

Pražská vysoká škola psychosociálních studií



**Narativní analýza rozhovorů s migranty,
přicházejícími do České republiky. Životní příběh
a post-migrační stresory**

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**Narrative analysis of interviews with migrants,
coming to Czech Republic. Life story
and post-migration stressors**

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Praha 2016

Prohlašuji, že jsem bakalářskou práci vypracovala samostatně a s využitím pouze těch zdrojů, které jsem uvedla v seznamu použitých pramenů a literatury v závěru práce.

Datum a podpis.....

Za odborné vedení, přívětivou podporu a cenné rady děkuji Mgr. Magdaleně Koťové, Ph.D.
Děkuji také všem participantům, kteří se ochotně účastnili mého výzkumu.

Anotace: Bakalářská práce pojednává o procesu migrace lidí ze Sýrie do Západní Evropy. Autorka se zaměřuje především na třetí fázi migrace, takzvanou post-migraci. V teoretické části krátce popisuje pozadí současné evropské migrační vlny, větší pozornost pak věnuje několika psychologickým aspektům migrace, jako je akulturace, akulturační stres a post-migrační stresory. V empirické části je nastíněná výzkumná sonda týkající se tří narativních rozhovorů s migranty ze Sýrie. Získaná data byla analyzována metodou narativní analýzy, zaměřující se na post-migrační stresory.

Klíčová slova: post-migrace, narativní rozhovor, migranti, post-migrační stresory

Abstract: The bachelor thesis deals with the process of migration from Syria to Western Europe. The author focuses mainly on the third phase of migration, so-called post-migration. In the theoretical part is briefly described the background of the today's european migrant wave, bigger attention has been drawn to the few psychological aspects of migration, such as acculturation, acculturative stress and post-migration stressors. In the empirical part of the thesis is outlined the research probe regarding to the three narratives with migrants from Syria. The data were analyzed using the method of narrative analysis, specializing in post-migration stressors.

Key words: post-migration, narrative interview, migrants, post-migration stressors

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Úvod

Evropa čelí největší uprchlické vlně od druhé světové války. Milióny lidí se daly do pohybu, jelikož se jejich domovy staly nebezpečným místem pro život. Tento dynamický proces není ničím novým ani nevídaným ve své podobě, nýbrž ve své rychlosti růstu a rozsahu (Yazgan et al., 2015). Svět již zažil masivní přesuny lidí za lepším či bezpečnějším útočištěm, jenže události posledního roku se zdají být něčím, na co Evropa není zvyklá.

Bakalářská práce se zabývá zejména třetí fází migrace, takzvanou post-migrací, která vnáší do životů migrantů mnohé výzvy, překážky i rizika. Práce je rozdělena na dvě části, teoretickou a empirickou. V teoretické části jsou nejdříve stručně nastíněny příčiny migrační vlny ze Sýrie a její pozadí. Sýrie se v roce 2015 stala zemí, ze které prchá největší počet lidí (UNHCR, 2015). Většina z nich míří do sousedních zemí jako je Turecko, Libanon, Jordánsko a Irák. Spory se vedou o tom, kdo jsou lidé na útěku, a z jakých důvodů opouštějí své rodné země.

V rámci teoretické části se autorka dále zabývá psychologickými aspekty migrace. Uvádí čtyři fáze migrace dle A. Agera (1999), kterými jsou pre-migrace, migrace, post-migrace a repatriace. Svou pozornost pak soustředí především na třetí fázi migrace (post-migraci), která je stěžejní pro její výzkum. V této fázi jsou migranti vystaveni mnohým stresovým zátěžím, neboli post-migračním stresorům, kterými jsou pocity viny, sociální izolace, komunikační nesnáze, problémy se zaměstnáním, potíže se získáním legálního statutu, rasová a jazyková diskriminace, atd. Vliv post-migračních stresorů, stejně tak jako akulturační stres, který s sebou nese adaptace na nové sociokulturní prostředí, může vést k četným psychologickým obtížím (Berry, 2005; Samarasinghe a Arvidsson, 2002).

Druhou, empirickou část bakalářské práce tvoří výzkumná sonda týkající se tří narativních rozhovorů s migranty ze Sýrie. Pomocí metody narativní analýzy se autorka pokusila objasnit důvody jejich odchodu z rodné země, představy o životě v azylové zemi a plány do budoucnosti. Hlavním cílem výzkumu pak bylo vysledovat v narativních rozhovorech jednotlivé post-migrační stresory, které mohou migrantům zabraňovat v integraci do nové společnosti.

