walking from Macedonia the whole way to Serbia's border. We drank water from the river, and had nothing to eat but bread and cheese. We would buy small plastic bags full of bread and two or three cheeses; it cost us one hundred Euros. They were selling it to us because they knew we were illegal migrants. " So, I'd say, it's financial situation but it's clearly minimizing agency because they take 100 Euros for a cheese (laughing). #0:50:22#

299 S: For cheese, yeah, they sell it more expensive to them. They know they have no choice at that moment. #0:50:27#



300 R: So, they are using the vulnerability, so, the people are using the vulnerability to make their own advantage, right? #0:50:33#

301 S: Mhm (agreeing). #0:50:35#

302 R: Because they know they don't have another place to go because they are not allowed to go to the supermarket because they'll be sent away. #0:50:40#

303 S: Yes. #0:50:42#

304 R: "There were some farmers who were good to us; they gave us some bread as we were dying of hunger. The money was finished and we could not afford one hundred euros every day. That was the horrible part." So, again financial situation. #0:50:54#

305 S: Mhm (agreeing). #0:50:55#

306 R: (...) "Then we got to Serbia and we were so happy to eat something. After Serbia, the idea was to continue to Hungary the next day, but it was raining so much! First we tried to go to Hungary by train, half of our friends made it with the children but four of us didn't. We didn't make it because on the train they asked for papers but there were so many people that they couldn't check everyone. So four of us stayed in Hungary and we tried again, but we didn't have any money." Do you feel with the train there is something, with the papers? #0:51:28#

307 S: Yeah, with the train they always ask for papers. They will always ask for documents. #0:51:33#

308 R: So, it's, I guess, legal situation or something like that. (...) So, legal situation obviously influences how easily you can travel. #0:51:44#

309 S: Yes. #0:51:45#

310 R: Ahm, do you feel also with the-, that they leave behind, I didn't see, or financial situation, I didn't see anything there, did you see anything else? #0:51:54#

311 S: No, I didn't, no, I didn't see any financial situation. #0:51:57#

312 R: Yeah, okay. "There were some Syrian people who came and asked me when my due date was. I told them that it could be any day now because I was nine months pregnant. I was with the uncle of my child's father, actually it was his father's uncle, they told the rest of the group to try and go by train again, that they were going to put me in their car. But my group refused." Ah, so the Syrians want to help because she is pregnant. (...) So the Syrians say she can go by car and the other ones can go by train because she is pregnant. #0:52:30#

313 S: Yeah but, ahm (thinking). Yeah, I saw it, maybe by train, it was-. Does she like feel like, did she say like she went with the train but didn't succeed and then? #0:52:48#

314 R: Yeah, they were in the train together. So, she was together with the Syrians in the train and they asked: 'When is your due date' and she said: 'It's soon.', so they said: 'Ah, come by car with us, we will take you.' #0:52:57#

315 S: Okay. #0:52:58#



316 R: 'But my group refu-' #0:53:00#
 317 S: That is- #0:53:02#
 318 R: I will read the continue, maybe it gets clearer. "They would not let me go alone in the car, because we came together so we were going to go together and they agreed. We didn't know them, but they bought us food and they spoiled me a little. They were smugglers, but they didn't take any money from me or the two people who were with me. They have been there so many years, they know the situation and they told me that if I gave birth there, I was going to suffer, because nobody was going to look after me and that it wouldn't be good for the child because of the racism". So, I think they were actually nice. They were smugglers but they- #0:53:32#
 319 S: She got help. She got help. #0:53:35#
 320 R: So it was favourism but then comes- #0:53:37#
 321 S: Yeah, favourism. #0:53:38#
 322 R: But here it comes, the: 'But it wouldn't be good for the child because of the racism that exists among neighbouring countries'. So, that is racism I guess. But that she gets favoured because of fear of racism, right? That they say: "We will take you and because you are pregnant and because you are Black we don't want you to travel." (...) 'In order to'. "They said "With you it will be even worse". They gave me 20 Euros and put me and two others in a car and eight hours later I was in Munich. The others stayed in Munich but the next day I came to Berlin." Oh, and sorry again, because the others refused to get her go in the car alone, it's also the companionship, the protective, that they say: 'No, don't go alone with the strangers'. #0:54:24#
 323 S: It's companionship. Yes, yes. So, they have to take the other people with her. #0:54:30#
 324 R: Yes, so they-. Yeah. So we are done (laughing)! With the first one. #0:54:36#
 325 S: That's good! And now she was in Berlin. #0:54:39#
 326 R: Now she is in Berlin. #0:54:40#
 327 S: She got favoured. Yeah. #0:54:41#
 328 R: Yes! How do you feel? Was that okay for you? #0:54:43#
 329 S: it's good! It was good (laughing). It was okay. #0:54:48#
 330 R: Do you want to continue? #0:54:49#
 331 A: it was okay. #0:54:50#
 332 R: Nice, okay. Do you feel we missed anything? No, right? I think we got a lot. #0:54:53#
 333 S: No. We didn't. We didn't miss anything. #0:54:57#
 334 R: Nice. Do you feel like you want to continue with the next one? Or do you say: 'It's enough. Leave me alone!' (laughing). #0:55:01#
 335 S: (Laughing) No, let's continue! Let me, let me get a glass of coffee#0:55:12#
 336 R: Of course, of course. We can also have a toilet break or anything. #0:55:15#

337 S: Yeah, okay. #0:55:20#

338 R: Is this also interesting for you or is this just-? #0:55:22#

339 S: Yeah, this was very very interesting. It was good, yeah. #0:55:24#

340 R: Okay, good. I don't want you to be bored or- #0:55:29#

341 S: There were many things that I really have experienced, too, as well. So. #0:55:36#

342 R: So, the financial situation and the pregnancy, or also other aspects? #0:55:39#

343 S: The financial situation, the pregnancy, yeah (...). So. It was helpful (...). I'm sorry. (Making coffee). Please, let me just get a glass of coffee and- #0:56:00#

344 R: Of course, of course, of course. #0:56:01#

345 S: We step over again (back in the living room). #0:56:03#

346 R: There is one, that is about human trafficking from Nigeria. Do you feel like you want to go through it or do you say: "I don't want to go through this". Because it's on trafficking. #0:56:16#

347 S: No! It's, it's okay. It's okay. #0:56:20#

348 R: Okay. #0:56:21#

349 [Private chat on the city that A. currently lives in, her legal status and her connection to the women's rights situation] #0:58:24#

350 S: Okay, then please start over again. #0:58:26#

351 R: You feel ready? This one is the human trafficking one, just to tell you, so-. #0:58:28#

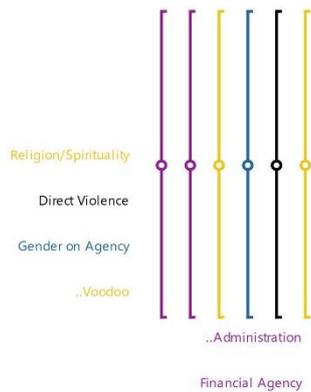
352 S: Mhm (agreeing). Yes, I am ready. #0:58:32#

353 R: Okay. So she has ahm published her name. Her name is Mercy. And the title is 'I was trafficked through Libya' and it's from 2016. So, when she was 14 years old in Nigeria, she had to stop going to school and then at home got raped by her cousin and had to keep it a secret but then was very, very, she was really injured and she had to go to hospital because otherwise she would have died. And she almost died in hospital. And then her cousin was confronted by the family but she was really stigmatized because the family had to sell land in order to pay for the hospital bill and after she came out of hospital, she asked her father to go back to ahm school but he refused because he said that: 'We had to sell all our land for you ahm, now you can't go to school, what are you, what am I supposed to do?'. So she goes to move in with her sister and her sister's boyfriend. So, this is where it starts. #0:59:26#

354 S: Mhm (listening). #0:59:27#

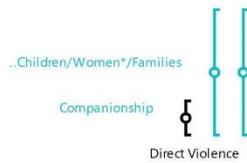
355 R: "My sister's boyfriend was rich, very rich, so I asked him to help me. He told me about a woman who took girls to Italy to work, and that I could use the money to go back to school in Europe. I was happy about the idea. I thought: I can do this, I can do this! I just wanted to go, I did not care. So he gave me the woman's contact, and after one week they had organised everything. I did not tell my family because I was 15, and they would never have allowed me - only my sister

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knew. Before leaving I had to swear voodoo that I would go mad or die if I did not pay the woman after she took me to Europe. I had no choice because I was already living with the group that would soon move from Nigeria to Europe. They brought me there without asking - they just said "Mercy come, it is your turn". "My turn for what?" I asked. "Just follow us, no questions". My sister's boyfriend and the madam's brother, who helped her bring the girls to Libya, came with us in the car. I was blindfolded on the way. The voodoo priest told me to repeat the sentence, 'If I do not pay the madam I will get mad or damned when I get to Italy!'. Then I was given something to drink - I have no idea what - and they marked my chest with a knife. I still have the marks." So, I think it definitely is indirect violence. The voodoo, right? #1:00:43#

- 356 S: Yeah, it's indirect violence. Voodoo is indirect violence. And it's also, you become, you get, you think about it all the time in your life. It's something that for us Africans, to get it out is very difficult. Because we actually believe in it and I'll just say so. We believe in it, everything you do, using voodoo, will work. Yeah. #1:01:11#
- 357 R: So, it's almost. It may not even be indirect violence, it's even direct violence. A bit of both. #1:01:15#
- 358 S: Direct violence, yes. Because we actually know about it. #1:01:18#
- 359 R: Yeah. And ahm marking the chest with a knife is also direct violence. #1:01:28#
- 360 S: Marking the chest with a knife is, actually, is direct violence. Like, a tradition to some people in Nigeria. #1:01:33#
- 361 R: Do you know why they do it? #1:01:35#
- 362 S: Some people have, sometimes they do the mark here on the face, and then they do it on the body. But I don't know why. Some people always say it's a tribal mark. #1:01:46#
- 363 R: Okay. So, it's that they know that this girl belongs to this madam or something? #1:01:52#
- 364 S: To this tribe, yeah, or to this madam or to this person, yeah. #1:01:56#
- 365 R: Yeah. Okay, so, and with the voodoo I would say it also definitely limits her agency because her-, the voodoo limits her because she is afraid that she will go mad or she will die, so she doesn't act because she-. I, I, yeah. Maybe she will not flee or something, even if she wants to leave, she will not do it because she is limited by the voodoo. #1:02:16#
- 366 S: Yes, she will not do it because she is afraid. #1:02:21#
- 367 R: Yeah, and with the direct violence being marked, it might also hinder her agency because other people will recognize her and say: 'Ah, you belong to this madam, so we will send you back!', right? #1:02:31#
- 368 S: When they do that, there is always something that always inflicts into their body. When they give that cord, there is a medication, there is an ahm medicines that they put in her that is part of the voodoo. Yeah, it's part of the voodoo #1:02:46#



369 R: So, it also, it also hinders the agency because they really are bodily limited to the voodoo, Right? #1:02:55#

370 S: Yes. Yes. #1:02:58#

371 R: That very night we left Nigeria by bus, with the madam's brother. We were 16 girls - the others were older, some were even married. The journey to Libya took two weeks. One day the driver stopped in the desert, at a soldiers' camp, and said we could rest for half an hour. That was how it happened; now I was raped again just one year later, this time by two different men." So that is definitely- #1:03:20#

372 S: That's what I was talking about during the Syria, the Syrian woman's story. I told you that if people pass through Libya face a lot of sexual harassment. #1:03:35#

373 R: Yeah. I heard that every woman gets raped in Libya , more or less. Something like this. #1:03:38#

374 S: Yes. Almost every woman. #1:03:42#

375 R: Yeah, it's horrible. And I think with the travelling with the 16 girls, I would also say this is companionship? I mean, they are 16 women, they are together but they also become more prone to sexual violence because they are only women and they are more seen as easy victims, I guess, right? So maybe companionship with other women, it's more dangerous? Would you agree with that? That in this situation, because it's only women travelling, they become more victimized with sexual violence? #1:04:12#

376 S: They are not only women. They are always mixed up. #1:04:15#

377 R: Because here it says: 'We were 16 girls'. #1:04:18#

378 S: Ya, but this is the thing, they should be mixed up with men, too. Because they can't-, they cannot allow them to go through that desert only women. It's always, They're always mixed up with men. #1:04:32#

379 R: But would you say? Maybe, maybe I'm wrong because how I interpret it is that maybe because it's so many women, it's maybe even that more men will think about raping them because if it's only compared to one or two women travelling. Don't you think that sometimes big groups of women are more easily targeted? No? #1:04:49#

380 S: For me, I think, it's the same. One woman, two woman, five woman, ten women: Libya is not save. #1:04:56#

381 R: Okay, so it's not, it's not really companionship, if it's just-. Okay. #1:05:00#

382 S: Yeah. It's just that it's dangerous. It's not save at all. No matter how many the women are. #1:05:07#

383 R: Okay, ya. (...) Woman is woman I would say (laughing). #1:05:14#

384 S: Yeah, women are women no matter the number (laughing). #1:05:16#

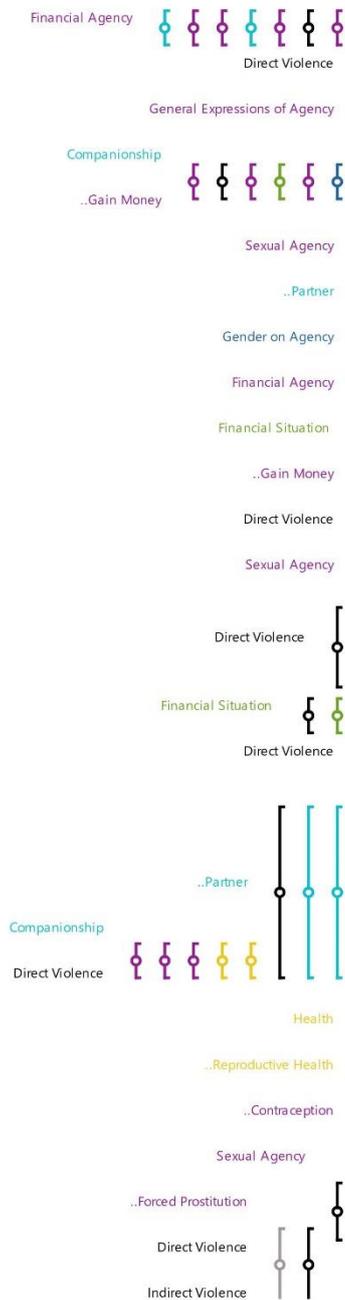
385 R: Oh man, yeah. "All of us were raped, some two times or more, and while we were there another group was captured, and the soldiers shot a man who tried to stop them from raping his girlfriend." That makes sense that companionship does not matter, apparently, right? #1:05:28#



- 386 S: Yes. #1:05:31#
- 387 R: 'Companionship' #1:05:34#
- 388 S: It does not matter, when it comes to Lybia. #1:05:36#
- 389 R: Even worse, you could say making it even worse is that because he gets shot because of that. #1:05:42#
- 390 S: Yeah, you get shot. They are killed. They can even rape-, a boy, travelling with his girlfriend: they rape the girlfriend in front of the boyfriend. So, companionship is really not, it does not matter. #1:05:56#
- 391 R: Okay. "When we got to Tripoli, a Ghanaian man who was paid by the woman in Italy came to pick us all up and took us to a camp. We were around 200 girls - a few were from Ghana but the majority were from Nigeria - and out of the 200 girls I was the youngest. One girl came to me and said, 'Smally! What are you going to do in Europe at your age?' I replied. 'I am going to work in Italy so I can go back to school!' She laughed, 'How old are you?' I said fifteen. 'You are really young, that is why they could deceive you. We all know what we are going to do in Italy! They did not tell you, because they know they can use you.' I was shocked, I said, 'No! No! No! Not prostitution!'" Do you think because of her young age she doesn't know it yet and that limits her agency? The naivity of being young maybe? Or don't you think? Because the other girls are older, so the other girls know already. #1:06:52#
- 392 S: The other girls are older, for me I don't think it's because of her young age because everybody is being motivated for being moved abroad. Moving out of the country, it's, I guess it's everyone is so excited. So, it's for me, it's not about the age. She really wanted to, to make it in life, like she really wanted to-. It is the anxiety of education that was in her. Not the age. #1:07:17#
- 393 R: Okay. So would you say that it's something we can use as a factor or not really? #1:07:21#
- 394 S: We can use it as to matter. As to matter. That she was naïve. #1:07:30#
- 395 R: Do you think she was naïve? Do you think-? #1:07:32#
- 396 S: Mh, she was just 15. She was just- #1:07:35#
- 397 R: Mhm (agreeing). So, she wants the education and that kind of hinders her agency-. Would you say it hinders her agency? #1:07:43#
- 398 S: (...) Come again, please. #1:07:48#
- 399 R: Would you say-, because I think it maybe influences her agency because she doesn't know the decisions she actually is making. Or she doesn't know what is actually happening because of being young or because of being naïve or wanting education. She cannot make a real decision because she doesn't know what the decision is. #1:08:05#
- 400 S: Yeah, she cannot make real decision because she does not know what it is. Sure. And she was deceived. They didn't tell her the right thing until she was basically in Italy. #1:08:15#
- 401 R: Yeah. Because I also think that is also an influence on

		agency. Whether you actually know what your agency is (laughing). #1:08:22#
		402 S: Yeah. #1:08:25#
		403 R: "Because I had challenged her" oh sorry, I wasn't there yet. She said, 'Yes, prostitution! There are no normal jobs for black girls to do in Italy!'. So would you say that is racism in Italy? #1:08:38#
		404 S: Come again, what does she say? #1:08:43#
		405 R: She said "There are no normal jobs for black girls to do in Italy!". There are no normal jobs for black girls to do in Italy! #1:08:48#
		406 S: That's racism! Because, she, it was precise, yeah. It's racism. #1:08:56#
		407 R: Yeah. "I started crying, I called the woman in Italy and asked, 'If someone would do this to your daughter how would you feel?' She said, 'The difference is that you are not my daughter!' - 'But still you expect me to work as a prostitute for you - something I have never even dreamt of doing!'" This is not really, do you think the response of the madam saying 'You're not my daughter' that's not really-. #1:09:23#
		408 S: That is indirect violence because just making someone know she is not yours is emotional stressful. #1:09:32#
		409 R: Yeah. (...) True." Because I had challenged her and refused to work as a prostitute, the woman stopped giving me money and told the other girls not to give me money either." So, it is a consequence of this, of agency. Because she says: " No, I will not do this!" she gets punished financially. #1:09:51#
		410 S: Yes. #1:09:52#
		411 R: (...) "It really was a mess for me. I survived by working for the other girls; I had to wash their clothes, cook for them. I could not go forward, I could not go back - I was just there, desperate and frustrated, for many months." So, I would say her agency is limited by, by what? By- (...). Because she says she is stuck, she cannot make decisions. #1:10:20#
		412 S: Yeah, she can't make decisions. She is there under pressure. What kind of decision can she make? She is limited by decision making. #1:10:29#
		413 R: Mhm (agreeing), yeah. "Some of the girls had already been taken to Italy to meet the madam. She said when the weather was good again those left in Libya could come, but not me. She said the only way I could pay back the €35,000 I owed her was to work as a prostitute." So, that is also direct violence, I guess, right? #1:10:52#
		414 S: Yeah, that is direct violence. That's violence. #1:10:56#
		415 R: "Everyone in my group was supposed to pay that amount - we all agreed because we thought that it was in Nigerian currency." So, it's deception again. #1:11:06#
		416 S: Yes. Deceived. #1:11:08#
		417 R: Because she thought it's only, it's less money, so she agrees but then she finds out it's in Euros. #1:11:14#
		418 S: It's more money, yeah. This is in Euro. #1:11:16#





