

# Flight, Education and the Art of Survival: Empirical Foundations for Habitus-based Social Education Work<sup>1</sup>

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## Abstract

*The empirical basis for the conceptualization of biographies of refugees living in Germany is shaped by life situation analyses that have been conducted on different age groups, on women and men, and on specific disadvantages due to disability or sexual orientation in several research projects implemented by the authors. The aim of the research program is to reflect the educational and social support system in light of these refugee biographies: On the one hand, the strategies with which the refugees try to cope with the difficult living conditions are reconstructed. The resilience revealed in these strategies is theorized as a survival habitus. On the other hand, we investigated how the professionals working in the education and support system perceive these life situations and take them into account to conceptually frame their work. The empirical materials shows that the professional habitus often cannot grasp the life situations of refugees, but remains trapped in the institutional logic of action. Possibilities are discussed as to how the necessary habitus sensitivity can be established in the academic training of social workers and anchored in the university curriculum.*

## Key Words:

*refugees, habitus, resilience, art of survival, social work*

## 1. Introduction: Our Research Program – Refugee-Specific Habitus Investigations

For more than twenty years, we have been jointly conducting empirical research on the participation in education and work among refugees living in Germany, primarily in Hamburg (Neumann et. al., 2002; 2003; Niedrig et al. 2003a; 2001; 2002; 2003b; Schroeder, 2003; Schroeder & Seukwa; 2007; 2008; 2018; Schroeder et al., 2016). Methodologically, we focus predominantly on the qualitative reconstruction of life situations in the biographical course (Schroeder, 2015). For this purpose, we collect objective data and “hard” facts (income, housing conditions, state of health) on the one hand, and the subjective views of the refugees themselves on their living situation on the other. The analytical breakdown of life situations into different functional areas of everyday life follows the insight that “integration” or “participation” in the area of housing and work, in health or political participation must be achieved consistently in each single

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case, and is confronted in the field of flight to several obstacles.

In various research projects as well as in dissertations supervised by us, studies have been developed on adolescents, and adults, who sometimes belong to a specific region of origin (for example Africa), or share a specific impairment (physical or mental disability, functional illiteracy), sometimes focusing on women or sometimes on queer sexual identities. We analyzed refugee career span passing through various segments of vocational education, be it the transition from a literacy class to vocational preparation school to entering mostly precarious employment, or via high school to university – and from there also often to unemployment (Arouna et al., 2019; 2022; Bach et al. 2021; Goetze, 2021; Grotheer et al. 2018; Hensel, 2022; Mehring, in prep.; Narawitz, in prep.; Neumann et al., 2003; Olbers, 2021; Runge, in prep.; Schäfermeister, in prep.; Schroeder et al. 2007; Seukwa et al. 2019; 2021; Shah Hosseini, in prep., Wagner, 2019). Needless to say, that such qualitative individual case studies are pretty time-consuming. Yet we have been able to document about three hundred biographical trajectories over the past twenty years, generating a corpus of data that facilitates theoretical work beyond the formulation of theses (Schroeder & Seukwa, 2018).

The goal of these qualitative studies is to analyse refugee-specific habitus. This is because “the structured and structuring structure” (Bourdieu, 1987: 280) of social relations is inscribed in life situations and biographies. “Habitus” for Bourdieu encompasses the objective categorization of members of particular social classes within social structures and, moreover, a concept of internalization of collective dispositions related to the subject. The habitus is thus a generating principle of forms of practice and behavioral strategies of the individual, which are spontaneously adapted to the situation and the requirements of the environment or socialization space.

This generative principle produces the class habitus, which distinguishes the different social milieus from one another (Vester et al., 2001). There is also a habitus related to gender, which is formed from the socially dominant gender order and constantly reproduces it (Bourdieu, 1997). Likewise, a professional habitus (Wernet, 2003: 37) can be described that reproduces itself in institutions and through disciplinary logics of action. We surmise that a specific habitus is also formed in the context of forced migration. Flight and migration in general are structuring structures that are characterized by plurilocality, transnationality and multilingualism, as well as by specific forms of violence such as absolute poverty, human trafficking, war, torture and racism, and it can therefore be assumed that this specific field generates specific behaviors and forms of action in the individual, namely a flight-specific “habitus or ingrained art of survival” (Seukwa, 2007: 191), whose characteristics will be described in more detail below.