Autorka se o téma migrace uprchlíků z Blízkého východu do Evropy začala více zajímat v létě roku 2015. Na podzim téhož roku se na chorvatsko-srbské státní hranici poblíž vesnice Babska účastnila organizace humanitární pomoci lidem na útěku. Následně pak jezdila na pravidelné návštěvy do Zařízení pro zajištění cizinců v Drahonicích, kde se setkávala s ilegálními uprchlíky v České republice a kde také realizovala svůj předvýzkum. Tato zkušenost se ukázala jako velmi prospěšná pro její další bádání v této oblasti. Autorka získala mnoho klíčových kontaktů a cenných informací, které jí pomohly při realizaci jejího výzkumu narativních rozhovorů s migranty ze Sýrie. V posledních měsících se setkávala s migranty ze Sýrie, kteří již v České republice nějakou dobu žijí. Téma migrace je v dnešní době velmi aktuální, autorka proto považovala za užitečné věnovat mu více pozornosti.

1 Evropská migrační vlna roku 2015

To, proč lidé opouští své domovy, lze vysvětlovat mnohými způsoby. Jedním z důvodů může být nespokojenost s poměry v rodné zemi. Z tohoto hlediska je migrace iniciována nepohodlím, restrikcemi, a hlavně pak politickým násilím v zemi původu. Dalším důvodem může být přirozená snaha dostat se tam, kde se jim bude žít lépe, protože „díky globalizaci, lidé mají povědomí o životě kdekoli na světě. To je dnes rozhodující.“ (Vick, 2015).

1.1 Uprchlík versus migrant

Autorka považuje za nutné vymezit některé pojmy, které se v souvislosti s migracemi užívají. Kdo je uprchlík, kdo migrant, a podle jakých měřítek se takto rozdělují?

Podle Úmluvy o právním postavení uprchlíků z roku 1951 je uprchlík osobou, která se „nachází mimo svou vlast a má oprávněné obavy před pronásledováním z důvodů rasových, náboženských nebo národnostních nebo z důvodů příslušnosti k určitým společenským vrstvám nebo i zastávání určitých politických názorů, je neschopna přijmout, nebo vzhledem ke shora uvedeným obavám, odmítá ochranu své vlasti.“¹ Znamená to tedy, že je to člověk, který je okolnostmi nucen opustit svou vlast. Kdyby tak neučinil, hrozilo by mu nebezpečí pronásledování nebo smrti. Zato migrant je podle Úřadu vysokého komisaře OSN pro uprchlíky (UNHCR) ten, který odešel ze svého rodného kraje proto, aby zlepšil svou životní úroveň. Jsou to lidé, kteří chtějí získat v cizině lepší pracovní příležitosti nebo vzdělání a kteří se mohou po nějaké době bezpečně vrátit domů (UNHCR, 2015).

Toto rozdělení se však v dnešní situaci smývá, protože téměř vždy existuje více než jedna motivace pro migraci (Yazgan et al., 2015: 182). Příčiny migrace nebývají mnohdy diferencované a důvody, proč lidé utíkají se svých domovů, spolu navzájem úzce souvisejí. Skoro každý uprchlík řeší nějaké ekonomické problémy. A naopak, spousta lidí, kteří míří do Evropy s vidinou spokojenějších životů, má za sebou traumatické zážitky vojenských represí a války. Nelze také opomíjet zkušenosti, které migranti potažmo uprchlíci na své

¹Úmluva o právním postavení uprchlíků z roku 1951

cestě získají. Často jsou to tak silné prožitky, že mají sílu zvrátit nebo změnit celou jejich dosavadní motivaci a odhodláni odejít z vlasti (Sluzki, 1979).

Přes vědomí toho, že hranice mezi migrantem a uprchlíkem není jednoznačná, se autorka rozhodla držet výše uvedeného rozdělení. Termín migrant užívá v případě, že není blíže specifikovaná motivace k migraci nebo pokud tento termín používá sám autor, kterého autorka cituje. Termín uprchlík pak používá v případě, kdy je impulzem k migraci primárně snaha zajistit bezpečí pro sebe i svou rodinu. V názvu a v empirické části práce autorka užívá termín migrant s ohledem na jedinečné důvody, kvůli kterým participati výzkumu opustili svou rodnou zemi.