419 R: "After eight or nine months the police arrested the Ghanaian man who helped traffic girls through the city for different madams. When the police arrested him, his brother Emmanuel came to me and said he would help me if I agreed to date him." So, that is using sexual advantages against help, right? #1:11:34#

420 S: Sexual harassment. #1:11:36#

421 R: Yeah. (...) He said I would not have to beg for food anymore; I would not have to suffer. I thought about it... I had never dated anyone before. I had to say yes because I needed something to eat." So, in a way it is a-, ah, it's really difficult because you could say it's agency because she says yes but then again of course she doesn't want to do it but she is forced to do it. #1:12:03#

422 S: She is forced to do it because of her financial problem. So that falls under financial problems. If she had money, she would not do it. It's to take care of herself. #1:12:14#

423 R: Yeah, protection but you could say in that, in that, it sounds almost wrong but in this very, very limited sphere she is at least, she is saying yes, you know? She is not just passive but she, in a way is making the active decision to survive. She is saying: "Yes, I will date you and then I can survive". So, it's within the very very bad situation it's a tiny bit of agency, maybe? #1:12:36#

424 S: Mhm (agreeing), yeah that is agency. Because he is putting more pressure on her, yeah. Agency. #1:12:03# #1:12:44#

425 R: Yeah (...). "I was tired of begging, I was tired of being used by other girls. After a few months, I discovered that the woman in Italy had sold me to him. Emmanuel said it was because I was too stubborn for her, because I needed a man who could handle me." So, that is indirect violence and then: "He beat me up and said I had to work as a prostitute so he could get his money back." So, that's direct violence. #1:13:11#

426 S: Violence. That's violence. #1:13:13#

427 R: (...) "I said, 'You do not have to do this, please!' But he took me to a prostitution house and left me there. He told the owner of the brothel that he should make sure to send me many men because I had money to pay him. Then he would return every Sunday to collect the money that I made. I was there for three month food and the food I ate was the only thing I gained. I had to sleep with many men, never with protection. I cried every time. The worst part of it was that--" Sorry, 'never with protection', I would also say that's a health risk, you know? That she could get-. #1:13:50#

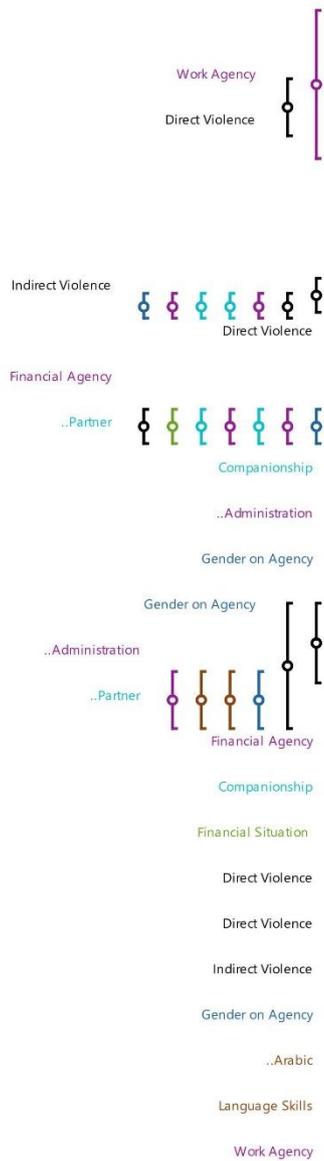
428 S: Yeah. It's risky. #1:13:51#

429 R: So, a form of direct violence in the sense of (...), besides of course all the rapes and stuff it's an additional form of violence. #1:14:00#

430 S: Mhm (agreeing). #1:14:01#

431 R: "The worst part of it was that Emmanuel would still come to sleep with me any time he wanted and would beat me up every time I refused. I could not talk to my mum, to my family, to anyone. Even if I had called them, what would I have told them I was doing? I didn't want them to worry; I

<p>Indirect Violence</p> <p>Protecting & Caring</p>		<p>just told my sister and her boyfriend to tell my parents that I travelled to Lagos for school and a man was sponsoring my school fees.” So, I would say what-. #1:14:28#</p> <p>432 S: That’s violence. That’s violence, yeah. Because he beats her up. #1:14:34#</p> <p>433 R: He beats her up, he forces her to prostitute herself, I think all of that is violence. It’s a paragraph full of violence. But what I found interesting is the last sentence that she-, that although she talks to her mother and her sister she doesn’t tell them. But she said she travelled to Lagos. I feel, it’s like also, what, she says: ‘What was I supposed to say?’. So, she doesn’t want them to worry and stuff, so she knows she cannot really even ask for help. But she kinda-. Would you say that is because she is afraid that they will think bad about her if they find out? #1:15:03#</p> <p>434 S: Yes, she is afraid. That’s fear. #1:15:07#</p> <p>435 R: That’s fear and I guess it’s also a stigmatization of being, you know, of being, yeah, of being seen as a ‘slut’ or something like this, right? Something? #1:15:17#</p> <p>436 S: Yeah. Yeah, being a prostitute, it is really hard to say it. Because she was thinking: ‘What, if I tell my parents? How are they going to feel?’ So, parents will not well take it. You can tell and then, before you know she collapse or she go unconscious because of what the parents are going through. Maybe. So. #1:15:37#</p> <p>437 R: So, maybe we could say that-. Because it’s social pressure because she is afraid to admit she’s a prostitute, so, it’s the social pressure that limits her agency? Because she is not, because she maybe wants to ask for help but she, she has-. #1:15:50#</p> <p>438 S: She can’t. #1:15:51#</p> <p>439 R: because she has social pressure, that influences agency? #1:15:54#</p> <p>440 S: Yeah, agency. Yeah. It influences on the agency. #1:15:56#</p> <p>441 R: Do you feel okay to continue? Or is it-? #1:16:02#</p> <p>442 S: Yeah, it’s okay. Is that all (laughing)? #1:16:03#</p> <p>443 R: (Laughing) No, no. That is the longest. If we have done this, this is by far the longest, then we have done a lot (laughing). #1:16:09#</p> <p>444 S: Okay, alright, then it’s okay. #1:16:11#</p> <p>445 R: “After three months the police were everywhere, going to different prostitution houses and taking the girls to prison, then deporting them back to their countries. I felt like a slave, I had no life, no freedom, no world of my own.” That is lack of agency. Right? Having no life, no freedom, no world? That seems like being stuck without agency. #1:16:35#</p> <p>446 S: Yes. #1:16:36#</p> <p>447 R: “I called Emmanuel to say that the police had come, and all the other girls were leaving. I asked him to come and get me out of there. I said, ‘If the police get me I am going to mention your name, and I am going to tell them that you brought me here.’ So, I think this is agency. This is where she</p>
<p>General Expressions of Agency</p>		
<p>..Escape Violence</p> <p>Movement & Settlement Agency</p>		



threatens him. She-, right? #1:16:54#

448 S: That's agency, yeah. #1:16:57#

449 R: "He was scared and came to get me away with a taxi." So she actually, he gets her away because she uses her agency. So she-, right? #1:17:08#

450 S: Yeah. #1:17:10#

451 R: "When we got to his house, I found out that he was spending all the money he was taking from me on another girl he was dating. After one month I said I wanted to look for a job. I could not stay at home like this, getting raped by this man who used me whenever he wants to have sex and beat me when I refuse. So I discussed it with him and he said, 'Okay'. " So, I guess she does use her agency. She decides to get a job. #1:17:35#

452 S: She decided to get the job. #1:17:38#

453 R: "He was happy that I wanted to work. He knew an Arab family who were looking for someone to help in their home, so he took me there and I was given a room. I worked there day and night, and Emmanuel collected the money I earned." Although, limited agency though, right (laughing)? #1:17:56#

454 S: Yes. That's, that's limited agency. That's not real violence. Voluntary. #1:18:01#

455 R: Yeah. "He told the man that I was his wife, which gave him the right to my salary." Do we? Is that something? I guess-. #1:18:12#

456 S: That's deceitment. #1:18:13#

457 R: And that's also patriarchy that because he is the husband- (laughing). #1:18:17#

458 S: Yes (laughing). #1:18:19#

459 R: "The family treated me badly, very badly. I would clean the same place ten times a day. The children would throw things on the ground to punish me and the parents would not say anything because I was just there like a slave. I didn't speak Arabic, but Emmanuel could - only God knows what he told them." So, that is language skills again, right? That, if she could speak Arabic-. #1:18:40#

460 S: Language skills. Yeah.#1:18:41#

461 R: Would you say that the rest, how the family treats her, that is something? I mean, that is violence but-. Indirect violence. #1:18:53#

462 S: That's violence. The Arab people. Yeah, that's violence. #1:18:56#

463 R: Do you think it's also racism? Because they treat her badly because of racism? Or? #1:19:03#

464 S: It's racism, too. But actually it was mentioned that she does not know what Emmanuel told her. So, they might be treating her badly, depending on what Emmanuel told them. #1:19:13#

465 R: True, that's true. #1:19:15#

466 S: So, I don't know if I can say it's racism. Because Emmanuel might have said something, which is actually not good and they decided to treat her that way. #1:19:24#



467 R: That's true. So I just do indirect violence and we don't know-, that's more like, lack of language skills. Yeah. #1:19:30#

468 S: Yes. #1:19:30#

469 R: "In 2011 the war in Libya started. I had been there for around three years. Sometimes Emmanuel would come and take me away for the weekend. This was how I lived until one day the father of the Arab family drove Emmanuel and me to Misrata to take the boat to Lampedusa. Emmanuel had told him that we wanted to move to Italy, so they organised the whole journey. We spent three days on the sea. When people leave from Libya they would rather die on the sea than go back. That was my only hope: either make it to Italy or I die. After we got to the Italian border there were helicopters everywhere and we were rescued and taken to Lampedusa. The next day they took us to a village where we were supposed to register and tell them why we came. When we got there Emmanuel told me 'Mercy, if they ask you if you are married you have to say yes.' I said no, I am not doing that, this was not Libya anymore - this was Europe. And even if I would say we are married, where were the papers of the marriage? He said we should tell them that we left them in Libya, but I said no, that I was not going to lie again." That is agency. #1:20:30#

470 S: Yes. Yes. That's agency. #1:20:34#

471 R: And would you, because she says: 'This was not Libya anymore, this was Europe', that has something to do with protective environment or not really? #1:20:42#

472 S: It has something to do with protective environment. Yeah, when you are in Europe, you are protected automatically. #1:20:28#

473 R: And that she feels safe, maybe it's not even the real protective environment but it's the feeling of having the environment. #1:20:55#

474 S: The feelings of, the feelings of thinking you can call for help, if you have the opportunity. #1:21:01#

475 R: Yeah. So, it's the perception of, yeah, of protective environment. #1:21:05#

476 S: Yeah. #1:21:06#

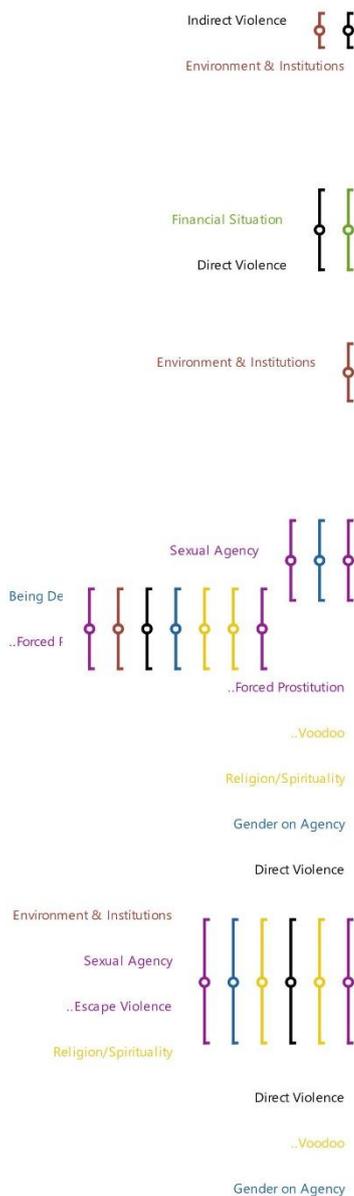
477 R: "When he told the Arab people I was working for that we were married I could not say yes or no because I didn't understand Arabic. But in Italy, they spoke English too and there were translators." Language skills. #1:21:23#

478 S: Mhm(agreeing), yeah. Language skills. #1:21:26#

479 R: And also, hm, yeah. And also again the protective environment that there is translators that you, right? That you have people to talk to, even if you might not speak English. #1:21:36#

480 S: Yes, if you don't speak English or don't understand the language you will have someone that can translate it to you. That's protective strength, too, in Europe. #1:21:45#

481 R: Yeah. "He was so mad that we almost fought physically - people had to hold us apart." So, that is violence. Violence resulting from agency actually, right? So, it's not only that



agency results from violence but that because she is acting as an agent, he becomes violent. #1:22:04#

482 S: Mhm (agreeing). Yes. #1:22:07#

483 R: "We didn't stay together for the interview, and when they asked me if I was married I said no. A few days after we registered they took us to Turin, where we stayed in a big camp that was in an old hotel. Anyone from outside could come in and do what they liked. I had to stay with Emmanuel because he said I was still his girlfriend." Do you think that has something or is that not really something? #1:22:30#

484 S: It has nothing. #1:22:34#

485 R: "After one month at the camp, Emmanuel told me about a city where his brother lived, where there were girls working as prostitutes and making a lot of money. He said I had to go there and work and stay with his brother because his money was not completely paid back. I told him I would not do it, and he beat me up." Again, agency and violence, right? #1:22:51#

486 S: Yeah, that's violence, beating, yeah. #1:22:54#

487 R: And the agency of her saying no. "The people who were around us went to tell the security guards and they put us in different rooms." So, would you say that's protective environment? #1:23:07#

488 S: That's protective, yeah. They were in different rooms, so, she was protected, yeah. #1:23:12#

489 R: "After two weeks or so Emmanuel called me and said, 'Mercy I have a surprise for you, come to my room.' When I went to his room I saw another black man there. Emmanuel went out and locked the door. I had to sleep with the man because he had already paid. I went to Emmanuel after we were done and I said, are you not even scared of the security? What if I tell the police? As always he said, 'Remember you swore under voodoo.'" So, I think it's voodoo and it's also the protective environment not working. #1:23:40#

490 S: The voodoo, yeah, she will always be afraid because of the voodoo. Like, I told you, Africans, some of them really believe in the voodoo. She was afraid of her life. #1:23:50#

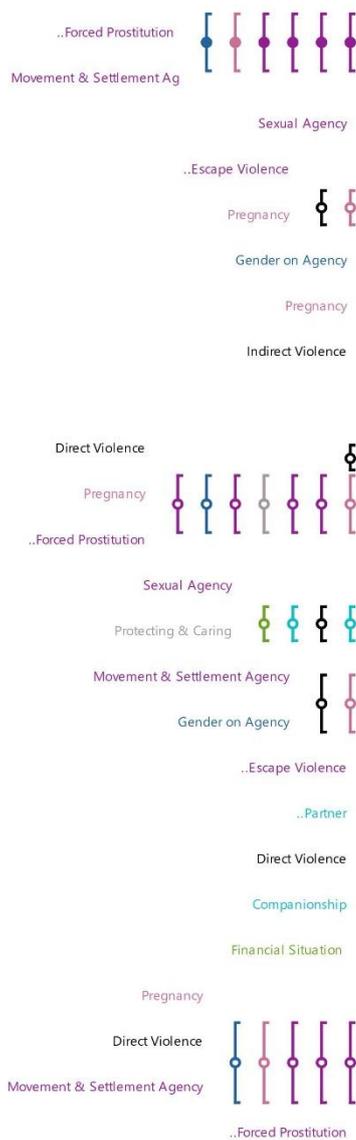
491 R: And because of that fear, the protective environment couldn't help because she was too afraid to actually do something. #1:23:56#

492 S: Yes, yeah. #1:23:59#

493 R: So, agency is hindered by fear, right? "If you run away, you are going to die or get mad." I knew in Africa what voodoo could do. I believed it could work; I would even have nightmares about it! Emmanuel would use it to attack me all the time. He would always tell me that my life is in his hands, that he can do anything he wants to do with me." So, very clear case of voodoo. #1:24:22#