## 2. Socio-political Contextualization

If we consider the current discussion and perspective on the causes of flight, it is striking that since 2015, the dominant discourse of the German federal government – including the EU as a whole – regarding flight phenomena has focused on combating the causes of flight (BAMF, 2018; EU, 2016). This means above all poverty and various crises in the countries of origin of refugees. Therefore, in addition to military and political measures to prevent flight, development aid as well as humanitarian and charitable actions are seen as the most important instruments for combating the causes of flight in this approach of the problem (Wirsching, 2016; Raffarin & Bizet, 2017).

In such an interpretation of the problem, which locates the causes of flight exclusively in the refugees' countries of origin, Germany is casted as a savior. The mismanagement, the dictatorships, the adherence to backward cultural traditions, the homemade ethnic and religious conflicts in the affected countries are described as the real causes of flight. Ergo, the countries of origin are depicted as perpetrators. Refugees, in turn, are ascribed the role of victims, either because they are victims of prevailing circumstances in their countries of origin, or because the asylum procedure in the host countries or the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (Geneva Refugee Convention) requires them to be victims in order to be granted refugee status (Niedrig & Seukwa, 2010).

This view is problematic for at least three reasons: It (1) overlooks the global contexts of the causes of flight, and – more importantly – it (2) thus creates the discursive and interpretive framework, i.e., the rational as well as emotional basis of our political and ethical stance in dealing with flight phenomena as a whole and in dealing with the relatively few refugees who have managed to make it to Europe. And it constructs (3) an image of the refugee as a mere victim of circumstances, which is demonstrably very counterproductive in educational work.

Therefore, in order to deconstruct the epistemic basis of paternalistic and compassionate attitudes on the issue of integration as well as racist motivated refugee hatred, it is necessary to acknowledge that coping with the political, economic and social consequences of refugee migration remains a major challenge for many countries in Europe so far (Seukwa, 2014). This challenge is expressed, among other things, in contradictions in which refugee issues are seen, on the one hand, primarily as a problem of identity and security issues, i.e., as a threat to an imagined cultural identity (the "Leitkultur") and a threat also to prosperity, due to the overburdening of the social system in host countries.

On the other hand, in view of the aging of the population structure associated with demographic change and the resulting imbalance in the pension system and the problem of a shortage of skilled workers, migration – and thus flight as a type of migration – can also be seen as an opportunity to secure the competitiveness and future viability of these countries.

These contradictions of European refugee and migration policies, which are ostensibly based on the defense of the security and economic interests of nation states, are exacerbated by the self-imposed goals of EU Member States to apply some humanistic ideals, such as human rights and democratic claims, to refugees as well. This is because the associated equality requirements, i.e., the non-discrimination of a group in the struggle for access to and power of disposal over many resources classified as materially and symbolically valuable, i.e., desirable, for society, are difficult to reconcile with the always dominant practice of giving priority to the interests of the nation-state citizen. This narrow migration policy, tailored to the interests of the EU States, often overlooks the global context of the cause of flight. For what, for example, the ongoing macabre spectacle of mass deaths at the external borders of the European Union reveals, beyond the usual hypocritical, emotional and cynical public statements of those politically responsible, is the impossibility of stopping hopeless people from seeking an existence more acceptable to them through repressive measures alone. (Seukwa, 2013, p. 7)

It is not an overstatement to stress that major population displacement and big waves of

flight in human history have always been due to structural causes. Europe and the West as a whole bear considerable historical responsibility in creating structural inequalities on the global scale through the ruthless practice of unequal trade, military interventions to secure natural resources and geostrategic interests, development aid – or better "lethal aid" (Erler, 2012), etc. All this demonstrably destroys the social and ecological livelihood of the countries concerned and drives their populations to flee. Thus, the wealth and political stability of the countries of the North cannot be causally separated from the poverty and political instability of the countries of the South and the resulting flight of the population (push – pull factors).