1.2 Migrační vlna ze Sýrie

V roce 2014 se Sýrie stala zemí, ze které v současné době prchá největší počet lidí.² Dle UNHCR odešlo v první polovině roku 2015 ze Sýrie 4,2 miliónu lidí a jejich počet stále stoupá. V roce 2010 byl jejich počet výrazně nižší - 20 000 (UNHCR, 2015). Nejvíce Sýřanů míří do sousedních zemí, jako je Turecko, Libanon, Jordánsko a Irák. Právě na příkladu Turecka lze ukázat, jak dynamickým procesem migrace je. Ještě v roce 2012 nebyla tato země zařazena ani mezi prvních dvacet nejvytíženějších zemí, co se týče počtu uprchlíků. Dnes se jejich počet blíží dvěma milionům (UNHCR, 2015).

Začátek velké vlny migrace ze Sýrie lze datovat do roku 2011, kdy vypuklo první povstání v rámci tzv. „Arabského jara“ a kdy v Sýrii začala válka. Nadto byla Sýrie odjakživa zemí velkých problémů. Od poloviny minulého století museli její občané čelit již okolo dvaceti válečných střetů (Yazgan et al., 2015). Politická nestabilita se promítá ve velmi nízké hodnotě HDP, vysoké nezaměstnanosti a restriktivním přístupu k menšinám. Dle Weisse a Hassana má nemalý vliv na celkové rozvrácenosti Sýrie také ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham). Islámský stát je nejdisciplinovanější militantní teroristická skupina operující na území Sýrie a Iráku. Ovládá velkou část těchto dvou států a je velmi dobře organizovaná - vybírá daně, stará se o bezplatné zdravotnictví a školství³. Snahou ISIS je vybudovat první skutečný chalífát⁴. Používá k tomu mnohé násilné

²Až do poloviny minulého roku to byl Afghánistán, který si tento vrcholný post držel po celá tři desetiletí (UNHCR, 2015)

³Do školy však mohou chodit pouze muži.

⁴Chalífát pochází od slova chalífa, které znamená „náměstek posla božího (chalífát rasúl Alláh)“. Chalífát

prostředky - od utínání hlav, přes únosy až po upalování zaživa (Weiss a Hassan, 2015). Celková situace na Blízkém východě přispívá k tomu, že jsou obyvatelé Sýrie (a potažmo i některých sousedních států jako je například Irák) vystaveni smrtelnému nebezpečí téměř každý den. Spousta z nich přestala věřit v brzký konec válečných konfliktů a opesí a vydála se proto hledat bezpečnější místo k životu do Evropy. Tato cesta se může stát velmi nebezpečnou. Zvláště, pokud uprchlíci migrují dezorganizovaně, neprošlapanými stezkami a přes moře (Yazgan et al., 2015).

tedy znamená vláda chalífy, náčelníka obce muslimské, nástupce proroka Muhammeda (Tauer, 2006:34).

2 Psychologické aspekty migrace

„Přesuny uprchlíků nejsou ničím novým: v důsledku válek, dobývání a politických bojů jsou staré jako lidstvo samo.“ (Castles, 2003: str 5).⁵

Traumata a stres, který s sebou migrace přináší, mění způsob uvažování nad vlastní minulostí, současností a budoucností (Schweitzer et al., 2006). Lidé na útěku jsou vystavováni mnohým faktorům, které ohrožují jejich bazální důvěru ve svět i jejich dosavadní představu o tom, jak funguje. Prožitá traumata, kulturní vykořenění a ztráta sociální podpory se často pojí s hlubokou duševní krizí (Carswell, 2011). Vysoká míra stresu pak může značně zhoršovat zdravotní stav uprchlíků. Exituje proto úzká souvislost mezi statusem uprchlíka a psychickými potížemi u dospělých. Mezi ty nejběžnější patří posttraumatická stresová porucha a deprese.