494 S: Mhm (agreeing). Of voodoo. #1:24:25#

495 R: "In January", let's just put it here again. "In January 2012 I went to the doctor because I was feeling sick, and found out that I was five and a half months pregnant. Until I was told I was pregnant, I felt nothing. I didn't know how it felt to be



pregnant. And I would sometimes still bleed. Although I was not using any protection, I never thought I could be pregnant. I drunk lemon and water because the other girls said it helped to prevent pregnancy. The doctor told me that the baby was a girl, and that I would have her around my birthday in May. At first-“ Or did you see anything? There was nothing yet, right? She is pregnant but- #1:25:01#

496 S: No, I didn't see anything. #1:25:03#

497 R: “At first I thought I was finished, but then I thought to myself: ‘This pregnancy could be a way out for me. Emmanuel can not use me anymore!’”. So, agency through pregnancy, right? #1:25:14#

498 S: Agency, yeah. #1:25:18#

499 R: The doctor also asked me if I wanted to have the pregnancy. I said I didn't know, and that the baby had no father. But they said even if I wanted to do anything against the pregnancy I might lose my life. She was already a baby, she already had arms and legs.” Would you say with the: ‘I might lose my life’, so, it's again, the pregnancy might help her but also, it's a danger, the pregnancy. #1:25:40#

500 S: It's dangerous. Yeah. So she couldn't do anything. There is danger, there is danger with the pregnancy. #1:25:48#

501 R: Danger, it's a danger to health and life. #1:25:51#

502 S: Yeah. #1:25:52#

503 R: Ahm, “When I got home I told Emmanuel about the pregnancy. He said, ‘Kill the bastard, you are a prostitute.’ I cried, ‘I am not working as a prostitute for my own sake! And now that I am pregnant, I am not going to work as one any longer!’” So, she is doing agency in favour for her baby, right? So, she is-. #1:26:10#

504 S: Mhm(agreeing). #1:26:13#

505 R: “He still said, ‘Kill the bastard! My money's not complete.’ I was sorry to disappoint him, I replied, but the doctor had said I could not do anything about it, so in a few months I would be having my child. He beat me up and I fell to the ground. He hit my stomach, over and over. I shouted and cried.” So in this case it's violence but also because of the pregnancy. #1:26:33#

506 S: Yeah, that's violence. #1:26:35#

507 R: So, again. Pregnancy can help but it's also dangerous. #1:26:39#

508 S: it's dangerous, yeah, it's dangerous. #1:26:43#

509 R. “I told a Nigerian friend of mine, Peter, about the pregnancy. He said he liked me, and that he would accept the baby. I didn't care, I just needed a father for the child. At-“ Is that something? #1:26:57#

510 S: Nothing, I don't see anything there. #1:27:00#

511 R: “At around eight months into my pregnancy, I told him that I didn't want to stay in Italy. I wanted to go to a country where prostitution was not allowed. A country where I could take care of my baby by myself. Sometimes on the street-.” So, I think that is all agency there. Making the decision and stuff (...). She is the active part. She says: ‘I want to go’, so

		I would say. #1:27:20#
		512 S: Yeah. That is decision of her own. Agency. It's agency. #1:27:26#
Direct Violence		513 R: "Sometimes on the street, black people would come up to us and ask threateningly, 'Are you Mercy and Peter?' We knew it was Emmanuel's handiwork." So, this is clearly indirect violence, right? It's physical. Or even direct violence. It's psychological terrorizing. #1:27:44#
Direct Violence		514 S: Mhm (agreeing). #1:27:45#
Movement & Settlement Agency		515 R: "He knew more than us. I was so scared that he would do something, I said: 'I have to leave this country.' We called-" So, it's agency but based on violence, right? So, it's because, because of fear that she leaves. #1:28:00#
Network		516 S: She left Italy because of fear. #1:28:03#
Financial Agency		517 R: "We called people, asked people outside the camp: which country is good for a mother and child? In which country is prostitution banned? The majority said Germany. I had been saving money, Peter too. They gave us coupons in the camp, instead of pocket money. Coupons and packets of cigarettes. So we sold our cigarettes for one or two Euros and the coupons for five euros. I planned everything because it was me who needed safety." So again, she is taking control because being vulnerable. #1:28:30#
Movement & Settlement Agency		518 S: Mhm (agreeing), yes. #1:28:34#
..Gain Money		519 R: "Emmanuel was angry with Peter because he had accepted me and my child, so I said it was safer for him to come too, although he didn't want to at first. By this time I had re-established contact with my mother. I had told her about the baby and she had supported me. So when I was having trouble convincing Peter to leave with me, I asked her to speak to him on the phone." Is that agency? Through that? #1:28:58#
		520 S: (Laughing) For me, I don't see agency there. #1:29:00#
		521 R: Yeah (laughing). I'm, I think I'm so stuck that now I see it everywhere. #1:29:05#
		522 S: Yeah (laughing), I don't, I don't really see it there. #1:29:08#
..Legal		523 R: "Soon after we left Italy to Switzerland. When we got there the police held us at the border. They asked us for papers; we said we didn't have any. They asked us where we were going and I didn't even mention Germany, I just said I wanted to leave Italy for safety. I didn't mention anything that had happened. The day I decided to leave Italy I decided to forget the whole story, start a new life - a new beginning. The policeman told me I could not stay there, that I would have to go back to Italy two months after having my baby. They took us to a football stadium that had been turned into a camp. That was where we had to live, we could not go out." Is there, the police treating her do you see there a gender thing or being pregnant? #1:29:53#
Ethnicity/Nationality		524 S: Is this in Germany? #1:29:54#
		525 R: It was Switzerland. #1:29:55#
		526 S: (...) I don't know, maybe that was the only option for the



police? #1:30:00#

527 R: Yeah, because they said she has to go back 2 months after having her baby but so, legal situation does not change anything because she didn't have papers. They don't really do anything, do they? #1:30:12#

528 S: I don't see anything in that situation. #1:30:16#

529 R: So, I just put legal situation. #1:30:15#

530 S: It's not violence, it's not favourism, not agency, like, I don't see anything. #1:30:23#

531 R: Yeah, so they are just neutral. And also neutral to-, because they ask if they have papers and she says no, so also legal status doesn't matter, doesn't influence apparently. #1:30:38#

532 S: Yeah. #1:30:45#

533 R: Ahm "That was where we had to-". Oh sorry: "They took us to a football stadium that had been turned into a camp. That was where we had to live, we could not go out." Is there, the police treating her do you see there a gender thing or being pregnant?" There was a Nigerian woman there whose husband lived outside the camp, and we asked her if she could talk to him to tell us how we could get to Germany. He said we would have to go to Basel and from there to Germany, so that is what we did. When we got there we had no money left and I was hungry and tired. We had to beg some black people who passed by to give us money to get to Germany. When we got to Freiburg the money they gave us ran out." So, that's all financial. Is it? Yeah, having food or not having food. #1:31:20#

534 S: Mhm (agreeing). #1:31:22#

535 R: "We met a Ugandan woman who knew a Nigerian man who lived in Freiburg and she took us all the way to the man's house. All I had was one chain and one necklace, so I asked the man, "Please if you give us some money I will give you the chain.". He said he could not take anything from me because I was pregnant, and he gave us €28 so we could travel to Karlsruhe." Pregnancy favourism. #1:31:44#

536 S: Yeah. Pregnancy favourism, no? #1:31:46#

537 R: Okay, that's, that's it. That's the interview. How do you feel about the interview #1:31:52#

538 S: It's good, I think it's very good. I think we have to share everything together. And it was all fine, it was all good. Yeah. #1:31:05#

539 R: But you-, there were quite a lot of important things, I feel, right? Again, pregnancy is really important. I feel the financial situation is really important but more indirect. Because it's not her money but it's always that she is owning the money to, you know, forcing her to be a prostitute. #1:32:19#

540 S: To the people. Yeah. The money is not, is not hers. So the financial situation was not going to help her in any way. It's helping some other people, not her. Yeah. But she had a lot of violence. #1:32:35#

541 R: She had a lot of violence and I think the whole structure

of her being so helpless. But what I find so interesting is that she is in this situation, where she is so at the bottom of the structure but at the same time, she makes so many decisions. Within the limited sphere, right? She says: 'I will go there, I will not work as a prostitute'. All those decisions she makes, although the whole structure is against her. #1:32:57#

542 S: Mhm (agreeing), yeah. So, she had a lot of violence, a lot of sexual harassment, yeah. So. Money here for her was not a problem. #1:33:09#

543 [Organisational talk about the next session] #1:34:08#

544 R: Great, thank you so much and I really don't, I know it's taking up so much of your time. I am really sorry for that. #1:34:11#

545 S: No, it's okay. It's educative and it's okay. And I am so happy you had to chose me, I am so happy we share together. So, it's fine, it's okay. #1:34:22#

546 [Organisational details about the coding and further analysis process] #1:36:12#

Appendix 3: Coded Transcript of the Data Analysis and Interpretation Meeting with Suh Mary on the 18.02.2021

Participants

R: Rebekka Rohe

S: Suh Mary

Financial Agency 
...Administration

- 1 [Greetings, chat about A.'s German classes] #0:02:18#
- 2 R: So, the one is Maryam, she is from Iran and the title is 'Hey, you might be in a similar situation one day. And she got expelled from university because of her student activities, she was politically active. And she has a boyfriend and the boyfriend suggested to leave Iran and she agreed. "My boyfriend, who was twelve years older than me, said he had connections and we would have a better life there. As soon as we crossed the border, however, he told me that from that moment onwards I was completely responsible for my own life." Oh sorry, that's the long one (laughing). You want to start with the long one or? #0:02:54#
- 3 S: I think, we can just, we can just continue. Let's go with it. #0:02:56#
- 4 R: Okay, yeah. "I didn't have any family to support me, so I would have to be independent. He said she that I should imagine that he is not there, all economic responsibilities were mine from now on. He was giving me a chance to be independent, he told me so I should use it... In other words, he thought he was doing me a favour. I was a very young woman at the time, only 19 years old. Before that, I had lived with my mother who had always taken care of us. Suddenly I felt empty, lonely and insecure. It was as if a new phase of misery had begun." So, do you think in a way it is agency? Because she gets the economic responsibility but then she is afraid of it? #0:03:36#
- 5 S: From the boyfriend. It's agency. #0:03:39#
- 6 R: But then she gets afraid of it as well, right? Because she is not used to making decisions. #0:03:43#
- 7 S: Yes. #0:03:44#
- 8 R: Agency, especially economic, because it says especially economic. #0:03:53#
- 9 S: Mhm (agreeing). #0:03:55#
- 10 R: But afraid of it. "Our first attempt to cross the border was unsuccessful. The border guards arrested us and detained us at the police station. Ahmad didn't tell me how and with whose help we were going to cross. They arrested us in Baneh, a frontier town in Irani Kurdistan. In the police station, he admitted to me that we were crossing the border with the support of PJAK forces." It's a Kurdistan organisation. They are politically, the PJAK forces, they are Kurdish political activists. #0:04:28#
- 11 S: Okay. #0:04:29#
- 12 R: "Here I must say that I come from a very non-political family. When they found out about my activities at the university they tried several times to convince me not to get involved in any further political action, saving that, otherwise, they would not let me leave the house again. They were scared because political activism had become a terrible taboo for the majority of people after the 2009 protests. My political knowledge was very limited and heavily influenced by Iranian media and government propaganda. For this reason, I thought that PJAK was a terrorist movement, and I was afraid of them. After arresting us, the police brought us to the border station that was used to detain kolbar people

1/19

Indirect Violence 

Gender on Agency   

Indirect Violence

General Expressions of Agency

...Partner      

Gender on Agency

Direct Violence

General Expressions of Agency

Network

Companionship

13 S: Mhm (thinking). Nah, nah, for me it's, let's continue I think we will get something. #0:05:28#

14 R: Yes, yes, I just heard gender, so (laughing). #0:05:31#

15 S Yeah (laughing). #0:05:33#

16 R: "Every now and then the brought my boyfriend out for a smoke or to go to the toilet and we had the opportunity to talk with each other. Ahmad told me that we were planning to cross the border with PJAK and that I had to be ready for everything from imprisonment to execution, and at the same time not to count on him at all. Now I have to say that he was very paranoid, and he liked to impress me by exaggerating things and making a heroic figure of himself." No, right? Nothing? #0:06:04#

17 S: Mhm (agreeing), yeah, nothing. #0:06:05#

18 R: "After a few days, they freed us - they were actually more interested in finding the person who had helped us to cross the border. After our release, we hid for about a month in various western cities of Iran. After that, we tried again and succeeded. Again, we crossed the border with PJAK forces. On our first night we stayed in a village near the border and early in the morning, we went to the Qandil Mountains along with PJAK forces and their security arrangements. Ahmad and I were in an intimate relationship and we had left Iran as partners. But since we had got to Iraqi Kurdistan he had become distant. When we went to the mountains, he introduced me as his me as his colleague, a journalist, and told me that while we were here we should not say that we are in a relationship - that I had to trust him and keep us a secret. During the very first week, I told him I wanted to go back to Iran. I was scared; the situation was unknown and new to both of us, and to make matters worse he had blocked all means of communication for me." So, I think the talking of means of communications that is a restriction of agency, right? #0:07:11#

19 S: Agency, yeah, agency. #0:07:13#

20 R: Yeah, social media and he takes it away. Taking away is companionship because it's her boyfriend I guess. #0:07:20#

21 S: Yeah, it's companionship. #0:07:21#

22 R: So, the means are taken away, agency, okay. "When I told him that I- Sorry, did you want to say something? #0:07:30#

23 S: no, no, I'm listening. #0:07:32#

24 R: " When I told him that I wanted to go back he said it was not possible: I had seen too many people and places which should not be exposed. If I was arrested upon return it would be incredibly dangerous for everyone involved. Ahmad knew that I didn't want to become a guerilla fighter. But my silence and his lack of transparency to PJAK had caused them to believe that I had come to the mountains to become one of them, to take part alongside them. I have to remind you that at that time I had a negative view of PJAK and I didn't have any clear information about the situation in Kurdistan. In the

Being Deceived	}	<p>first ten days, many cadres came to speak to me, bringing with them Abdullah Öcalan's books for me to read. The aim of these meetings was to have theoretical discussions until I had a good understanding of their basic principles, and could make a definite decision as to whether I would stay or not. But I didn't want to stay at all. I thought we had left Iran in order to go to Europe and this would be kind of stop-off. Ahmad kept lying to me and even to them." Is this deceitment, you know, we had this before? #0:08:40#</p>
		25 S: Yeah, that is deceived. That is deceived. #0:08:44#
		26 R: Because she things they are going to Europe but now she has to become a Kurdish fighter. #0:08:48#
		27 S: Yeah. #0:08:50#
		28 R: Deceitment and therefore lack of agency. Because she can't make decisions. #0:08:55#
		29 A: Yes. #0:08:56#
		30 R: "Ahmad kept lying to me and even to them. In these ten days I barely saw him. Whenever I even came close to him in front of them he would try to get away from me, until I wrote him a letter - which I hid in his shoe - saying that I needed to talk to him." Do you see something, no, right? #0:09:15#
		31 S: Mmh (signaling 'no'), I don't see anything there, yeah. #0:09:17#
		32 R: "I was beginning to realise that Ahmad would stay there long-term. He wanted to document the memories of an old political prisoner who had just been released. It was important for him to break the Iranian media's image of Kurdish groups as terrorists. Finally, I insisted that I was not well and I could no longer stay in the mountains - I want to go to the city. They agreed to take us." So, I would say this is in a way agency. She says: 'No, I want to go'. #0:09:42#
Movement & Settlement Agency	}	33 S: Yeah. Under average you take it, this is agency. #0:09:46#
Movement & Settlement Agency	}	34 R: "We didn't have any ID cards, so we were basically illegal. To get to the city from the mountains we would have to pass roadside police checks, so it was important to go with a plan. We decided to travel with two separate cars. I was in the first car and my boyfriend was in the second. Luckily the car I was in got through the controls, but they stopped the second car and it had to escape to the mountains. (...) When we reached Sulaymaniyah the cadres took me to a safe house. A woman, Belen, whom I had seen before in the mountain came to talk to me. She said that I was wrong if I hoped PJAK would send me to Europe - that this was their job. We had come to the mountains without any previous notice and they didn't want to force us to stay. There's a struggle that people choose freely, she said. They could not keep me there for long. The location was secret and it would cause many problems for both of us if I stayed. In saying this she didn't intend to help me - in fact the cadres didn't even realise that I needed their supports. I didn't want to ask them because Ahmad was very proud and had said we didn't need anything from them, that we just wanted to join their struggle. As a young woman, I didn't want to hurt his pride." Say, say this, because she needs the help but again, she doesn't dare to ask. You know, we had the situation where the woman is
..Legal	}	
Ethnicity/Nationality	}	
Protecting & Caring	}	
Gender on Agency	}	

afraid of telling her parents that she is forced into prostitution. #0:11:13#

35 S: Yeah, that she was a prostitute, yes. #0:11:23#

36 R: And I think here, it is more the pride, of not hurting the man? Something like this? #0:11:28#

37 S: Yeah, so she was afraid. That's fear. #0:11:30#

38 R: Yeah, is it fear or-, do you think she is afraid of him or do you think because she said she didn't want to hurt his pride, is it more protection? #0:11:40#

39 S: She is afraid of putting him into danger. Of like, protection. She is protecting him. #0:11:44#

40 R: Yeah, that's what I think, yeah. Protection. #0:11:48#

41 S: Protection. #0:11:48#

42 R: Yeah. "I asked them to give me access to the-" Sorry, just for the other girl, she was also protecting her parents, right? Maybe that was also protection? #0:12:00#

43 S: That was also protection. Because she was protecting her parents. She know, that's why, voodoo. Even the family back home would (inaudible: be involved?). #0:12:08#