In other words, it is illusory to think that, although we are creating more and more reasons that trigger flight around the world by ruthlessly pursuing our national interests, we can prevent exploited and impoverished people from coming here, especially since our life of prosperity – thanks to media of all kinds – is perceived to the far corners of the globe.

The repressive and restrictive measures of the EU asylum policy, such as the arbitrary expansion of so-called safe countries, the detention and internment of refugees, the denial of social assistance and work prohibitions, the restriction of family reunification, the debate about the establishment of transit zones or the rapid and consistent deportation of so-called economic refugees, etc. are grimaces of a policy that is incapable of consistently bearing the consequences of its foreign policy, economic, and military actions in ethical responsibility. In this respect, refugees are the bitter yield of our ideology of growth and prosperity (Seukwa, 2016: 109).

In this context, the attempt to clearly distinguish "refugees" from "migrants" according to the criterion of "forced" vs. "voluntary migration" is doomed to failure (cf., e.g., the comments of UNHCR, 2000: 175). This is because political conflicts and instability, wars between states and civil wars, etc., inevitably go hand in hand with the destruction of economic conditions of life; ecological catastrophes are increasingly playing an aggravating role, whereby the question of their "causes" can probably only be answered on a global scale.

In view of this, it must be noted that the ethical justification for active cooperation in overcoming the social challenges for Europe associated with flight cannot and must not be derived from general humanitarian and charitable arguments alone. It must come to terms with aggravating factors that, contribute to or deliberately fail to prevent the causes that produce flight.

Nevertheless, the refugee issue in the European host countries is mainly discussed from the perspective of preventing "asylum abuse". In addition to measures to "prevent entry" as well as measures to shift responsibility to other countries (which leads to the phenomenon of "chain deportations" and amounts to a violation of the fundamental Convention principle of "non-refoulement"), the UNHCR in its October 2018 report notes an increasingly restrictive interpretation of the refugee definition by the authorities of the receiving countries as well as the establishment of various "deterrence measures" aimed at reducing migration through asylum.

The fact that such asylum policies, the associated legal dispositions combined with restrictive official action in its implementation as well as social stigmatization and racism determine the living situation and everyday life of those affected to a high degree negatively, is unmistakably substantiated by all the studies that we have conducted for

over twenty years with and about refugees in Germany (cf. references in section 1).

### 3. Empirical Contextualization: Main Research Question

Despite the well-known negative effects of asylum regimes on the successful integration of refugees into the functional systems of host societies, research shows that many of them are remarkably successful in their educational ambitions – to limit ourselves to this field only. (Neumann et al., 2003; Schammann & Younso, 2016; Seukwa, 2020, 2022; Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft, 2018). In our research, we therefore explored the question of what resources and competencies such refugees with unsecured residency status (can) draw upon to remain capable of acting and to achieve success in their educational and professional endeavors despite the adversity that often characterize their daily lives in Germany. With this question, we focus on the individual resources and especially on their efficient use by the refugees in order to preserve their agency, i.e., their ability to act, despite heteronomous, or alienating structures.

The relevance for political or civil education of such an approach is obvious if one seriously wants to counter the social stigmatization of refugees, for example, as “criminals”, “lazy people”, “unjustified recipients of social allowances” or the victim discourse that is not seldom cultivated by social workers, teachers, caregivers and other so-called “helpers”. In relation to this, most studies show us with astonishing clarity that the ‘refugee’ constructed as a victim, is the one preferred by most pedagogues and social workers. He is the ‘real refugee’, who is assessed as willing and able to integrate, in contrast to the ‘bogus asylum seeker’ or ‘economic refugee’. The attributes associated with this figure are: Misery, sadness, ability to suffer, modesty, obedience, gratitude, etc. This enables a large part of the pedagogues and “helpers” involved in refugee work to position themselves as superior in the interaction and to meet the refugees with paternalistic and merciful attitudes.