2.1 Čtyři fáze migrace

Nucená migrace a následné přizpůsobení se novému sociálnímu a kulturnímu prostředí jsou pro uprchlíky nebývalou stresovou zátěží. Tento proces přesunu obvykle začíná v zemi původu a pokračuje v azylové zemi skrze adaptaci, takzvanou akulturaci (Samarasinghe, 2002). V zahraniční literatuře se obvykle uvádí čtyři fáze migrace. A. Ager je definuje jako: 1) Fáze pre-migrační, která předchází samotné migraci. V tomto období se uprchlíci setkávají s nejrůznějšími formami násilí, politického útlaku, sociálního rozvratu nebo materiálního strádání. Samotné rozhodování, zda opustit svou zemi, se často pojí s extrémní úzkostí. 2) Fáze útěku, jež přináší odloučení od domova (často také od rodiny) a mnohá nebezpečí na cestě do azylové země. 3) Fáze post-migrační, fáze dočasného usazení nebo hledání azylu, která zpravidla zahrnuje pobyt v detenčním zařízení a usilování o azyl, které může trvat i několik let. 4) Fáze repatriační je pak poslední fází migrace, ke které ale nemusí dojít ve všech případech. Správní vyhoštění hrozí pouze těm uprchlíkům, kterým v nové zemi nebyl uznán azyl (Ager, 1999). Ačkoli spolu všechny čtyři fáze migrace velmi úzce souvisí, autorka se bude zabývat zejména fází post-migrační, která je stěžejní pro její výzkum.

⁵[vlastní překlad autorky této práce]

2.2 Post-migrace

Post-migrační fáze migrace je obdobím usilování o azyl a dočasného usazení v azylové zemi (v některých případech trvalého). Toto stadium s sebou přináší mnohé problémy, s nimiž se musí migranti potýkat. Často si kladou otázky po racionálních důvodech svého utrpení, které ale jakoby nekončilo tím, že se dostanou za hranice bezpečné země. Nucené vystěhování a adaptace na nové kulturní prostředí ohrožuje jejich identitu a možnost řídit svůj vlastní osud (Ingleby, 2005: 47).

Stres nahromaděný skrze celý migrační proces se obvykle neprojevuje v následujících týdnech nebo měsících po útěku - svou daň si zpravidla vybírá až později (Sluzki, 1979). Teprve zhruba po šesti měsících pobytu v azylové zemi prochází migranti obdobím největších krizí. Sluzki proto pro období post-migrace rozlišuje fázi hyperkompenzace⁶ a dekompenzace. Hyperkompenzace je obdobím nastávajícím bezprostředně po příjezdu do azylové země, které se vyznačuje především tím, že migranti usilují o zajištění svých základních potřeb. Příležitostně se také snaží oddálit pocity úzkosti a strachu kolektivním přesvědčením, že se vrátí do země původu za nějaký čas. Období dekompenzace a krize se pak stává velmi bouřlivou etapou, která s sebou přináší mnohé konflikty a úskalí. Pravidla a hodnoty, které se migrantům zdály být funkční v zemi jejich původu, ztrácí svou efektivitu v novém prostředí azylové země (Sluzki, 1979).

V období post-migrace velmi záleží na tom, do jaké míry migranti usilují o integraci do nové společnosti. Čím větší je zapojení, tím méně je stresu (Berry et al., 1987). Je nasnadě, že účast migrantů na okolním socio-kulturním dění se netýká pouze jich samých, ale celé společnosti jako takové. Proces adaptace na nové prostředí se v tomto případě nazývá akulturace, jelikož se při něm setkávají dvě odlišné kultury, které se navzájem mísí a ovlivňují.

⁶K. Dušek s A. Večeřovou-Procházkovou definují hyperkompenzaci jako stav, kdy se „osobnost dostává do situací, které není schopna řešit adekvátním způsobem. Musí použít náhradní mechanismy ke zvládnutí situace. Tyto mechanismy nejsou plnohodnotné a mohou nepříznivě ovlivnit další vývoj.

Hyperkompenzace znamená, že se osobnost vyrovnává s určitým pocitem nedostatku tím, že se snaží schopnost, které se jí nedostává, co nejvíce rozvinout, až budí zdání nadbytečnosti. Podle Adlera je zvýšená snaha po sebeuplatnění (touha po moci) hyperkompenzačním pocitem méněcennosti.“ (Dušek a Večeřová-Procházková, 2015: 117).

2.3 Akulturace

Berry ve své studii definuje akulturaci jako „duální proces kulturní a psychologické změny, ke kterému dochází v důsledku kontaktu mezi dvěma nebo více kulturními skupinami a jejich individuálními členy.“ (Berry, 2005: 698).⁷

Akulturace je dlouholetý proces přejímání, míšení a akomodování dvou kultur žijících vedle sebe, který vede k prolínání jejich kulturních hodnot, norem a zkušeností. Berry uvádí čtyři typy akulturačních strategií. Integrace – nedominantní kulturní skupina se pozvolna stává součástí většinové společnosti. Migranti si sice zachovávají své normy a postoje, ale zároveň respektují a uznávají hodnoty dominantní společnosti. Asimilace – migranti odmítají hodnoty své vlastní kultury a zcela přijímají kulturní hodnoty nové azylové země. Separace – migranti si zachovávají hodnoty své vlastní kultury a zcela odmítají ty nové. Marginalizace – migranti odmítají hodnoty své vlastní kultury i kultury azylové země, dostávají se tak na okraj společnosti (Berry, 2005).