44 R: Ah, yes. (...). Yeah, that makes sense. "I asked them to give me access to the internet for a couple of hours so that I could contact a friend of Ahmad's who was in Iraqi Kurdistan. Belen took me to her house, where I was only supposed to spend a few hours. Since I could not find the person online, however, I ended up staying there for twenty day. It was a bad situation. I had the feeling that Belen could not trust me because of everything that had happened, and because of the critical security situation. If I wanted to talk with someone on Skype, she made me do it on loudspeaker. I didn't trust her either, although I must say that after those first ten days in Qandil my view about PJAK had changed and I didn't think that they were terrorists any more. Getting acquainted with their personal experiences and politics had shattered that image for me. But I was still afraid and paranoid. At first, every time Belen spoke on Skype or on the phone I thought she was reporting me. I had to hide too, since the owner of the house was not supposed to know I was there." Nothing really, do you? #0:13:15#

45 S: I don't see anything because she was save. #0:13:18#

46 R: Yeah, because there is this aspect of the Skype and facebook but it's only social media and not really agency and social media, I feel, right? #0:13:25#

47 S: Yeah, it's not agency. #0:13:26#

48 R: "Every time the coast was clear, Belen would take me out with her or buy me a cigarette, showing me that normal life was also possible. For this entire period, I had had no contact with my family and they didn't know where I was. Belen started to talk to me about my boyfriend, asking me how much I trusted him. She thought that there was something wrong with our stories: Ahmad had claimed he was here to stay with the guerrilla forces but I had told them that I wanted to get married and go to Europe. "One of you must be lying", she said. I asked Belen to give Ahmad and I an opportunity to talk with each other. It was not easy to access

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the internet or get a phone connection in the mountains, but finally, the cadres arranged for us to talk on Skype. I was in a very bad state at the time I felt that everything between us was just a big illusion and that I had to prepare myself to end the relationship. I realise now that I was like a little girl who dreamt of her prince coming to her rescue." Is that? #0:14:29#

49 S: Nothing, I don't see anything. That was just communication. #0:14:32#

50 R: "I didn't want to go back to my wretched situation in Iran, to go back to being a broken person. The situation in Iraqi Kurdistan frightened me, too. I didn't know much Kurdish and without it, it, it was impossible to earn any money." That's language skills again, I guess. #0:14:48#

51 S: Yeah, language. Language skills. #0:14:54#

52 R: And then influence on financial situation. #0:14:57#

53 S: Yeah. #0:14:58#

54 R: "Many Iranian women went to the region to do sex work, which meant my chances of finding anything else were very limited. My mother-" Is that maybe also, I think that is a gendered bias on agency. That you have to become a prostitute because women can't do anything else in the situation? #0:15:18#

55 S: It's a financial situation, I think. It's not gender. #0:15:24#

56 R: It's only financial with the prostitution you think? #0:15:27#

57 S: I think they are been pushed because they don't have their money. So, they are forced to do so because of poverty, because of, there is no financial, there is no money. They don't have any money at that moment. #0:15:45#

58 R: Yeah, okay. Because I was thinking, maybe men in the situation would get other jobs. So, maybe a man could go and work on a farm or something. But because they are women, they are forced to earn money, they are not allowed- #0:15:56#

59 S: Into prostitution. Yeah, I think there is (...) gender basis. Gender, because the thing, women are not strong and cannot do what men can do. Yes. #0:16:07#

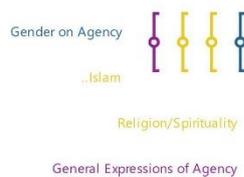
60 R: Hm (agreeing), so it's like, no other work, so prostitution as solution. #0:16:09#

61 S: Yes. Yes. #0:16:14#

62 R: Okay. "My mother always taught me to imagine the worst: I could imagine working in a restaurant, cleaning and dishwashing, but the idea of doing sex work was horrifying to me. Still, I had to have a way to earn money since I was under so much pressure." So, yeah. #0:16:32#

63 S: Financial. #0:16:33#

64 R: "It turned out that my conversations with Belen were" (stuttering), sorry "to the mountain base. Instead of saying hello, Amad began our Skype conversation by showering me with accusations - I had lied about everything, about getting married, about going to Europe. At the same time, he wrote to me in the dialogue box that I should not react to what he



was saying, that I should trust him. I was shocked but I had no other option but to do so. Meanwhile, the PJAK forces had realised our stories didn't match; they suggested we meet all together to discuss the situation. So before going to the mountain base I quickly introduced myself to the UNHCR to get their registration form. At the meeting with PJAK, there was one female and one male comrade, myself, Ahmad and another comrade who had been the contact between Belen and the cadres at the mountain base. They gave me some options. The first was to take me back to my family. The second, if we wanted to stay together, was to go to Sulaymaniyah and make a pre-marriage contract and wait until our case had been processed through the UN, then to go to Europe or elsewhere. I said that the first option was out of the question - I had not gone through all this to be delivered back to my family. As for the second option, I didn't want to force my boyfriend to go back to the city with me. We even considered residing in one of the villages near Qandil, I would only need an internet connection to look for work. At that time, my opinion of PJAK was getting more and more positive. I even offered them a few ideas, projects that I was willing to do for them, like helping out with the organisation's Farsi bulletin. I don't know what they discussed after we left the tent, but we were told to go back to the city for a few days after the meeting. We didn't have papers so in order to stay in Sulaymaniyah, we had to ask either a Kurdish party of Iran member or a citizen of Iraqi Kurdistan to write a reference for us. In Iraq, it is not enough to have papers from the UNHCR in order to have protection from the police and from deportation." So, I guess that's also legal situation? #0:18:46#

65 S: Yeah, legal situation. #0:18:47#

66 R: Did you see anything else? #0:18:49#

67 S: No, I think I've seen legal situation because of the papers. No rights to walk because of paper issues. #0:18:57#

68 R: "Instead, you need to get a character reference from one of the local parties, vouching for you that you are not a terrorist. In doing so the parties hope to earn a good reputation and to recruit new members. Finally, we settled in Sulaymaniyah. I became very interested in the Kurdish nationalist movement. I helped them to launch their campaigns and started to write reports about the movement. Those days coincided with the ISIS strikes in Mosul and their capture of the city. The atmosphere changed; even the sermons of the Friday prayer were depoliticised. There was a huge fear of ISIS' presence. The situation was so sensitive that I was intensely paranoid. I even started to wear the hijab when I left the house so that people would stop looking at me like I was a foreigner." No, right? Or do you think the-? #0:19:49#

69 S: Mhm (agreeing). Ethnicity? #0:19:50#

70 R: Ethnicity or religion? Something like, with the hijab? #0:19:54#

71 S: Yeah, religion. #0:19:55#

72 R: But, is it because that was the time with the terrorism, she uses that for agency, right? #0:20:01#

Direct Violence



73 S: Yeah. #0:20:03#
74 R: Or is it more like cultural adaption? I don't know. #0:20:08#
75 S: I think it's ethnicity. Maybe the people there were a little bit racist and she just wanted to belong. Religion. #0:20:17#
76 R: Religion and, because in a way it's ethnicity or nationality and then the hijab is more religion, right? (laughing). #0:20:24#
77 S: Yeah, it's religion (laughing). #0:20:26#
78 R: So it's both. Okay (laughing). "Around this time we decided to write a report on the experiences of Syrian refugees. According to unofficial statistics, 60% of the women in the camp were raped by Asayisi and government forces." So, that's violence. #0:20:45#
79 S: Yeah, violence. #0:20:47#
80 R: "We tried to talk to the women but they didn't trust us. They refused to give interviews to journalists since they were afraid of being deported if government forces found out. Incidentally,-" Ah, that's also for example limited agency. Because they don't give interviews out of fear? #0:21:04#
81 S: Yes. #0:21:06#
82 R: Fear of consequences of- #0:21:09#
83 S: Fear of consequences. #0:21:10#
84 R: "Incidentally, while we were there, a few council members of one of the cantons of Rojava came. The people gathered around them and spoke with them; it was clear how much they trusted them. The refugees in the camp were angry. Barzani had created large ditches at border points so that the people could not cross, but he claimed it was to protect the borders from ISIS. "He keeps us in the middle of the desert", they said, "but our children will grow up in this wilderness and take revenge one day." Do you see? #0:21:43#
85 S: Mh (thinking), no, I don't see anything. #0:21:46#
86 R: "I was still together with Ahmad at the time. I was afraid I would not have anything else if I lost him. I was wrong, though. I had nothing to lose but my attachment to him. He was older than me-" Or is there anything with agency? Because she loves, love as attachment or something? #0:22:05#
87 S: Yeah, puh (laughing). There was attachment of emotions but there is nothing like agency here, I don't think so. #0:22:15#
88 R: Yeah. Also, because she is not actually doing, she is just describing. #0:22:22#
89 S: Yes. #0:22:23#
90 R: "He was older than me and I thought he would support me, but in fact, our roles were completely reversed. I was like a mother to him. ISIS had taken the Sinjar mountains at that time and things were getting worse every day. After a year in Iraq, I felt that if I didn't leave I would stay in this hell forever. I had no hope of reaching Europe. It seemed uncertain and out of reach. For this reason, I thought to

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myself: why not go to Rojava? I discussed this with Ahmad, telling him how drawn I felt to the events which were taking place over there. I thought, why not see this as a fresh possibility? Why not experience the things that were happening there first-hand, why not support current political ideas? It was such a new phenomenon in the Middle East! Ahmad didn't take me seriously, however. Disappointed and hurt, I had to give up on the idea." So, he didn't take me seriously is, I think women not being seen as agent, right? #0:23:16#

91 S: Yeah, that's gender. #0:23:17#

92 R: Not being taken seriously, not seen as agent. "In the end, we decided to go to Turkey. I was supposed to go there first to find us a place to live. During this time Ahmad would work to save money. The border between Iran and Iraq was frightening and difficult to cross, but the border between Iraq and Turkey was hell. I left from the border near Hakari and a few days afterwards the Hakari bombing operation began. Crossing was very difficult. After we had reached the first village," So, is there? I was thinking, is there something like external factors? So something like bombing, like, this environment also influences the agency? Whether there is bombing or it's winter. Like, we also had the situation in other cases, where it was really cold and it was really difficult to cross or something like this? Like, external factors? #0:24:11#

93 S: Yeah, there should be something like external factors. But I don't know how we have to put it now. External factors? #0:24:20#

94 R: I will just put here external factors and then I will go and look through the others and then, I will do it myself and then we can check whether you think it makes sense maybe? #0:24:30#

95 S: Okay, okay. #0:24:31#

96 R: Does that make sense? Because otherwise it's too much work for you (laughing). #0:24:35#

97 S: Yeah, for me it makes sense because there are other things like external factors that influence and evolve things. #0:24:41#

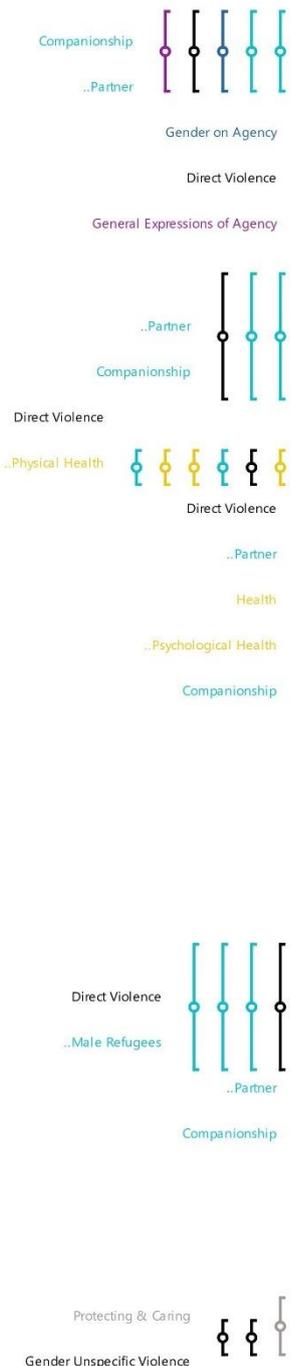
98 R: Yeah, exactly. And it's like winter time, when it's very cold, when it's very hot. #0:24:45#

99 S: Mhm, mhm (agreeing). #0:24:46#

100 R: "Crossing was very difficult. After we had reached the first village, we had to take a bus to reach the city. We were caught several times by the police and returned to the border zone. Eventually, I succeeded in reaching Ankara and registered with the UNHCR. After that, I went to a small city called Denizli and tried to find somewhere to live until my boyfriend joined me. I managed to find a job and to rent a room. We stayed in Turkey for about a year. We had no money, we were constantly moving from one room to another. We were hungry, insecure... " So, that's financial also, right? #0:25:18#

101 S: Financial, yeah. #0:25:20#

102 R: "There I understood that our relationship was over.



103 Despite living together were not talking much. We were only together when Ahmad wanted to have sex with me or when we had guests. He didn't give me any support; he was like a controlling father." So, I think also companionship, 'controlling father'. #0:25:38#

104 S: Companionship. #0:25:39#

105 R: "Although it seemed on the surface as if he was not controlling me, he was secretly checking all my messages." So yeah, limited- #0:25:52#

106 S: Companionship. Very limited. #0:25:57#

107 R: Yeah. "Any conversations I had with men were like criminal evidence to be collected. While I was asleep he took my laptop and took screenshots of my chats, and once he even posted them on social media. He took me to the bedroom and told me that I was a bitch and that if I had any honour left I should kill myself." Uh, violence. #0:26:15#

108 S: Violence. #0:26:16#

109 R: "I was under a lot of psychological pressure and began to cut myself with a razor in the same room. The days were though, and it was clear to me that the only reason we were together was that we had left that hell to come to Europe." So, I think it's violence and also the psychological violence that she starts cutting herself. #0:26:32#

110 S: Psychological violence. Trauma, yeah. That is indirect violence. #0:26:40#

111 R: Yeah. "Sometime after, we managed to arrange our departure from Turkey. First, we went to Kuşadası in Turkey, which was the closest point to Greece. From there we were supposed to go to Greece by boat. We were a group of twelve people. Three of us had gone earlier to prepare things. From there we went to Kuşadası National Park with a guide so he could show us the way and a place to throw our boat in the water. The guide was not supposed to come along with us but only to show us the path - this meant the cost was lower. He charged around 500 lira. We had bought some alcohol and tried to look like happy tourists so that the gendarmerie would not be suspicious. We had a room in a hostel for all four of us - me, Ahmad, a friend of ours and the smuggler. I told them that I was tired and I was going to sleep for a bit, but that they should wake me up if they wanted to go out so that I could go with them. I didn't want to be left there alone. After a while, though, they went out shopping without waking me, and during this time the smuggler raped me." Violence. #0:27:42#

112 S: Oh no. Yes, violence. #0:27:45#

113 R: And I think it's also because they don't take her seriously. She says: 'Please wake me up' and they don't do it? #0:27:52#

114 S: They don't care about her. She was being neglected. #0:27:48#

115 R: Yeah, so, lack of companionship. So, I guess, if they would have stayed there, he would not have raped her. So, as soon as she is alone... Yeah. "I was afraid that if I said something he might not just expose us, but steal our money too." So, it's again also the responsibility she feels. Like,

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Direct Violence

..Partner
Direct Violence

Companionship

..Male Refugees

Direct Violence

you know, she is not saying anything because she is afraid. Like before. #0:28:24#

115 S: Protection. She is protecting them, she keep protecting them. #0:28:27#

116 R: Yeah. Protecting as hindering or, yeah. It's increasing the violence maybe. #0:28:26#

117 S: Yes. #0:28:37#

118 R: (...) " I was afraid that if I said something he might not just expose us, but steal our money, too. I was not alone, the fates of twelve other people were tied up with mine. In a very nervous state, I decided not to tell anyone. I thought we would leave the next night and all this would end." So, here really it's very clear with the protection and the responsibility she takes. #0:29:10#

119 S: Yes. Yeah. #0:29:14#

120 R: "Our trip was delayed for two days because of bad weather. Ahmad and I had stopped talking to each other; our relationship was breaking down, and everyone had noticed. One of the men in our group was not very well psychologically - he acted very nervously and spent all his money on alcohol. The people in the group didn't want to take him along with them. The smuggler was afraid that I would tell someone about the rape, so he had told the nervous man that I was having problems with Ahmad and had been drunk that night and asked him to have sex." So, this is indirect violence I'd say, right? #0:29:46#

121 S: Indirect violence, yes. #0:29:48#

122 R: And that is so mean, because she doesn't say anything. #0:29:55#

123 S: She doesn't say anything, she keeps protecting him. She was like: 'If I say it, these people might be in danger'. #0:30:04#

124 R: "The man came to me and tried to blackmail me." So, that's also indirect violence. #0:30:09#

125 S: Mhm (agreeing). #0:30:10#

126 R: "Another person, who was a mutual friend of mine and Ahmad's, saw our tense conversation from afar and tried to intervene. They started to argue, and the nervous man started shouting, telling the smuggler's lies so that everyone could hear. Everyone in the group was shocked, and blamed me for "being such a bitch". (107)#0:30:30#

127 S: Yes (laughing). #0:30:31#

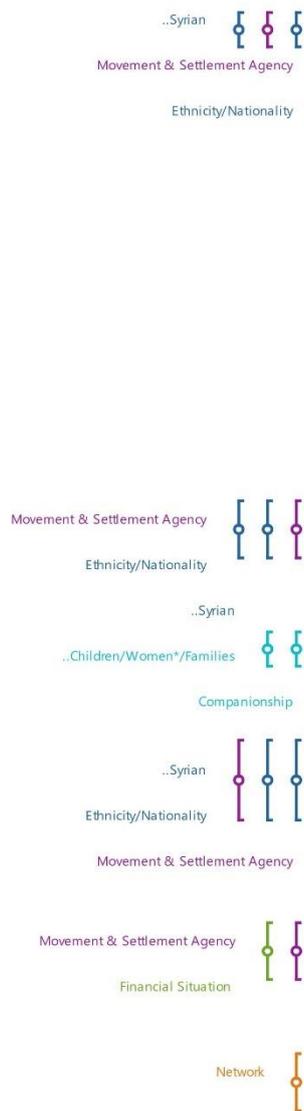
128 R: Indirect violence. #0:30:32#

129 S: Indirect violence. #0:30:33#

130 R: And also I think, yes, it's definitely gender because they would not have said something to a man like this. #0:30:40#