A reflexive distance to victimization discourses is therefore necessary here in order to avoid problematic effects of paternalistic victimization and at the same time to avoid instrumentalization for refugee push back discourses, which occur especially when (migration) strategies and ways of acting of refugees do not fit into the concept of the refugee as a helpless victim. It is not uncommon in such cases for the benevolent sympathy of the ‘helpers’ to turn into disappointed cynicism as soon as the refugees become autonomous and capable of assuming himself and thus no longer correspond to society's stereotype of victims.

From the perspective of justice theory, the treatment of refugees appears to be a touchstone for the state of compensatory justice in the educational systems of the European host countries. The advantage of this approach from the perspective of educational theory is that educational or socio-pedagogical as well as labor market promotion instruments that aim to reduce the structural disadvantages refugees are subject to on an individual level need a scientifically sound information base on the resources and competencies of refugees if they want to avoid the pitfalls of the deficit approach.

In order to theoretically pursue this question of agency, the focus must be on the subject in its process of constitution, as this takes place in the ongoing confrontation and struggle with the alienating social structures. In contrast to the Kantian conception of the subject,

the subject in question here is not primarily an autonomous subject. Both its autonomy and its individuality are secondary conditions that always develop against the background of existing social relations and structures in which the subject was initially integrated. Moreover, it is a subject perceived primarily from the point of view of action, which sets in motion the process of becoming an agent in confrontation with the alienating social structures.

Michel de Certeau (1988) has written about this type of action as follows:

"Long ago, for example, the ambiguous process that had undermined the 'success' of the Spanish colonizers among the Indian peoples was studied: Submissive and even willing, these Indians often made of the ritual acts, ideas, or laws that had been imposed on them something quite different from what the conqueror thought he had achieved with them; they subverted them not by rejecting or changing them, but by the way they used them for purposes and with points of reference strange to the system from which they could not escape. Within the colonial system that outwardly 'assimilated' them, they remained strangers; their use of the dominant order was a play on its power, which they could not reject; they escaped from that order without leaving it" (de Certeau, 1988: 13-14).

Our empirical analyses of such actions, shed light on a whole range of tactics that refugees use to circumvent repressive measures. Some of these can be summarized in key words as follows:

- External difficulties are met as a challenge
- Educational time is used optimally
- Opportunities are identified and implemented
- Even in uncertainty, work is courageously continued on the draft of the future
- In days of despair, social contacts are resorted to
- Trust is subordinated to caution
- Realistic goals are subordinated to individual dreams
- The adversities of life are consistently defied

The procedures subsumed under these categories crystallize the types of operations that the confluence of particular circumstances produced in the refugees with whom we did our research. As an impressive subversive "instruction manual" for dealing with the repressive technologies of power, these micro-processes characterize the subtle, persistent activity, the resistance of a subject that has to find its way in the network of established forces and ideas. You have to manage by doing something with it. It is these competencies, which are expressed, among other things, in the resilience ability to develop forms of self-design even in situations of extreme heteronomy and to achieve educational successes, such as those resulting from the precarious status of asylum seekers and refugees in Germany, that lead to the formation of a habitus of survival (Seukwa, 2007: 233).

Despite their impressive educational careers in Germany achieved under difficult structural conditions, many of the refugees in our research perceive their migration to Germany as a biographical upheaval; and this not only because migration itself is a leap into the unknown. For people who have thus escaped the morbidity widespread in the

dysfunctional states of their countries of origin, this leap means above all a spark of hope given the sad reality they are leaving behind. By the way, this hope is not completely unjustified or justified only by the certainty of a lack of future prospects in the home countries, as it is also based on a certain image of the countries of the North, which they themselves disseminate through various media, showing them as places where it is good to live. The refugees often see States like Germany as places where sufficient material goods are distributed rationally and fairly, but above all, where respect for the rights of the person is guaranteed regardless of their origin, gender and social class.