Berry ve své studii rovněž podotýká, že proces akulturace vede k mnohým psychologickým změnám. Každý člověk prožívá tyto vnitřní zvraty svým vlastním ojedinělým způsobem. Někteří jedinci ovládají širokou škálu copingových strategií, které jim umožňují se úspěšně přizpůsobit novému prostředí. Jiní mohou mít s adaptací naopak velké potíže, které vedou k vysoké míře akulturačního stresu. Záleží na mnoha okolnostech, jak se bude člověk s novou situací vyrovnávat. Jako klíčové faktory lze uvést: vzdělání, věk, pohlaví, kognitivní styl, předchozí interkulturní zkušenosti a komunikační dovednosti (Berry et al., 1987).

2.4 Akulturační stres

Berry definuje stres jako „fyziologický a psychologický stav organismu, který vzniká na základě zkušeností s podněty, které stres vyvolávají. Aby mohlo dojít k uspokojivé adaptaci na novou situaci, je třeba dosavadní stres redukovat pomocí copingových strategií.“ (Berry et al., 1987: 492).⁸ Za akulturační stres pak považuje ten druh stresu, jehož příčiny tkví v procesu akulturace.

⁷[vlastní překlad autorky této práce]

⁸[vlastní překlad autorky této práce]

Stres přináší snížení zdravotního stavu jedinců v mnohých aspektech. Projevy stresového chování, ke kterým dochází v průběhu akulturace, jsou především snížené duševní zdraví (zvláště zmatek, úzkost a deprese), pocity méněcennosti a odcizení, psychosomatické obtíže a zmatení identity (Berry et al., 1987). Každý člověk se se stresem spojeným s akulturací vyrovnává jinak. Pro někoho může být adaptace na nové kulturní podmínky výzvou pro objevení dalších životních obzorů, pro jiného může znamenat totální kolaps životní energie a motivace. Velkou roli hraje to, nakolik je člověk komunikativní, jaká je jeho snaha se zapojovat do většinové společnosti a jaké má vztahy se členy své vlastní kulturní skupiny (Berry et al., 1987). V neposlední řadě má vliv i dřívější interkulturní zkušenost jedince, jako je například znalost vícero jazyků nebo delší pobyt v multikulturní společnosti. Individuální rozdíly v reakcích na akulturační stres jsou výsledkem souhry mnoha činitelů. Berry uvádí čtyři klíčové vlivy: 1) povaha většinové společnosti; 2) typ menšinové společnosti; 3) zažitý styl akulturace; 4) mnohé demografické, sociální a psychologické charakteristiky, včetně copingových dovedností (Berry et al., 1987).

Jednotlivé reakce na akulturační stres jsou tedy širokým spektrem nepříjemných pocitů, s nimiž se migranti potýkají. Patří mezi ně pocity úzkosti a stesku po domově, deprese související s pocity beznaděje a odcizení, psychosomatické obtíže, náchylnost k nemocím a psychologická nepřizpůsobivost (Berry et al., 1987).

2.5 Post-migrační stresory

Třetí fáze migrace, fáze post-migrační, je pro uprchlíky velmi obtížným a vyčerpávajícím obdobím. Mají za úkol se v krátké době zorientovat v novém prostředí, přijmout a respektovat nová pravidla a hodnoty a přizpůsobit své chování pořádkům nové azylové země. Všechny tyto změny pak probíhají na pozadí traumatických vzpomínek z válečných oblastí, pocitů viny a stesku po domově, jež uprchlíci prožívají ještě mnoho let po jejich příjezdu do bezpečí azylové země. McColl uvádí sedm post-migračních obtíží (v originále „seven Ds“), s nimiž se uprchlíci běžně setkávají. Jsou jimi: rozptýlení, detence, diskriminace, nouze, odpírání práva na práci, odpírání zdravotní péče a opožděné rozhodování v žádostech o azyl. Ne každý uprchlík ale čelí všem těmto nesnázím. Například doba zadržení v detenčním zařízení může trvat pár dní nebo půl roku, záleží na migrační a azylové politice dané země (McColl, 2008).