131 S: Yeah. #0:30:42#

132 R: "I kept silent. I thought it would be clear to my boyfriend and friends that the smuggler was lying. But the atmosphere was terrible and there was a lot of pressure on everyone. We were all tired and nervous. Gradually the fight with the smuggler escalated. Our friend got into a fight with the



smuggler and refused to give him the rest of the money. In turn, the smuggler threatened to hand us over to the police. Eventually, we had to give him all our money and we left Turkey for Greece.” Do you think there is something? I mean, it is the whole situation that is violent and gender based but it is not really...#0:31:18#

133 S: Mhm (thinking). Yeah, it’s only violence and gender base that I can see. #0:31:21#

134 R: Yeah. “When we reached the Greek island, Samos, we were jailed for a week, and after they released us we went to Athens. The Greek immigration authorities refused to help us since we were not Syrian”. Ethnicity. #0:31:34#

135 S: Yes, ethnicity. #0:31:36#

136 R: “Instead, we were ordered to go Polykastros, a city near the border of Macedonia. It was 2015. From that city we walked about 30 km, day and night, to get to the border. The train station in the first city we reached in Macedonia was full of migrants - pregnant women, even children. I knew that Macedonia was a poor country, but the conditions there were so deplorable that volunteers were giving out clothes and putting biscuits and water in plastic bags and dividing them amongst us.” So, the volunteers are more like nice. Because do you, have you heard of situations, where the volunteers were also violating or like, having a gender bias or anything like this? #0:32:21#

137 S: I have never heard of such situations. #0:32:34#

138 R: Okay. “We took a train to the Serbian border. We were about ten people and we became friends with a large Syrian family who had walked along the same railway tracks. On the border where we wanted to enter Serbia, we met Austrian police guards. They came towards us to stop us. At the time Syrians were more likely to be able to cross - Afghanis, Iranian and others were usually sent back from the border” So, it’s ethnicity. #0:32:53#

139 S: Ethnicity. #0:32:53#

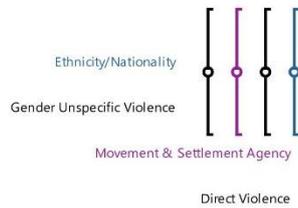
140 R: “So the Syrian family told them that we were all Syrians, a big family.” So, this is also companionship I think and ethnicity. Because, right? #0:33:03#

141 S: Yeah. #0:33:04#

142 R: “Hearing this, the police told us to go and sit next to a big tree. They said their shift would end in 20 minutes and we would have 40 minutes to leave before the next shift started. We left quickly as soon as they went away. In Serbia, we were stopped again by police, and ordered to go to an overcrowded camp. Instead, we took a bus to Belgrade. There was a park in the city centre full of migrants; people were lying on the street and in the square. There were activists who were trying to help the people. We could have even found a smuggler there but we didn’t have the money for it.” So, also financial. #0:33:41#

143 S: Financial. #0:33:43#

144 R: “We had always travelled by taxi or bus to the borders – in each country, I bought a SIM card, put it in my tablet and used Google Maps to follow the same routes as other migrants.” So, this is again technology also. #0:33:56#



145 S: That's technology, yeah. #0:33:58#

146 R: "We found paths through the field, which had been well-trodden by those before us. In Serbia, it was quite different. We had heard from Afghani refugees that on the border between Serbia and Hungary young Serbian girls would ride their bicycles alongside migrants and offer them border passes for €100. After taking the money, they lead the migrants instead of to the border to the police. Having heard this, we rejected their offer when they approached us - but they gave us up to the police anyway." But this is not really gender or anything, right? It's maybe racism. #0:34:34#

147 S: it's not gender. Yeah, it's racism. #0:34:36#

148 R: And also like, financial gain, right? The women take the- #0:34:44#

149 S: Yeah, it's racism and it's the financial gain. And at the end, they don't even do what the money was collected to. #0:34:52#

150 R: Yeah, and it's exploitation and then, yeah. #0:34:55#

151 S: Exploitation. #0:34:56#

152 R: "The rest of the group who where further forward managed to escape, but we were arrested: me, Ahmad, our friend, and some others. At the police station, they told us that we would be taken to court the next day, where we would receive a fine which we would have to pay to be released. First, they took the men into the interrogation room and strip-searched them to see how much money they had. Since they had no female officers on duty that day, they didn't search the women." So, that is also in a way maybe gender, because they don't get searched. #0:35:32#

153 S: Yeah, protection from the female side. From the women's side, yeah. #0:35:40#

154 R: Yeah, because the infrastructure is not there. #0:35:42#

155 S: Yeah. #0:35:44#

156 R: "Our money was in my hands so when I went to the toilet I hid it inside my underwear." So yeah, she has more agency because she doesn't get searched. #0:35:53#

157 S: Yes. #0:35:54#

158 R: "The police realised that I was hiding something so they told me that there would be a female officer in the court the next day who would conduct a body search, and if I didn't tell the truth right now I would have to pay a penalty for this as well. We had €500 in total. Afraid of losing it all, we told the truth." So, it's again, first it seems like agency but then it's taken away (laughing). #0:36:19#

159 S: Yes (laughing). #0:35:20#

160 R: "We were imprisoned for the night in a place like a toilet and were released the next day. We had hardly any money left so we had to go by foot to journey. We walked for about a day to get to the first city in Hungary, where we got a train to Budapest. There we had to find an international train station so we could buy tickets, but I had lost my tablet along the way and didn't know how to find the address." So, it's financial, right, 'money left'? #0:36:45#



- 161 S: Financial. #0:36:46#
- 162 R: And with the tablet, it's technology. #0:36:49#
- 163 S: Technology, yeah. #0:36:51#
- 164 R: "We could not look suspicious either. Finally, with a lot of difficulty we found the central station, where we bought tickets to Germany with the money we had left. At the time it was rumoured that there were severe controls on the Hungarian-Austrian border. If you had no papers they would send you back to Hungary". So, it's 'no papers' is legal situation. #0:37:16#
- 165 S: Legal situation. #0:37:17#
- 166 R: "Where you would be fingerprinted, and if you were fingerprinted in Hungary, you would be under Dublin regulations. We decided to take this risk. Our ticket was to Munich. We had a stop in Vienna but we were lucky and were not controlled. Next stop was Munich. We got there at five in the morning and I only had a t-shirt and shorts on. It was cold and raining heavily. Most of the passengers on our train were migrants. The police arrested us all, gave us each a blanket and made us sit in a row on the stairs in Munich central train station. We stayed like this for about three hours, being thrown unfriendly glances by passers-by, who looked away in horror as if we were on display in Ebrat museum." So, that's racism, right? #0:38:01#
- 167 S: Yeah, that's racism. #0:38:03#
- 168 R: "I wanted to tell them: hey, you might be in the same situation one day!" That's it. Puh, that was the very long one, we did it. That was-, now it's only-. #0:38:15#
- 169 S: (Laughing) Finish? #0:38:16#
- 170 R: Yeah, now it's only two that are only like this (signalling small length with fingers) (laughing). #0:38:20#
- 171 S: Okay, very short. Okay, so we get the second one now? #0:38:25#
- 172 R: Yes. It's really only very short. It's an Afghani family in Iran and the girl was forced married, was forced into a marriage when she was 14 and her husband was very very violent. So, she tried to leave him but the family said: 'no, you have to stay' and then she got pregnant but her husband hit her badly, so she lost the baby. And then, she finally left him and went to her family and wants a divorce but he was super violent and threatens to kill her. And even they move away because first they were in Iran, they went back to Afghanistan, where her family is but even then he continues to threaten her and after he comes with a knife, the family really decides to sell everything and go to Europe. #0:39:16#
- 173 S: So she had a lot of domestic violence with her ex-husband. #0:39:18#
- 174 R: Yes, definitely. But that's before the flight. So, it's definitely important for the background but unfortunately I can't use it because it's, because I'm only looking for-. #0:39:26#
- 175 S: before the flight, yeah. #0:39:28#
- 176 R: And I'm only looking at the flight situation. But for

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another study it's very relevant, I think (laughing). #0:39:34#

177 S: It's relevant, yeah (laughing). It is relevant, you can still use it for other things. #0:39:40#

178 R: Yes, definitely. "From Afghanistan we went to Iran, from Iran to Turkey, from Turkey to Greece and from Greece to Norway. Do you know how dangerous it is to do this journey, through this way? It is very dangerous. From Turkey to Greece we were on a boat, which was overcrowded. There were 32 people on there. And we were on it for around seven hours. I was feeling that it would be impossible for me. Sorry I am saying this, but the water was up to my waist. We called the coast guard to come and help us, please come and help us, but you know we were in some place in the sea where it was not possible for them to find us in the GPS. They were searching for us for about four hours. That's what the Turkish police told me. He said they have been searching for our boat for around four hours and could not see us in the GPS and that we were in a very dangerous part of the sea. The police took us back to Turkey where we stayed in prison for three days. They gave us a paper where it said that we should leave Turkey after one month and that if we were seen again after this period, we would be sent back to Afghanistan. When we were released we went again to Istanbul, where we called a smuggler and told him we wanted to go to Greece. What do we have to do? He told us to go and meet him. We went to meet him and again we were about thirty people on a very small boat, but this time we were only three hours at sea and we arrived in Greece. In Greece the police caught us." #0:41:06#

179 S: Do you see agency here? #0:41:07#

180 R: Not really. Do you see it? #0:41:10#

181 S: I thought, the man, they called him to get to Greece, it's like, agency, huh? #0:41:15#

182 R: That they call him you mean? #0:41:16#

183 S: Yeah, they call somebody and the person had to show them the way to cross to Greece. #0:41:24#

184 R: Ah, yeah, okay. So they, so that they arrange a smuggler, so that they take this you mean? #0:41:31#

185 S: Yeah, that's what I mean. #0:41:32#

186 R: Yeah, okay. So they decide to leave. Yeah, I think also all of the steps is agency in a way, right? Because also leaving- #0:41:39#

187 S: Yeah, mhm (agreeing). #0:41:41#

188 R: Yeah, it's true. Yeah. "This time we were only three hours at sea and we arrived in Greece. In Greece the police caught us took our fingerprints and sent us to prison where we stayed for twenty-one days. For all that time we were around 200 women in a small room with only one shower." So maybe that is something, it's just, again, it's like a bad situation, the infrastructure is bad but I'm not sure if that. Infrastructure is bad I think for women, not sure if that is, ow that is linked to agency (laughing). #0:42:19#

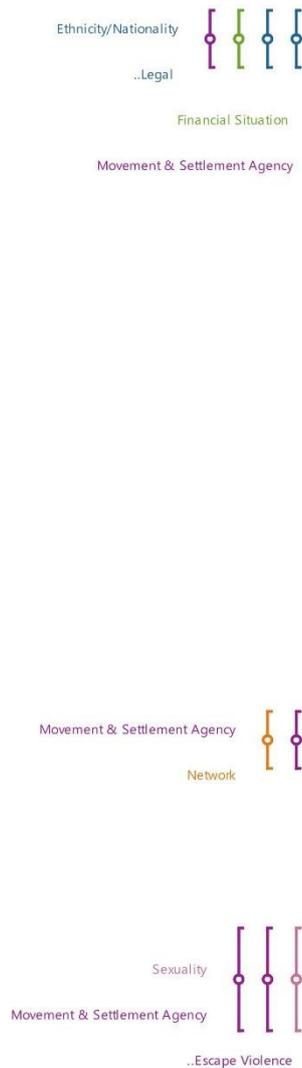
189 S: Yeah, that the, not sure, not really. #0:42:23#

190 R: Maybe it's more like indirect violence or something

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because the situation is so bad, so it's like, it's a form of violence you could say. It's not, it's going against- #0:42:29#

191 S: Indirect violence. Yeah because it leads to emotional trauma, when you are in a place where it is really not convenient. #0:42:40#

192 R: Yeah, yeah. "Once set free we got a paper saying we had one month to leave Greece. They gave us a ticket to go to Athens and in Athens we stayed for one month in a very small room, four families in one room. We could not lie down to sleep, we sat on the floor and that's how we slept for one month. Then once again we paid a smuggler and they got us Romanian passports and we flew from Athens to Norway with fake passports." That's it. So, maybe with the Romanian passports and the smuggler that's also financial because they can pay for getting the passport? #0:43:11#

193 S: Yeah, financial and illegal (laughing), illegal something. Because their passports were not really legal. #0:43:19#

194 R: No, definitely not (laughing). Yeah, okay. But that's it. Do you see anything else? #0:43:25#

195 S: No, no, I don't see anything. #0:43:27#

196 R: So, I think what is good is that we also, or that I also use the infrastructure as part of indirect violence. I will also take it in the other ones and, I think that is the most important point in this one maybe. #0:43:39#

197 S: Yeah. #0:43:41#

198 R: Okay, and other very short one and then we're completely done (laughing). #0:43:44#

199 S: Okay (laughing). So this one is over? #0:43:48#

200 R: Yes. It is very short. It was over. #0:43:49#

201 S: Yeah, it is very short, okay. #0:43:52#

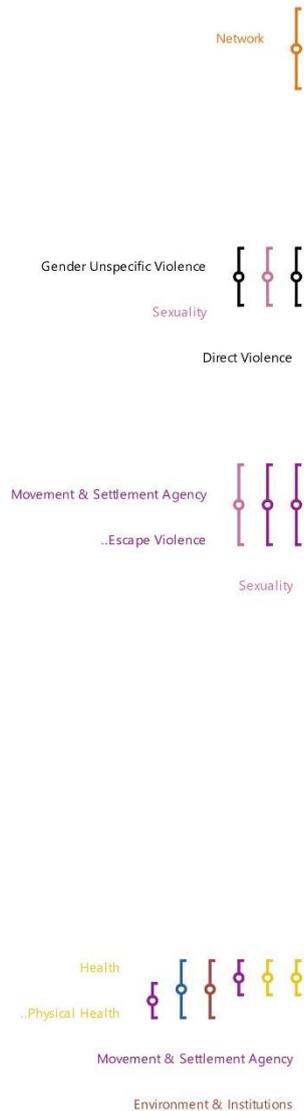
202 R: Okay, the last one. It's Danya, she comes from Syria and the title is "Don't label me because I don't label myself". And she was in Damascus in Syria, experiencing the war and her sister also got humiliated by her husband and died of a disease. And shortly afterwards, Danya started a relationship with a woman, so she is a lesbian, and she also becomes active in the lesbian community in Damascus. And then, the flight starts. "Around two years after the death of my sister I was invited to a conference in Turkey. As soon as I was given the chance, I left Syria." So, that's agency, right? She- #0:44:34#

203 S: Mhm (agreeing), that's agency. #0:44:36#

204 R: She uses the visa to go and leave. #0:44:39#

205 S: Yeah. #0:44:40#

206 R: "I stayed in Turkey for several months, working for an organisation for homosexual Arab refugees. In Istanbul, my friends and I met every Sunday to discuss the situation of LGBT people in Turkey: most of us thought it was not safe for us to stay there any more under Erdogan, and it was only getting worse. I had lived there for almost five months - I had a large network, contacts to many different international organisations. But-" Maybe it's sexuality, right? Because



otherwise she maybe would have stayed in Turkey but then she said it's not save anymore, so she decides to leave because of her sexuality? #0:45:18#

207 S: Yeah. Sexuality because she was a lesbian. Yes. #0:45:23#

208 R: And otherwise she would have stayed in Turkey but then she is like: 'Oh no, I have to continue fleeing because I-' #0:45:29#

209 S: Yes, she has to go away, save for her. #0:45:32#

210 R: "I had a large network, contacts to many different international organisations. But not even the American or British organisations could do anything to help people in Istanbul." But that I would say is network. We had that before, right? Knowing people, having contacts. #0:45:45#

211 S: Yeah. #0:45:46#

212 R: Helpful but even here, not helpful in extreme situations. #0:45:52#

213 S: (Laughing) Mhm (agreeing). #0:45:53#

214 R: "We had worked so hard to organise the Pride parade, but we had been beaten with sticks and rubber bullets, attacked with water tanks and pepper spray. I mean, they-" #0:46:04#

215 S: Violence. That is violence. #0:46:06#

216 R: Of course. Yes, of course. Yeah, direct violence. And that is sexuality based, right? Because it's during the pride- #0:46:14#

217 S: Yeah, sexuality based. Yes. #0:46:16#

218 R: " I mean they just didn't want us to walk on the street. They would stop us in all the ways they could. We had to find somewhere safer than Turkey, and our big hope was Europe. We decided to-" Sorry, that with the saver is sexuality based again. #0:46:40#

219 S: Yeah. #0:46:43#

220 R: "Then one day in September I decided to catch a rubber boat to Greece. That evening I was in Izmir, where we slept in the woods – no cover, nothing, just waiting for our boats. The next morning we were in Lesbos. I was told the boat was for 35 people maximum, but we were around 50, layered over each other. You could not know which leg was from which person, or which hand. I could not stand, I could not even take a breath. There were a lot of people's bodies over my legs, children and babies too. No one could move – if we did, we would fall into the water. The driver didn't know the area and could not even see where he was going because the boat was so full. The passengers had to help navigate. When we reached the shores of Lesbos a man came to slash our boat so that the police could not send us back. After walking a few kilometres we met a reporter who took photographs of us. My knee had been badly hurt in the boat and I could barely walk, but we continued until we found a Red Cross volunteer, who said she would only take women. " So, its special-. #0:47:46#