Most of them realize that this image is illusory when they have made the perilous journey to such a northern country and are subjected, body and soul, to the everyday restrictions, discrimination and other forms of exclusion imposed by the asylum laws. Caught in the trap of this unexpected hardship, it is a true art to pull oneself out of the quagmire by one's own hair. It is the art of transgression that, through a combination of different tactics, makes it possible to survive within a restrictive and repressive system, such as the measures derived from asylum law, without leaving it or resigning oneself to it. (Seukwa, 2007: 248).

The habitus of survival or ingrained art of survival is thus a basic human disposition or second-order competence that is the product of socialization in a particular context. This context is characterized by structures that in many respects acts heteronomously for the unfolding of the subject. From this definition it follows that the concept is based on three important elements, the acquisition, the context and the transfer mechanism:

(1) Acquisition points to the historicity of the disposition; thus, it is not innate. (2) Context provides a type of disposition by its characteristics and peculiarities. It also points to its essentially place-bound or local character (socio-contextuality). (3) The art of survival as a habitus makes it possible to gain insight into the mechanisms by which the transfer of this competence from one context to another occurs, because it is precisely a property of the habitus to reproduce itself in a new context when this has similarities with the context in which it was acquired. In this way, the structural similarity between the context of its acquisition and its application forms a necessary condition for generalizations in the study of resilience as resources that migrants possess.

In other words, the empirical evidence of the habitus of survival that manifests as resilience among much of the refugees we have studied is an indication that the refugee context in Germany, like the context in the countries of origin where they fled, affects these refugees heteronomously. Therefore, resilience manifests itself and is necessary where structures are deficient for the development of the individual. That is to say, where the art of living (*art vivendi*) is not possible, the art of survival develops.

This having been said, why has resilience, defined as an individual ability to defy life's adversities, become an important factor in the educational affairs of refugees? The disillusioning answer is: because national egoisms prevent the Occident as a whole from seeing flight and refugees as symptoms and consequences of its global irresponsibility. Consequently, it is not surprising that he (the West) is incapable of facing the question of global solidarity. This solidarity would mean, in terms of educational policy, to implement measures of restorative justice through migration-related structural and institutional educational reforms for refugees as well!

#### 4. Contextualization related to Profession-theory: Habitus Sensitivity

In the literature on profession theories in the field of pedagogy and social work, the term “habitus sensitivity” is being used to deal more intensively with the question of what demands emerge for professional action from the standpoint of social inequality (Sander, 2014). For it should be

“indisputable that the social situation or the available resources, but also the actor-specific dispositions (as elaborated, for example, in Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus) (can) have an effect on the actions of the persons involved pedagogical processes and the course of interaction between them that can hardly be underestimated” (Weckwerth, 2014: 38).

“Habitus sensitivity” is especially needed

“where professionals come into contact with the diversity and inequality of life backgrounds and experiences of the clients, which are related to different categories of social difference (e.g., gender, age, origin, religion)” (Kubisch 2014: 117).

Consequently, “habitus sensitivity” is also necessary for a pedagogical communication that is respectful and congruent with young refugees. “Habitus sensitivity” means that teachers, educators, social workers, psychologists and therapists consider the social situation of their clients in their professional actions as well as reflect on their own social situation as professionals (cf. Sander, 2014: 9). “Habitus sensitivity”, according to Sander, becomes necessary whenever “members of different social milieus want to establish a working alliance” (2014: 11) and “have to tackle a task or solve a problem together” (2014: 16). Consequently, it is essential in working alliances to confront the social inequality that exists between the clientele and the professionals, because this social asymmetry shapes all pedagogical communication (2014: 10).

Refugees, as well as persons living on unemployment benefit, those with a disability, and those who are homeless, have addiction problems, or belong to a discriminated minority, are among the vulnerable groups who have to bear the consequences of the unsolvable “social question” in their individual educational trajectories (Schroeder & Seukwa, 2017). In Germany, they are predominantly caught up in a parallel system of social law for refugees, which pushes them into poverty due to asylum for many years. In schools, they are then among themselves in refugee classes or meet peers from other social milieus in mainstream classes. The pedagogical and social work staff in the education and social support system are predominantly from the established classes, so it is highly likely that the pedagogical reference is also characterized by social asymmetries.

According to Bourdieu, habitual patterns are “action-guiding orientations in the sense of habitual modes of perception, construction, and action” (cf. Kubisch, 2014: 117). These are acquired in the course of life, they provide security, and they permanently structure work in professional practice. Several empirical studies on students of social work impressively prove that the habitus “brought along” to the university is a relatively stable and difficult to change structural entity and that “habitus modifications” among students can only be triggered to a limited extent by their university studies. On the other hand, there is probably little more that can be done than to offer such reflective settings in the training, further training, and continuing education of pedagogical professionals in which they can be made aware on their own dispositions and individual practices of distinction, as the habitualized mechanisms of the reproduction of social inequality, can be reduced (cf. Weckwerth, 2014: 58-60).



Thus, in order to be able to train “habitus sensitivity” as a professional competence of refugee work, a curriculum is necessary that provides well-founded life-world knowledge about the social situation of the clientele and enables a realistic self-location of the professionals in the global society as well as offers a methodology for the development of educational and support concepts in which pedagogical communication is organized as institutional responsibility and the identification of hidden barriers is structurally established.

For according to Jürgen Habermas, curricula are the result of social “struggles for recognition in the democratic constitutional state” (1997: 147). And therefore, “the decision about the curriculum of public schools touches the ethical self-understanding of the nation” (1997: 168).

In the 1990s, there were heated debates in universities in the United States and Canada as women, blacks, and people with disabilities demanded that the “canon of dead white old men” be supplemented with perspectives that also made marginalized social groups visible. With reference to these controversies, Habermas argues that, among other things, it is in the university that the equality of cultural ways of life is negotiated (1997: 149). “Usually, of course, cultural non-recognition is combined with blatant social underprivilege, the two being cumulatively reinforced” (1997: 151). Such ethico-political issues could inflame “cultural struggles in which disregarded minorities defend themselves against an insensitive majority culture” (1997: 168). As for now, however, it must be assumed that refugees, due to their “cultural non-recognition” and “blatant social underprivilege”, do not have sufficient power to fight back in such “culture wars”, certainly not in curriculum development.

In recommendations of the German Rectors' Conference on Internationalizing the Curriculum (HRK 2017), with reference to Betty Leask (2015), HRK takes up this perspective to some extent:

“Australian education scholar Betty Leask (LaTrobe University, Melbourne) paraphrases internationalization of curricula as follows: ‘Internationalization of the curriculum is the incorporation of international, intercultural, and/or global dimensions into the content of the curriculum as well as the learning outcomes, assessment tasks, teaching methods, and support services of a program of study.’ Based on this definition, Leask develops a complex model of internationalization of curricula that includes the formal curriculum, the informal curriculum, and the hidden curriculum” (HRK, 2017: 3).

Remarkably, however, the HRK recommendations “in contrast to Leask’s comprehensive definition” then focus in terms of curriculum “primarily on the core areas of goals and content” (HRK, 2017: 3). In contrast, we adhere to positions that call for “hidden curriculum” to be extensively scrutinized and addressed in higher education, because hidden curriculum unavoidably triggers unintended consequences and often reinforces existing social inequalities. Some authors describe the hidden curriculum as those socialization processes that occur “incidentally” during the course of study and are not explicitly expressed or reflected upon. It refers to the entire spectrum of ethical attitudes and communicative skills that are required in professional practice, but are difficult to transmit in an intentional way. Routines, rules and interactions are structured in practice. Students are usually socialized into these without any questioning, and they adapt and subordinate themselves to them.