221 S: That's gender. #0:47:47#

222 R: And it's special treatment. #0:47:49#



223 S: Yes, special treatment for females. #0:47:52#

224 R: And not even, because we had it with pregnancy but she is not pregnant, so it really is only gender. #0:47:55#

225 S: Yes. #0:47:56#

226 R: "She drove me up a mountain to a clinic where my leg could be treated. From there we were told we had to walk another 20 kilometres to get a bus to the place where we would be documented. All my things were full of water. I was with eight young men whom I had met in Turkey, and they told me that they could not walk with me any more, that I was too slow." So, I'm not, is that even companionship? I don't really because it's not-. #0:48:21#

227 S: it's not companionship. No companionship with no protection, nothing. #0:48:27#

228 R: Yeah. "They said we should separate when we reached the next point. One of them, a really good man, said he would walk with me. Just at that moment, I had been writing on my phone to a friend in Poland, and he replied that he knew someone who could give me a fake Polish ID and plane ticket." So, that's also again relations. Contacts. #0:48:48#

229 S: Yes. Relations. It's relations and contacts. #0:48:55#

230 R: Yeah, yeah. "He told me I would have to take a boat to Kos where I could get the ID and fly to Poland, and that I should fly from Kos because Athens was too dangerous and I said to myself, "Okay." I waited in a hotel until the day I had to fly. When I reached the passport checks at the airport the police were called. A policeman asked me, "So you are Polish? Then translate these letters." I pretended to translate and he looked at me and smiled. "You are Syrian, aren't you?" So, would you say this is language skills? If she knew Polish, she would have-. #0:49:28#

231 S: Language skills. Yeah. Language skills. #0:49:30#

232 R: "Look, I am not going to do anything. I know why you are doing this. I will let you go, just don't come back." I was totally alone, and had no idea what I was doing" So, this is a lack of companionship. #0:49:47#

233 S: Yeah. #0:49:48#

234 R: "I had taken a taxi to the airport so didn't even know how to get back to the cheap hotel I had stayed in that night. They had taken my fake ID, and I was stuck with a large expensive bag I had bought to look like a tourist. I went back to the hotel but it was horrible. There was not even hot water because the owner said that 'those Syrians' consume too much of it." So, it's racism. #0:50:11#

235 S: Mhm (agreeing), racism. #0:50:12#

236 R: "I called a friend in Sweden and said I would send her my bad. I didn't know where I was going. I told her I would maybe come to Sweden. Later, in Kos, I was stopped to be interviewed by two reporters who were making a documentary. I asked them if they knew how to get to Macedonia, and if they could help me. One of them, from Greece, said he would show me if they could film me for the documentary." So, I feel, you know, it's not only helping but

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Financial Situation

Network



Financial Situation

Environment & Institutions



..Physical Health



Health

he says: 'I will help you if in return I can film you'.
#0:50:46#

237 S: Yes, it's, actually it's not financial because he did not ask her for money. It's like, it's like, they are doing something for something. I don't know. An exchange. I help you in exchange for something. #0:51:03#

238 R: Yeah but the exchange at the same time is really unequal because it is a choice but it is not really a choice because she needs to go and she has agency-. #0:51:11#

239 S: She needs to go. #0:51:12#

240 R: Huh, how can we? Yeah, an unequal exchange. Like, doing a favour in return or something like this. Not financially but yeah. #0:51:20#

241 S: Not financially but a favour in return of something. #0:51:23#

242 R: Mhm (agreeing). "Without this man, I would have been lost in Kos. He brought me to the bus station and told me how to buy the cheapest tickets for the bus to Macedonia. He said, "Don't act like you are getting any information from anyone, just act like you are on your own." At first, it made me really nervous, but after a while, I forgot he even existed. I knew this would be my first and last attempt at this journey. I had only 200 or 300 euros left to reach Europe." So, financial. #0:51:53#

243 S: Mhm (agreeing), financial. #0:51:55#

244 R: I had paid €1350 for the boat to Lesbos. I had borrowed €3000 from my friends, whom I am still paying back." So, it's also contacts because she had borrowed money? #0:52:06#

245 S. Contacts. #0:52:09#

246 R: And financial, it's both. She needs the contacts. #0:52:11#

247 S: And, yeah. #0:52:13#

248 R: "Luckily, from Hungary to Austria I didn't have to pay anything because the Red Cross just threw us into the trains and buses, shouting, "Go, just go!" In Austria, something strange happened. The police told us we were getting on a bus to Vienna, where we could choose to continue to Germany or wherever else, it was our decision. I had heard from friends that the Netherlands and Sweden might be better for LGBT people. But then midway the bus driver announced that we were going to the German border. They just changed the route, just like that. So I arrived in Germany 15 days after leaving Turkey, with 50 euros in my pocket." So, is this maybe also an external factor? Because the bus just goes another way and she can't do anything about it? #0:52:53#

249 S: It was actually in her favour because she wanted to be in Germany. #0:53:00#

250 R: Yeah, okay, so it's nothing really, right? Okay. #0:53:03#

251 S: It is nothing really, yeah. #0:53:05#

252 R: Okay, "So I arrived in Germany 15 days after leaving Turkey, with 50 euros in my pocket. I really didn't want to stay here but I had to surrender. I said to myself, 'No, I am not able even to walk.'" So, I'd say also because she doesn't

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want to stay in Germany but because of her knee, because of her leg she has to stay. #0:53:25#

253 S: She has to stay. #0:53:26#

254 R: So, it's health, health influence. #0:53:27#

255 S: Health. Yes. #0:53:29#

256 R: "After a week I managed to take a shower. I had an allergy, a sickness on my skin. I had these bubbles all over my mouth, I looked horrible. Compared to the other people's stories, though, our group who travelled between September and October 2015 were very lucky. There was a lot of media attention at the time so people were aware of our situation. Organisations like the Red Cross-" So, maybe, people were aware of the situation, maybe it's awareness helping agency? Is that what she is saying? #0:54:01#

257 S: Yeah, awareness and that's because of-. Yeah, awareness. Social media awareness. #0:54:07#

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258 R: "Organisations like the Red Cross and the United Nations were there, and they helped a lot." So, it's also external help infrastructure. #0:54:16#

259 S: Yeah, externals help. #0:54:20#

260 R: Yeah. That's it. We are done. #0:54:24#

261 S: Fertig? (laughing) #0:54:25#

262 R: Yeah, fertig (laughing). #0:54:26#

263 S: Fertig (laughing). That was nice. #0:54:34#

264 R: fertig, fertig (laughing). It's so great. Thank you so much, it went quicker this time I feel, right? #0:54:36#

265 S: Yeah, very quick. Thank you, too, Rebekka. #0:54:39#

266 [Talk about the further process of coding and analysis, the time frame, goodbye]. #0:56:25#

Appendix 4: Transcript of the Communicative Validation with Suh Mary on the 27.04.2021

Participants

R.: Rebekka Rohe

S.: Suh Mary

1 [Introduction] #00:00:38#

2 R.: OK, so I did quite a lot of thinking last time, so I will try to give you a good overview because it was many different things that happened. And so I think the first grand thing that I thought about when going through our coding was that originally I thought that there was agency, there was vulnerability and that there was factors in between. And I guess what changed a little bit is that I thought that a lot of those factors that I thought were in between agency and vulnerability are maybe actually vulnerability. Because I thought what is vulnerability? Vulnerability is not this one existing concept, but the financial situation and the religion. All of that kind of constitutes vulnerability. Do you think that that those factors are a vulnerability in that sense? #00:01:32#

3 S.: Yeah, it contributes. It contributes to vulnerability. #00:01:36#

4 R.: Exactly. And that all those different factors and the some of the factors and how the factors interact, all of that determines the vulnerability in the sense that are those women together, of course, with gender and being a refugee per-se, that constitutes whether they are prone to violence. And that is so that is, I think, the first big change that I kind of thought. But do you think that makes sense as well? #00:02:02#

5 S.: Yeah, me too. I think that it contributes. #00:02:04#

6 R.: OK, yeah. But I didn't ask, did you have any further thinking after our last conversation, anything that you thought would be important to add? #00:02:15#

7 S.: I don't. I didn't think of anything that we need to add on it. #00:02:20#

8 R.: Because whenever, because today is really about just checking whether we agree in what came out. And I will tell you, like all the things that I changed a little bit and whether you think that is a good change and whether you have any further input, stuff like that, it's really only validating the data. OK, so that was, I think, really the biggest underlying change. And the, the second big thing that I noticed is that I think last time I mis-explained, I did it wrong with telling what the different forms of violence is, because the, the things we did find in violence, they are all important. But for example, a lot of times we said that if there was a psychological harm, that that was indirect violence. But actually and I think it's better to define psychological violence as form of direct violence as well, because it is a really existing violation that happens from a person to another person. So it is really, it's not only hitting, but also if I verbally abuse you of you verbally abused me, it's a form of violence that really has an actor. So it's either me or you that really acts violent. #00:03:37#

9 S.: Yeah, like, affects you emotionally. #00:03:38#

10 R.: Exactly. #00:03:39#

11 S.: And I think indirect violence, just like you are doing something to somebody without knowing that you are wrong, you don't have to do it. The opposite person feels that what you are doing is totally wrong, but you feel it is OK for you. So I think that one is indirect violence. #00:04:02#

- 12 R.: That exactly, that is important. And what literature also says indirect violence is more. It can be a whole system. You know, it's not direct violence is as soon as it is between individuals or between groups. So I hit you or you verbally abused me. It's very clear to say, OK, you were the perpetrator. I was the perpetrator. But for example- #00:04:21#
- 13 S.: Yeah, that is direct. #00:04:22#
- 14 R.: Exactly. And indirect violence, it's bigger. So, for example, a very popular example in literature for indirect violence is, for example, if you cannot get a job simply because there are no jobs for women, this is not really one person that says women cannot get a job, but it's the whole system that acts like this. #00:04:42#
- 15 S.: It's a company, yeah it's like society. #00:04:44#
- 16 R.: Exactly. Or for example, another example is, for example, in a refugee camp, there is no possibility to lock the door of the shower or stuff like this. It's not itself, it's not a person decided not to put a lock, but it is an infrastructure of violence in the sense that anything can happen afterwards. You know, you can lock the door, anyone can come in. So it enables direct violence. But itself, the infrastructure is already a system that brings inequality. So it's the lack, it's the unequal distribution of possibilities. It's not necessarily a harm perse. But, you know, for example, also starving. Of course, nobody stops you in an active sense, but you are being starved because you lack the opportunities to eat. So that is also a violence. #00:05:32#
- 17 S.: Yeah. #00:05:32#
- 18 R.: So what I did, because last time I'm sorry, I mis-explained that. Because I think all everything that we found is very valuable, because you think what we framed as indirect violence is really more the psychological direct violence. And so what I did is I went through the interviews again and also checked, for example, cases of infrastructure. So we have the case where, for example, one woman gets locked into a prison and there is no extra cells for women. So she has to stay in the floor or there is the part in the refugee center where there's 200 women all locked together with only one shower or another case where she can't lock the door. This is all what I would say. This is actually indirect violence, if you agree. #00:06:20#
- 19 S.: Yeah. Because they (inaudible) of them. #00:06:21#
- 20 R.: Exactly because it leads to direct violence and enables it. But it's a system that is just treating them unequally as women. Yeah. So I, I put the citations. They didn't have a women's section, so they kept me in the hallway. But actually it also leads in one case to agency because in this one case where she is in prison and there is no extra cell, they bring her boyfriend out a couple of times for him to smoke. And in that time they can talk with each other. Or there's also the other case where there is no female police officer so she doesn't get searched. And you could say that is in direct violence because there is no female police officer, but at the same time, it leads to agency. So there is also the interaction. #00:07:08#
- 21 S.: There is interaction, yeah. #00:07:10#
- 22 R.: Mhm. Or. Yeah, exactly. So this is what I kind of framed as infrastructural violence, as indirect violence. And what I also put as indirect violence is work as infrastructure. So there's a lot of situations where she can't work because either they say there is no normal job for black girls in Italy or they say you cannot work as a woman. She also had to become a prostitute or, you know, she didn't know Kurdish, all those. It's also not really perpetrated by one person, but it's work-, work related and indirect violence, I would say. #00:07:47#

- 23 S.: So I think we talked about that and said it was indirect violence. #00:07:52#
- 24 R.: Exactly. Yeah. And the last one of indirect violence that I put also fear of violence. So there's a couple of situations where the women are afraid something will happen. So they go with other men and then those men do something so out of fear, you know, they constantly have to worry that something happens. And although it's not the violence itself, I think the fear of violence itself is already the inequality, which is indirect violence. Yeah, it's the psychological stress, I think. #00:08:21#
- 25 S.: Yes. #00:08:22#
- 26 R.: OK, so that was like the, the, I think from the whole structure, those were the two things that I adjusted a little bit because I think it makes more sense like that if you agree. #00:08:33#
- 27 S.: Yeah. #00:08:34#
- 28 R.: And yeah, and besides that, so because I tried to it's so much information, I'm sorry, it's all in my head (laughing), I try to give it to you that it's easier to understand. The main questions that I try to answer is the first big question is, are refugee women vulnerable? And I think it's very clear that, yes, in all interviews, in all situations, they have vulnerability and we identified those different layers of vulnerability. #00:09:03#
- 29 S.: Yes. #00:09:04#
- 30 R.: And so what I have found is, we, I mean, I just pretty much summed up the ones that we talked about. So it's health that we had. Different cases of health and psychological health and psychological health that influence it, in which direction it goes. We had pregnancy, quite a lot of pregnancy 14 times in different interviews. We had sexuality, companionship, and I put as network together, the access to social media and access to, to technology and social contacts. So real life contacts that both as network. Language skills, financial situation, ethnicity and nationality and what I put in ethnicity and nationality as well is what we defined as legal situation. #00:09:57#
- 31 S.: Okay. #00:09:57#
R.: You remember we when they didn't have the papers, they didn't have the passport, stuff like this. I thought this is very clear one subpart of nationality because of their nationality, they do have the papers or they don't have the papers. It's kind of- #00:10:10#
- 32 S.: Ethnicity. #00:10:13#
- 33 R.: And nationality, I thought. Right? #00:10:15#
- 34 S.: Yes. #00:10:16#
- 35 R.: It's like a sign of nationality. You can say, oh, and the last thing is also religion, because we had Christianity and Islam. And for now I also put voodoo in religion. Would you agree that voodoo is a religion or? #00:10:31#
- 36 S.: For me, I don't think voodoo is a religion. #00:10:33#
- 37 R.: What, what would you say it is? #00:10:35#

- 38 S.: When we talk of religion, we talk like we talk of Muslims. We talk of Christians, yeah we talk of other religions, but not voodoo, voodoo is like a tradition or something created by man. #00:10:51#
- 39 R.: And what is it like, spirituality maybe? Is it- #00:10:57#
- 40 S.: It's spirituality, yeah. Spirituality created by man. #00:10:59#
- 41 R.: So if I put it religion and spirituality, because I think it's still closer to religion than any other, right? I mean, the voodoo part, it's still closer. #00:11:09#
- 42 S.: That is closer to religion because it's satanic deed. It's satanic. Closer to religions but call it spiritual and religion. #00:11:18#
- 43 R.: OK, so, yeah, we name it both. It's OK for you that we include it there? #00:11:23#
- 44 S.: Yeah. Anyone. Anyone is okay. #00:11:25#
- 45 R.: OK, so I think those were the main, I mean I had changed a little bit as well and the coding we did is for example, with the deceivment we had, you know, that people were deceived, that I added, for example, this one girl Macy, that I added one code that she was deceived into prostitution because she thought that she was going to go- #00:11:48#
- 46 S.: To work. #00:11:49#
- 47 R.: Exactly. And so I, I recoded because I think our deceived code we only established afterwards. I coded that she was deceived into prostitution. And you remember this other girl, this Iranian girl who she got with her boyfriend to Iraq and he wanted to become a rebel. #00:12:07#
- 48 S.: Yes, I remember. #00:12:08#
- 49 R.: And he also said that they would go to Europe. So I also added deceivment there because she thought- #00:12:13#
- 50 S.: She was deceived, yeah. #00:12:15#
- 51 R.: So I added those codes. And I also coded one new contact because also Macy, you know, she was forced into prostitution. And first she didn't contact her parents. But after, once when she was pregnant and she wanted to leave to Germany, her mother called her boyfriend and said: "Yes, you have to go to Germany, you have to help her". And only then her boyfriend came along. So I coded this as like the mother convincing the boyfriend I, I coded as as contact as well that the contact helped with agency because the mother helped her with convincing the boyfriend #00:12:51#
- 52 S.: Yeah, that is agency. Because the mother got involved. #00:12:54#
- 53 R.: Yes. And I edit also that the mom is as contact like in the network. I edit the mother as. #00:13:00#
- 54 S.: Yeah. Yeah. #00:13:02#
- 55 R.: And, oh exactly. And in the last one you remember the Syrian, it was the Syrian woman who was very politically active in the lesbian community. And yes, at the end she went to the house,

she went to the airport with a fake passport. And there she, she pretended to be Polish and she had to translate something in Polish. And the guy said, no, you're not Polish, but- #00:13:25#

56 S.: Polish. #00:13:26#

57 R.: But then he also said, I understand why you do it, so please go away, but don't come back. So, I coded that as favoritism of being, being Syrian because he said, I understand why you do it. And he did not call the police, but he actually helped her and just said she should go away. So I thought that was favoritism because she was Syrian. Do you agree? #00:13:48#

58 S.: Yeah favored. She was favored. it's favoritism. #00:13:51#

59 R.: OK. And I also coded the one time that the bus was changing the route, like one time this girl, I think it was also the Syrian. She wanted to continue to Sweden, but then the bus took another turn and she ended up in Germany. So I coded that as like external reasons, like influencing, you know, we had the weather and the bombing. And it also said it's nothing she decided. But it was an external situation that limited her agency because she wanted to go into another place. But in the end, she ended up in Germany because the bus took another route. #00:14:26#