“The ultimate consequence of the hidden curriculum includes reproducing the existing class structure, socialization, and familiarizing learners for transmission and joining the professional world” (Andarvazh et al., 2017: 204).

Hence the call for this "hidden curriculum" is to be systematically reflected in higher education teaching (Kalantary et al., 2018): Students should learn to perceive such problematic forms of interaction and to develop respectful competencies, patterns of action, and attitudes in comparison with what they are taught in the formal curriculum at university (Kalantary et al., 2018: 2).

This requires, among other things, habitus-critical internships. In majors for social work and pedagogy, internships are constitutive curricular components. Students should gain practical experience and try things out, get to know the institutional structure of the field of action they are studying, reflect on organizational structures and processes, etc. The goal is to train professional competencies for the professional field of action addressed by the academic program. This type of internship, however, leads involuntarily to the formation of the professional habitus, which is desirable. By doing so, however, the “clientele” is seen from the perspective of the profession and the professionals. Yet it is by no means guaranteed that the students can approach the life world of the clientele and their “habitus of survival” in this way.

The term exposure refers to the moment of exposition, but also – for example in pedagogy – to exposing oneself (Hentschel & Krasmann 2020). Many years ago, we read a report, which we can no longer find, but in which an interesting exposure project was reported: Senior World Bank staff were "exposed" to slums in India for four weeks. Whereas they had previously viewed development, finance and credit policy from the perspective of the capitalist banking system and thus from a professional habitus, they later reported that they now always have the people in the slums in mind in their daily work – and thus perhaps a habitus irritation has occurred to some extent in their professional actions. The Catholic Church still offers such exposure projects today (Agiamondo, 2022).

Also, many students immerse to such exposure projects in an internship or a voluntary social year before their studies by working for a time in the poorest countries of the world. For some time now, approaches have been developed to offer this also during their studies and in the environment of the places where they study, in order to enable reflection on this in their studies. For some time now, this has been referred to as "service learning" (Rosenkranz et al., 2020): Students do not engage in highly professionalized fields of action, but in direct encounters with the clientele with whom they intend to work later.

We have been providing everyday mentoring projects for refugees for many years in order to make such experiences possible. In these lifeworld-oriented mentoring projects, there is the chance to get to know these lifeworlds and also to critically recognize the effects and perspectives of institutions on such lifeworlds (Schroeder & Storz, 1994; Bernhardt et Schroeder 2014; Seukwa, 2014; Schroeder, 2019; Schroeder & Wagner, 2021). If future social workers want to learn how to support persons in their life contexts, they must learn to take the entire life situation into consideration and not only the section for which the institutional field of action is responsible. In order to generate the necessary life-world knowledge, they must reflect on the negative effects of milieu barriers when the prospective professionals' systems of interpretation, values and norms come into conflict with the cultural patterns of the clientele. This is one of the important conditions for the possibility that a reciprocal habitus sensitivity can emerge.

## 5. Conclusion: Research desideratum 'Remigration'

In our research, we have concentrated on the biographical phase of asylum and on the question of what has become of refugees years after they have been recognised and whether integration into society really goes as smoothly or sustainably as is promised to the refugees on their arrival. The entire topic of remigration remains largely unaddressed in migration research. Many integration measures relevant to refugees pursue the promotion of return and sustainable reintegration into the country of origin as an overarching political goal (Cassarino, 2008). However, only sparse research on return to the country of origin has developed in migration research. Long seen as a "special case of migration" (Unger, 1983: 30), there are now a few studies, without a special field of research on flight having emerged from them (Schleimer, 2018). This is because remigration research had always assumed a voluntary return, for example the return of "guest workers" to their "home country" after retirement. It was not until the 1980s and 1990s that forced remigration also became part of the international return debate due to the increase in refugee migration, although it usually does not appear in theoretical approaches (Schleimer, 2018: 59). Until today, forced remigration has remained a very neglected topic in refugee research.

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