60 S.: Yes, OK. #00:14:29#

61 R.: And sorry, it's just the list, that I want to see whether you agree with the changes. #00:14:35#

62 S.: No, it's okay, it's okay. I understand perfectly. #00:14:38#

63 R.: OK, and I know that we also called we had a category that we called gender norms like perceptions about gender. And I also coded that as part of violence, because I actually think it is psychological violence, it is gender based psychological violence. But when they called her, you know, they said you're a bitch, whatever, like really mean things. I think that's really part of the psychological violence. #00:15:06#

64 S.: Yeah, that is, yeah, yeah. Psychological violence. I agree with that. #00:15:07#

65 R.: So I definitely see that it is like gender reasons. The gender norms are causing the violence, but still it is violence after all. #00:15:17#

66 S.: Mhm, mhm (agreeing). #00:15:18#

67 R.: And OK. Now, I think from the big thing, that's really that's that was it. I'm sorry. And like I said, I subdivided the violence into indirect violence. And also I kind of tried to change the direct violence. So it's I coded it into psychological violence, into physical violence and also sexual violence. I made a division between sexual and physical and lastly, also economic violence, because sometimes, very often, you know, they took the money away, even they were robbed or when she was forced into prostitution. She could not keep the money. I all think that is also really very direct violence in an economic sense. #00:16:03#

68 S.: Yeah, it is direct violence because they can't just peacefully take the money from her. #00:16:06#

69 R.: Exactly. Exactly. And also, it causes so much like it takes so many possibilities and so much freedom. So these are the so these are the categories that I found, sexual violence, physical violence, psychological violence, economic violence and indirect violence. Do you think there's anything missing? Should there be anything else? #00:16:29#

- 70 S.: No, no, no. I don't think so. #00:16:32#
- 71 R.: OK great. And then in terms of agency, I also subdivided it into-, because agency is really a lot of things (laughing) #00:16:40#
- 72 S.: It's broad, yeah. It's really broad. #00:16:44#
- 73 R.: So I also kind of thought its different layers of, of agency, which they can do. So on the one hand is the ability to move as they want to continue the journey, but also the ability to stay. Because there's also situations where she said, I wanted to stay in Turkey, but then they were so racist that I decided to continue my journey. So it would have also been agency to decide: Now I want to stay. So movement not only is literally moving, but also as possibilities. #00:17:12#
- 74 S.: To stay. #00:17:13#
- 75 R.: Exactly. And what I also put in there was escaping violence. So it's not only movement in the sense of really changing place, but also changing situation. #00:17:23#
- 76 S.: Because of violence. Because you are not comfortable where you are. #00:17:27#
- 77 R.: Exactly. So this is one agency. So, I put that all under the headline movement or yeah, stuff like this agency. And then also a financial agency, whether you can determine what you want to spend, whether you can act freely with your money and also the agency to work or to not work. You know, there she wanted to get a job and whether she could decide whether she wants to get a job. So all, all agency that has to do with that and the decision making. So, the agency regarding sexual actions, so, for example, forced prostitution. I did not put that under work because I don't think it's work. It's not something you chose. #00:18:11#
- 78 S.: It's not work, yeah. Actually, it's something forceful. Prostitution is not a job. Not a job. #00:18:17#
- 79 R.: So that's why I put it under sexual decision making. So whether they can decide or not decides over the body. #00:18:25#
- 80 S.: Yeah. #00:18:26#
- 81 R.: And lastly, I said exchange of favors. It's also another category of agency, I thought. And so, this is like the different the different topics of agency you could say that I found. And from that I, I also thought, OK, in which way does that happen? So I thought it's receiving help. That is one part of getting out of agency. It's about speaking up against the situation, standing up for oneself. It's also deceiving that they actually also actively deceive others and it's simply making decisions on actions. So really making plans or a willingness to make plans. #00:19:08#
- 82 S.: Yeah. #00:19:06#
- 83 R.: Do you think that covers agency or is there anything missing? #00:19:15#
- 84 S.: I think it's, it's OK under agency. #00:19:18#
- 85 R.: OK, yet so much information, I'm so sorry, it's really a lot (laughing). #00:19:23#
- 86 [Discussing the organizational setting for the next meeting] #00:20:33#

- 87 R.: OK, great. But also, you can, if you think, because I'm not sure because it's so much information. So I'm sorry. I really don't want to just blurb it all out to you. So please also let me know if there is any other way that you would prefer that we talk in another way or I don't know, talk about the information differently. #00:20:53#
- 88 S.: No, we can, we can talk like this as we are talking. Maybe you read and if I have something to contribute, you just tell me the changes on what we talked about. I think it's better this way. #00:21:06#
- 89 [Goodbye] #00:21:35#

Appendix 5: Transcript of the Communicative Validation with Suh Mary on the 28.04.2021

Participants

R: Rebekka Rohe

S: Suh Mary

- 1 [Introduction, personal chat] #00:00:34#
- 2 R.: Okay, do you have any questions or anything that came up since yesterday? Any comments? #00:00:42#
- 3 S.: No, I've been busy all yesterday, so, no, nothing came up for now. #00:00:45#
- 4 R.: Oh, no. now with your son probably it's a lot of work, right? #00:00:52#
- 5 S.: Yeah, a lot. I write and I try to read all the work when he's in Kita. And when he comes back, it's a lot of work. #00:01:04
- 6 R.: I can imagine. OK, shall we continue? Do you remember where we stopped yesterday? #00:01:14#
- 7 S.: Yeah, yesterday we, we talk about the change yesterday, and-. I think we stopped, can you remember? I can't remember. #00:01:29#
- 8 R.: After I think I tried to, like, introduce the agency, the different forms of agency, and what is missing is the different dimensions of vulnerability, what I saw there and then more like the general conclusions that I drew and what you might maybe take from it. So, I mean, I think what we coded mostly was really the different layers of vulnerability, right? So we found health-. #00:01:53#
- 9 S.: Yeah, you were talking about something. #00:01:58#
- 10 R.: Yes, sorry, the Internet connection is a bit bad right now. Can you hear me because-. #00:02:02#
- 11 S.: Yeah, I can hear you. #00:02:05#
- 12 R.: OK. And yes, so we talked about the different vulnerabilities. So the one that we coded was health, and that is included the psychological and the physical health in relation to violence. And that happened five times and it's excluding pregnancy. So pregnancy is an extra form. So

altogether, it was three women who talked about health. And in all situations it was like this that if the health was worse, the agency was also worse. So there was no instance where a worse health actually led to more agency, but it was always the relationship that she hurt her knee, for example, and that really decreased her agency. And yeah, and with pregnancy: Pregnancy, we only found in two interviews. But since it happened 14 times, so we have 14 codes of pregnancy, I think it's still very, very important and obviously only since two women were pregnant, the others obviously will not talk about pregnancy. #00:03:11#

13 S.: Pregnancy, yeah. #00:03:12#

14 R.: But it seems to be really important in, for example, that it increases violence, but also that, that it enhances agency. So in one case, a woman had to go back specifically from the border because she was pregnant. But in many other instances, it actually helped to be pregnant. So, within all the dangers of being pregnant and all the violence that happens because of being pregnant within the system, there are structures that will help you, that it's like you will be favored a little bit. #00:03:47#

15 S.: Yeah, you will be favored because you are pregnant. So, there is favoritism. #00:03:52#

16 R.: Yes, exactly. And what I found interesting is also that in one instance, I'm not sure whether you remember, it was Macy who was pregnant. And then she said, because of my baby, I don't want to work as a prostitute anymore. So, I think what is interesting there is that it's not only the agency in the sense of having the power, but also having the will to change something. So it's not actually only her going away, but it's her wanting to go away for the baby. So- #00:04:19#

17 S.: Because of the baby. #00:04:22#

18 R.: So I think it's not only that she actually goes away because of the baby, but she gets new strength mentally by being pregnant to actually wanting to leave the situation. I thought. #00:04:33#

19 S.: Yeah, she got the strength to make a decision by her own self. Yes. #00:04:39#

20 R.: So I think in that sense, it's a bit of the second aspect of agency: Agency not only having the power, the strength to change, but also having the will, having the, the want to change something. #00:04:53#

21 S.: Yeah, also being willing to change your situation. #00:04:57#

22 R.: Exactly. And that because she's pregnant, she wants to do that for the baby. So I think that was very interesting because in other instances, it was really only agency in relation to actually moving. But really, this will part of agency was really, I feel with pregnancy, the strongest taking care. Yeah. And then, as other factor of their ability, sexuality, which was only the case in the last of the Syrian refugee who was in the LGBTQI community. And in three instances it happened and in two instances limited her agency. So, she wanted to stay in Turkey. But because they were so violent against her, because of her sexuality, she had to continue movement. So that also seemed to be the case, that it's not enhancing agency being vulnerable, but it was actually only limiting the agency. #00:05:53#

23 S.: It was limiting the agency. Because she decided to leave. #00:05:57#

24 R.: Yeah, exactly. And then companionship was mentioned in three interviews and we called it . Companionship was actually, I think the one after a financial situation that we called it the most because it happened 24 times. So, it increases violence but also limits violence and

sometimes it enhances agency and sometimes it limits agency. So it really depends. It really depends on the companionship. So what I took from that is that agency is enhanced when, for example, they were traveling with Syrians and with children, that that really helped because she was favored because of that. #00:06:35#

25 S.: Because of the Syrians. #00:06:35#

26 R.: Exactly so, it's, so it's not only companionship, but it's really also the interaction with ethnicity because they were favored as Syrians and because she was traveling with them and with the children, those two components really helped increase the agency. #00:06:56#

27 S.: Yeah. #00:06:57#

28 R.: But then in other instances, I feel traveling with other men, traveling with the partners was really dangerous because I feel most of the violence really happened with the partner. Or when agency was taken away, I think that had to do a lot with the women being limited by the partner. How do you feel about that? #00:07:16#

29 S.: Yeah, that's true, because sometimes they feel if the agency is out of reach, they are now left with their partners. And that's where the violence starts. #00:07:28#

30 R.: Mhm, mhm (agreeing). Yeah, exactly, and also that the partners actually take away agencies, so the one boyfriend who took away her, her social media, he took away the money, you know, he really actively limited not only that she had to rely on it and that he was actually violent, but he actually made so many agencies impossible for her. #00:07:51#

31 S.: Yeah. #00:07:53#

32 R.: Okay. Then the next one was network that we had split up into access to social media and technology and also in context, personal contacts. And altogether we found 14 of those. And in all instances, it was that when you had access to technology or you did have those contacts, that your agency was enhanced, that-. Yeah, that it was always good to have those. #00:08:20#

33 S.: Yeah. But yeah, they have always been stuck with not having access to such technology. They don't get access to Internet. They don't get access to their phones, so agency is definitely taken away from them. #00:08:34#

34 R.: Of course it's, it's the same relationship. So when you have technology your agency enhances. But that also means if your technology is not there, if technology is taken away, it limits the agency. That's the #00:08:45#

35 S.: Yeah. #00:08:46#

36 R.: Yeah, definitely. But what I mean is that there was no instance where not having technology actually increases your agency. This relationship did not happen. It was always having is good, not having is bad, but not the other way. #00:09:01#

37 S.: Yeah. Yeah you're right. #00:09:04#

38 R.: And the same was also with, with language skills that in all instances having language was good and not having language was bad. There was never, yeah. There was never an instance where it actually helps not speaking a language. It was always limiting agency because they never knew what the others were talking about. #00:09:23#

- 39 S.: Mhm (agreeing), that's true. #00:09:25#
- 40 R.: Yeah. And then financial situation, I think you already said last time that financial situation is the most important factor. And actually it also it, we coded it the most. It was really the one factor that we found everywhere and a lot. And there, I would say interesting is also that most of the time it was really when you have more financial or better financial situation, the violence becomes less and also your agency becomes more. #00:09:55#
- 41 S.: That's right. #00:09:55#
- 42 R.: And the only instance where it was different was with the Syrians. You remember it was a quote where they said that Syrians will specifically be robbed because the others know that they travel with a lot of money. #00:10:08#
- 43 S.: With lots of money. Yeah. #00:10:10#
- 44 R.: So, i would say that is interesting because there the violence is based not, not necessarily even on the real financial situation, but thinking that they have a better situation. So it's a mix, I guess, a bit of racism because they think Syrians are all rich. That's a bit of a stereotype in combination with financial. #00:10:31#
- 45 S.: Yeah. #00:10:31#
- 46 R.: But that but that was really the only instance in all other instances having financial-. #00:10:40#
- 47 S.: Yeah, and that's, that's a limited instance. I think for the Syrians, that is limited. That is just like twenty percent of the financial problem when traveling, like twenty percent. Yeah. #00:10:55#
- 48 R.: Definitely, definitely. I also think because all the others got robbed as well. So, I don't think that only Syrians will be robbed. But so many interviews talked about robbing as well, so-. #00:11:03#
- 49 S.: Yeah. #00:11:04#
- 50 R.: And I think, financial is the main problem. Because at times when they get robbery and some don't have money, they tends to rape them or they tend to hurt them because they don't have the money. So financial actually serves the, for so many things. So, it's really, really important. #00:11:29#
- 51 R.: Yeah. Yeah. So, I think what is interesting there is that I think finance is very important for men and for women. For everyone. #00:11:36#
- 52 S.: Yes. #00:11:36#
- 53 R.: For moving. But I agree that the consequences will probably be different, that if a woman cannot pay, she will be raped. If a man cannot pay, maybe he will be sent back. But I am sure there is a component of gender there as well. #00:11:51#
- 54 S.: Yeah, yeah, yeah. There was a gender problem. #00:11:56#
- 55 R.: And I mean, also, it's not only like I did the two codes, as you know, like the financial situation, which is really the money the woman has agency over and the financial violence which I coded as violence, which really is money taken away. So robbing but really also, you

know that women have to prostitute themselves for money. That definitely has to do with their financial situation. But I really think it's more a direct case of violence. #00:12:22#

56 S.: Yes. #00:12:23#

57 R.: Yeah, OK. And then the other two are ethnicity, like I said, I mixed-. Because I thought about separating ethnicity and nationality, but then I also feel in all the interviews it's very mixed. And when they say it's racism against Syrians, we don't know whether it's really about them having the Syrian passport or whether it's the skin color. We can't tell we don't know that from the interviews. So, I left it together, ethnicity, nationality. And then, as I said yesterday, also the proof of nationality. So the papers, legal situation and all of that. Yes. And in that situation, it was interesting because I felt it was, so I think Syrians, for instance, because the literature said that Syrians would be preferred. And I think that happened a lot. But also there were instances where racism was happening specifically against Syrians. So there was one instance where a lady said: "No, there is no hot water. The Syrians took away all the hot water". So it is also negative. So I think for Syrians, it's really sometimes being favored, sometimes not being favored. #00:13:34#

58 S.: Yeah, it really it depends. Because sometimes they are favored, sometimes they're not being favored. And even if they know they have money there are places that favor them, too. #00:13:45#

59 R.: Yeah, yeah. #00:13:46#

60 S.: There are places they are being favored. #00:13:48#

61 R.: And I think also the legal situation before the refugee status, I think it's much easier for Syrians. #00:13:55#

62 S.: Yeah. #00:13:57#

63 R.: And the second thing is that the other women who were Black, I think being Black was always negative. So you were always dis-favored. It always led to violence. It always decreased agency. So I think for the Syrians, sometimes it was favored. But I think for the non Syrians, it was always, they were always non favorites because they were discriminated because of their skin color. So it's. So I think that was more decision. Yeah. And only in one instance, you remember maybe when she was pregnant, there were some smugglers who actually helped across the border because they said: "You're pregnant, I want to help you, and because it's racist, because you are Black woman, you will be discriminated. We are helping you." So I think there it was the only instance where she was favored. But not favored because of being favored but favored because the others knew that she she's discriminated against. #00:14:55#

64 S.: Yeah. #00:14:56#

65 R.: You know, it's a bit complex. Sorry (laughing), it's like a-. #00:14:57#

66 S.: It' like, she got favored but they didn't actually have a choice but had to do it because of the pregnancy. #00:15:05#

67 R.: And also because they knew that the situation is even worse for her as a Black woman. So they favored her, but not the not the general system favored her, but only to resist the racist system. And a little bit, they favored here. #00:15:19#

68 S.: Mhm (agreeing), all right. #00:15:20#

- 69 R.: But would you agree? Do you think it's like this, too, with the Syrians and other refugees that there is the difference? #00:15:27#
- 70 S.: Yeah, there is a big difference with the Syrians and other refugees. There is a big difference with the skin color. When it comes to skin color, there's a very big difference. There is always favoritism to the whites. And non-favorism to the Black. It's always like that. From the world until you get here and even here, we still have to bother with it, like every day. #00:15:53#
- 71 R.: I'm so sorry. Yes, I can only imagine. #00:15:58#
- 72 S.: We still have to bother with it every day, but we are used to it, so-. #00:16:03#
- 73 R.: But that's even worse that you have to be used it. You know, I think that's worse that you know, yeah, what it is. #00:16:08#
- 74 S.: Yeah, it's worse because you have it in mind. It's always in your head like: "It's because I'm this. It's because I'm this". And not, at times it will not even be because of the dark skin and you will be thinking "No, it's because I'm black skinned" (laughing). #00:16:27#
- 75 R.: Yeah, I'm so sorry. And I think what's also interesting is really that the intersectionality is shown in the interview. So, for example, that the women say there is no norm. So that's a quote, that "there's no normal job for Black girls in Italy". So it's Black women who have to become prostitutes. So it's not all women and it's not all Black, but it's really specifically Black women who are being targeted. So it's really I think, yeah, it's really very specific discriminations that come into play as well and forms of violence. #00:16:58#
- 76 S.: It's really those discrimination, there is violence, there is racism. When it comes to such things, it's always racism and discrimination. No. #00:17:11#
- 77 R.: Oh, yes, it's horrible. It's not a it's not a very happy subject, I think. I'm sorry. We're always meeting for the very dark subject. It's nothing fun (laughing). #00:17:22#
- 78 S.: Mhm (agreeing), it's okay (laughing). #00:17:26#
- 79 R.: One day we should do something fun, I don't know. Go to the roller coasters or something (laughing). #00:17:31#
- 80 S.: Yeah (laughing). #00:17:34#
- 81 R.: Okay, and the last one is religion and spirituality, because I did include voodoo. So it's interesting that one woman who was Christian, it happened two times that she was favored. So, I think it's a bit similar to, to ethnicity, you know, that Europe-, in Europe were really preferred if you're white, if you're Christian. So, you know, other 'European values' being similar, I think that's why she was favored. And then Islam and voodoo, it was in both times decreasing agency. So in Islam, they were sent back. There was also violence based on discrimination, based on Islamophobia and for voodoo, I think it was really the strongest impact because it was limiting her agency. But it was also causing a lot of violence because you could not escape the persecution, because she was so afraid. #00:18:25#
- 82 S.: It's so spiritual. It's spiritual. Voodoo is very spiritual. If you leave, you might die. If you leave, you might go mad. If you leave, you might do this. So, yeah. Voodoo is a religion. #00:18:41#
- 83 R.: And I definitely think that- #00:18:43#

- 84 S.: So, we have (inaudible) #00:18:47#
- 85 R.: Ah, the connection was bad. Sorry? #00:18:49#
- 86 S.: Yeah, the connection is a little bit bad. But we have a Christian and then we have a Muslim and we have a voodoo. #00:19:00#
- 87 R.: Yeah, yeah. But I do feel that with voodoo, it had the biggest impact. I think voodoo was really because, like you said, it's really, it's always in your mind. I think I think with Christianity it's not always there. But with voodoo, it's what will happen if I run away. It's causing the violence. It's really all the time there. #00:19:17#
- 88 S.: Mhm (agreeing). Voodoo is the bigger one. We are so afraid of voodoo. When you live Africa, when you have done voodoo on you, it is difficult for you to, to withdraw from it. You are always scared. Always being scared. So voodoo is the bigger one here. #00:19:37#
- 89 R.: Yeah, yeah, that's what I thought. Yes, true. Yes. And then and what is really interesting, I feel, is that the only, out of all these variables or out of all these factors, all these different aspects, it is pregnancy and it is the nationality and ethnicity. These are the only two where the vulnerability sometimes actually increases the agency. So in all others, like I said, you know, you have companionship. It sometimes helps. It doesn't have. But with sexuality, you are not a lesbian. You have more agency is always like in one direction, but with ethnicity. It was sometimes okay, you have, you are in this one instance of the woman. You are Black and that is a vulnerability. But because of that vulnerability, the smuggler helped her and it was the same with the pregnancy that she was being helped because they knew it's a bad situation. #00:20:36#
- 90 S.: Yeah. #00:20:37#
- 91 R.: So I felt those were the only two where it was not more financial, more agency, less financial, less agency, but it was the other side. #00:20:45#
- 92 S.: Vulnerability, yeah. Out of vulnerability. #00:20:48#
- 93 R.: But at the same time I felt like I said it's not. So, I would say that's, so my main questions are: Do women have agency? Yes, they do. Are they vulnerable. Yes, they do. All of this belongs together, like the mix that we just discussed it all agency and vulnerability. They belong together. But then when it comes to also interesting is that also agency leads to violence so that we had some instances where the woman spoke up or the woman did something. And because she did that, she got hurt because she said, no, I don't want to do this. She got hit or something like this. So it's not only that, it's not only that violence influences agency, but agency also influences violence. #00:21:34#
- 94 S.: Yeah. That's right. #00:21:35#
- 95 R.: And so what I saw, what I thought is when we put it all into one system, it's interesting because I feel normally vulnerability leads to less agency. So that was pretty much in all instances the case. And the only, the only instance where vulnerability led to more agency. It was really only small and it was only favorites. It was not, it was not that the system actually changed but it was only small, small favors. #00:22:03#
- 96 S.: Mhm (agreeing), yeah. #00:22:06#
- 97 R.: So, what would be needed in the future is really analyzing what are the vulnerabilities in building a system that really helps those who need it so that you have, for example, a system

where really those who don't have the money, so not per say, for example, all Syrians, but that you really look, for example, all people who don't have the money, they get help or something like this, you're not really changing the structure, not only a small favor here and a small favor there. #00:22:34#

98 S.: Yeah, yeah. But changing the structure would be really difficult because if you if you want to take of the means of travelling, it's always illegal. They face all those things because they go through illegal way of being here (laughing). #00:22:51#

99 R.: Yeah, yeah. That's the first thing that has to change: To make it legal. #00:22:56#

100 S.: Yeah. So if we really want to help, we have to try to see how they can change it to make it actually more legal so as to avoid such passage. #00:23:06#

101 R.: That is very true. That is very, very true. Yeah, very true. Also all the other things that we did not discuss, but the dangers of travelling by boat and dying, you know, all those. Yeah. Yeah, definitely. Definitely. Yeah. Oh, and sorry what I forget. Because we also we also did deceiving others and we also coded care and we also coded the external factors. So whether bombing and the infrastructure. So for example, you know that there were organizations helping or media attention. These are all factors that I will include. But I did not feel that they were really vulnerability. So, for example, taking care of others, you know, the girls, they did not want to call because they were afraid that the mother would be hurt or something like this. I didn't feel it was really a vulnerability itself, but it was more like a personal trait or a consequence of something else. How do you feel about it? #00:24:04#

102 S.: I think it's a consequence of something. Yes. Yeah, it's a consequence. #00:24:08#

103 R.: OK, and also, I felt being deceived, for example, that is also definitely a factor. If you are deceived, it influences your agency. But it's not really a vulnerability itself. It's the actions of others. And it's important how they treat you. But it's more-, it's also, again, the consequence of the others of outsiders. And the I think, was with the external factors, with where there were bombing and all. The institutions which are there, how the police treats you, it's all important, it all influences violence, it all influences agency, but it did not feel is really a vulnerability, but it's more the surrounding that you're in. #00:24:48#

104 S.: Yeah. #00:24:49#

105 R.: So I will definitely, I will definitely also include them in the analysis. But I don't feel there really-. You know, it's not the same as skin color or religion. It's a bit the outside. #00:24:59#

106 S.: No, it actually have nothing to do with skin color or religions, because when the police comes in to help people, they do it like generally. Yeah. #00:25:08#

107 R.: Exactly. Yeah. So that's what I thought, that this is the outside world and it's important to include that because it also influences your situation, but it's not really something having to do with the individual. #00:25:20#

108 S.: Yeah. #00:25:21#

109 R.: OK. So but I think from the main things, this is really, this is how I like-, this is how I will answer the research question that they do have agency, that they do have vulnerability. It belongs together. There is other factors. It's always a process. So in different situations, those factors will be different. It also belongs together with the outside situation and that sometimes

- it actually increases agency, but only very limited and not really structurally. But there are definitely other, other favors would be needed. Something like that. #00:25:54#
- 110 S.: Yeah. Yeah. #00:25:57#
- 111 R.: Do you have anything that you think would be good to add? #00:26:00#
- 112 S.: Mhm (thinking), I think we have to talk about most of the things that I know when it comes to travelling through the road (laughing), the experiences I know about. #00:26:14#
- 113 R.: But for example, with the-, of course financial is important. But do you think with the other factors we found, would you say there is, for example, that religion is more or less important than ethnicity or other things like this? Or is it not really possible to rank it? #00:26:29#
- 114 S.: Ethnicity is important. Let's forget about religion, because when you're traveling, there is no religion along the way. All they want to do is their focus on getting to where they are going to. So, they face more difficulties with ethnicity on the road when traveling. We have problem, we have the ethnicity and then religion, too. #00:26:52#
- 115 R.: OK and also the are the others, but as is their language skills, then work, the companionship, sexuality, pregnancy, health, I mean, it all plays a role. But would you say because we saw that, that it all plays a role, but would you say it's possible to really rank it or is it just not possible because it all belongs together? #00:27:14#
- 116 S.: For me, I think it's possible to rank it because it makes it easier to understand it. If you just put it together like you just say. (inaudible). For me, it's good to differentiate it. #00:27:32#
- 117 R.: Yeah, that's true. But I mean, what I what I can do is just say how often we found them. So I go from the ones we found the most to the ones we found least. But do you think there's any additional besides I mean, you made it very clear that skin color is very important. Financial is very important. Is you think those are the two that really the two most important or is there are the things that you would highlight? #00:27:54#
- 118 S.: For me, skin color is important. Ethnicity is important. And basically this is skin color. So, yeh, important, And then financial is important. Religion is important. And the language actually is really, really important when traveling. #00:28:12#
- 119 R.: Yeah, I think all of it, because, for example, also health, because I think health is important when something happens. It may not be important when there is nothing wrong, but as soon as there is something wrong, it's very, very important. #00:28:24#
- 120 S.: It's very important, yeah. Health is important, yeah. There are important things but most important, what there are some that are really, really most important. #00:28:37#
- 121 R.: OK, that's really interesting to hear. OK, I'm thinking whether there's anything yeah, I mean, I will, I will try to put it together the way that I said it. Now, of course, maybe there are small changes, but what I also have to do, it is in the methods part of my thesis. I have to shortly talk about, like because I anony- I'm sorry, it's very complicated anonymized. Is that the word (laughing)? #00:29:09#
- 122 S.: (Laughing) They want to say normalize it? #00:29:12#
- 123 R.: No, I, I took your name out and: anonymous. I got- (laughing). #00:29:18#

- 124 S.: Anonymous. OK (laughing). #00:29:24#
- 125 R.: It's so complicated (laughing). #00:29:24#
- 126 S.: Yeah: Anonymously. #00:29:25#
- 127 S.: Yeah, anonymously, right. Because you wanted to remain anonymously. I did, I did not use your name or anything. So what I did is what I simply used like A. like ABC I thought is, so it's really not it's really nothing having to do with your name and also took (women's organization's name) name out. So I just said a women's organization, so no one could trace it back. And I also #00:29:53#
- 128 S.: Yeah. #00:29:53#
- 129 R.: I can send it to you because I have a short paragraph that introduces you, just really trying to take all the information out that is really personal. So I said a woman in North-Rhine Westphalia. So it's really very general. But if you want, I can I can send it to you, so you can read through it and say whether you would take things out or add to things, anything you want on information. #00:30:16#
- 130 S.: OK, I think that would be nice. If you send it to me, maybe I just go through it and see what we talk about, too. It's, it's good for my, for my remembrance. #00:30:27#
- 131 R.: Of course. I mean, yes. I mean, it's different parts of this is like one very short one. It's called introducing A., so it's really introducing the co researcher. So that's you but anonymised. So you can read through that now if you want. I can send it to you, or whenever you have time, just like now. And I also write one part, I have to do it for the thesis, which talks about our relationship, like in the, in the conversation, how it felt. So you can also, if you want, you can also write me or give me some verbal feedback how you felt with with the conversations whether you thought it was unequal or whether you thought it was comfortable. All those emotions you have, I can very gladly put them in as well. And I also write down mine so you can also read through it if you want. #00:31:14#
- 132 S.: OK, alright. #00:31:14#
- 133 R.: And then of course, any time later when I have the-, when I write the thesis, of course I will send it to you. I will send you the printed version and you can read through it and you can have it and really look through it of course. #00:31:31#
- 134 S.: Mhm (agreeing). Thank you. #00:31:31#
- 135 R.: There is also some, some bigger things that I wanted to discuss in the discussion parts. So, for example, that I think it's very important to really include women more. So I think it is a pity. I mean, I understand that you have to stay anonymous for your own sake, but I think it's so unfair that I publish it with my own name and you, you the people who actually experience it, also the interviewees, all the women who are actually, you know, they're the ones who it's about. They have to stay anonymous to be safe. So I think, I definitely put a part in there how unfair that is and how society has to change to make it possible. So you can all speak for yourselves and not. #00:32:14#
- 136 S.: Yeah, that's right. Society really needs to because I have interviews anonymous, anonymous, newspapers anonymous. I'm always anonymous (laughing). Yeah. #00:32:27#

- 137 R.: And that's so unfair. You should have the ability to speak up for yourself. And it's great that you do it, but it's not. You should have the freedom without consequences to be able to state your name, I think. #00:32:38#
- 138 S.: Yes, that is true that's right. #00:32:41#
- 139 R.: Yeah. And for example, also, I mean, that goes for my thesis. It's not only others, for example, that, you know, I write about the inequality. And then what happens is that in that sense, it's also unequal because I will be, my name will be there and yours won't be. So I definitely have to, not shame myself but I also definitely have to say that in this research as well, the inequality is there and it's really unfair and it should be different. But also, if you have any suggestions how to make it more fair in the future, do you have any idea how it could be different? #00:33:15#
- 140 S.: Ahm (thinking), how to make it different in the future? I don't have it-, because I don't know how the Germans law, I think if I have to know how to make a difference, I need to know some rules and regulations in Germany that will facilitate making an impact. Now, I don't I don't know where to place my mind right now and how things can go differently. Like we have to speak openly to the-, yeah. So I don't know. #00:33:42#
- 141 R.: Yeah, definitely. But I mean also more like now just in our conversation like with, with our research process, do you have any ideas there. How in the future it could be different, how to, how you would feel more equal or anything like that. Is there anything then-? #00:33:59#
- 142 S.: Like being equal? Equal? #00:34:02#
- 143 R.: Like for example with, with our research that I was the one who had you know, I, I had already prepared a lot and I was the one giving you all the information and I am the one who will be publishing with my name. So, do you-?. And I would love to change it. I would really love to put your name there as well and publish it together. But, you know, just right now, it's not possible. But if you have any idea how to make it also more equal than you are as much part of this research as I am, anything? #00:34:32#
- 144 S.: No idea. But you could still put another name. Could you put another name? #00:34:37#
- 145 R.: I could. Do you have like-, I will put whatever name you want. #00:34:41#
- 146 S.: Yes. So I can give you another name you can put. #00:34:44#
- 147 R.: OK, I will. #00:34:46#
- 148 S.: Yes, I will text it to you on WhatsApp. Then, because it's actually good, you should put another name. Like any name. Not just being anonymous. There should be a name. That will help because you were not talking to a ghost. #00:35:00#
- 149 R.: Of course. #00:35:01#
- 150 S.: You were actually talking to somebody. So, my picture isn't there, my name should be there. Even if it's not my real name, but there should be a name that indicates that there was a human being there. #00:35:14#
- 151 R.: That is a really, really good idea. Definitely see it the same way. That's really good. If you want what we could also do, you could, for example, take a picture that's not of your face. But if you want to somehow you could. It could be anything. It could be a picture of a tree. It could

be a picture of your head. You know, it could be anything that's not-, if you want. Of course, it's not a must. But if you somehow want to have you in there-. #00:35:36#

152 S.: Yeah, I can send you an image of me from back. It will be very shadowed. So it would definitely get an image of me from back. #00:35:49#

153 R.: OK, yes. Whatever you feel comfortable-. #00:35:52#

154 S.: Let's really make it good. So you make, let the report to be very clear and there should be an image that's for sure. There was somebody. #00:36:00#

155 R.: Yeah. That's a really good idea. I, whatever really, I will give as much or as little because for me it's very important that I, what I don't want is that you have any negative consequences of, of this. This is why right now I really put it as anonymous as I possibly could, but I definitely agree any name is good. If you want to give a picture. Good. But I don't want to put you in danger if you know you really whatever you feel comfortable with, I will do, if you don't feel comfortable: Also fine. #00:36:29#

156 S.: It's OK, I'll give you some from back because I used to have some interview with this news vendors but I will-, I always give it from the back. I have an interview tomorrow and I still have to take it from back. So, I will send you a name and I will send you an image. Without my face. #00:36:51#

157 R.: I would put a little star and say the name has been changed for security reasons, but it's a really good idea to have a name. Yeah that's great. So but yeah, just for like what I will also discuss is that I think that's really unequal that I get, that I get my master thesis and you also worked on it and I'm the only one who gets the recognition. So that's really unfair. And that system has to change (laughing). #00:37:13#

158 S.: Yeah. #00:37:16#

159 R.: And also, I think what is also really important is to not only in the future, concentrate on what we or what I did now, really focus on this flight itself, but also the situation before and after. It's not only, because the flight it's not just you know, it's not only this one point in time, because so many women fled because of violence before or what they experienced afterwards in Germany. It all belongs together. It's all the whole story. So it's definitely important in the future to to widen that perspective, I think. And I think what I'm also really trying to be careful about is because a lot of the men in the interviews where the partners who were violent, but I think at the same time, it's really important to take care not to frame all of refugee men as violent or as dangerous. #00:38:05#

160 S.: Not all, not everybody. #00:38:07#

161 R.: Exactly, because I think it's very easy, especially in Germany, to misuse that. You know, I don't want to be an excuse to say: "Oh, yes, we always knew the foreign men. They are dangerous. And that's another thesis who proves it". I really don't want that to be possible. So I think it's important to show and to show, really that the women are vulnerable. But they are human subjects. They do have names. They do have faces. And also the men, some men are perpetrators, but definitely not all men are perpetrators as well. #00:38:37#

162 S.: Yeah. Not all, not all men, yeah. You're right. #00:38:40#

163 R.: And to really also look at the bigger power structures, like you said, it has to be made legal for, to find another way to flee, you know, all those bigger structures. But we now look that is

very small and very personal. And how does one policeman interact? How does, you know things like this? But really look, what is the structure behind it all and how to change it? #00:39:01#

164 S.: Yeah. #00:39:02#

165 R.: Do you think there's anything as important that you would like to add to, like other topics, other parts? #00:39:10#

166 S.: No. Nothing #00:39:12#

167 R.: OK, OK, great. I'm really excited how this goes. #00:39:18#

168 S.: Oh, yeah, #00:39:20#

169 [Organizational details about the further process] #00:40:09'

170 R.: Thank you. So thank you so much. Is there anything that you feel that should be in there or anything you would like to add? #00:40:17#

171 S.: Oh, no, no, I think everything is OK by me for now, everything's fine, yeah. #00:40:25#

172 [Further organizational details and goodbye] #00:41:22#