Post-migrační (akulturační) stresory zasahují do mnoha oblastí života. Miao Li je ve svém výzkumu asijských a latinsko-amerických uprchlíků ve Spojených státech amerických definuje jako: 1) pocity viny vůči rodinným příslušníkům, kteří zůstali ve válečné oblasti; 2) sociální izolace; 3) komunikační nesnáze (jazyková bariéra); 4) problémy se zaměstnáním; 5) potíže se získáním legálního statutu; 6) rasová a jazyková diskriminace (Li, 2015).

2.5.1 Pocity viny vůči rodinným příslušníkům, kteří zůstali ve válečné oblasti

Pro uprchlíky, kterým se podařilo uprchnout z válečné oblasti do bezpečí, je velmi těžké přijmout, že někteří jejich blízcí jsou stále ještě v ohrožení života. Realita každodenního života v azylu přináší mnoho rozmanitých příležitostí, uprchlíci jich ale mnohdy nejsou schopni využít. Trápí je pocity strachu a viny vůči rodinným příslušníkům a přátelům, kteří zůstali v bývalé rodné zemi, kde jim stále hrozí nebezpečí (Samarasinghe a Arvidsson, 2002).

2.5.2 Sociální izolace

Duševní zdraví uprchlíků úzce souvisí s tím, nakolik jsou v azylové zemi přijímáni. V Samarasinghově a Arvidssonově výzkumu uprchlíků ve Švédsku jsou pocity sociální izolace a exkluze vyjádřeny slovy jednoho respondenta takto: „Bez ohledu na to, jak jsme chytrí, bez ohledu na to, jak poctiví, citliví či dobří lidé jsme, nikdy nebudeme přijati nebo považováni za normální lidi.“ (Samarasinghe a Arvidsson, 2002: 296).⁹ Pro duševní zdraví uprchlíků je klíčové, aby měli možnost se setkat s alespoň částečným přijetím, vlídnou pomocí a popřípadě účastným pochopením jejich situace.

2.5.3 Komunikační nesnáze (jazyková bariéra)

Jazykové dovednosti mají nemalý vliv na zdravotní stav uprchlíků, a to hned z mnoha důvodů. Předně usnadňují sociální kontakt, tedy redukuje závislost na druhých lidech. Dále podporují vytváření nových sociálních kontaktů, rozšiřují repertoár copingových strategií a zvyšují pocit vnitřní soudržnosti (Beiser a Hou, 2001). Jazyková způsobilost přispívá k vytváření nových přátelství, které pomáhají uprchlíkům s integrací

⁹[vlastní překlad autorky této práce]

do nové společnosti. Pro ty, kteří se jazyku azylové země teprve učí (nebo jej vůbec neovládají), je intergace mnohem náročnějším procesem. Mohou je stíhat pocity strachu, že se jim ostatní budou smát nebo si mohou být nejistí svým verbálním projevem ve větší skupině lidí. Neznalost jazyka také brání hladkému průběhu běžného civilního života a spoluúčasti na mainstreamové zábavě. Existuje proto těsný vztah mezi znalostí jazyka a příznaky psychologických potíží (Beiser a Hou, 2001).

2.5.4 Problémy se zaměstnáním

Delší nezaměstnanost ohrožuje pocit životní pohody. Pro uprchlíky je navíc práce obzvláště důležitá, jelikož jim umožňuje začít nový život a alespoň částečně opustit myšlenky na minulost (Beiser a Hou, 2001). Ambice k dosažení životního standardu, na který byli zvyklí ve své zemi původu, ale mohou vést k ekonomickému stresu. Vedle toho jsou uprchlíci v některých případech nuceni přijmout práci, na kterou jsou překvalifikováni, což se téměř okamžitě podepisuje na jejich duševním zdraví (Samarasinghe a Arvidsson, 2002). Ztráta sociálního postavení je jednou z hlavních příčin jejich psychických obtíží. Může vést k pocitům bezmoci, bezcílnosti a vlastní zbytečnosti. (Samarasinghe a Arvidsson, 2002).

2.5.5 Potíže se získáním legálního statutu

O schválení žádosti o azyl (nebo povolení k trvalému pobytu) rozhodují správní orgány dané azylové země. Uprchlíkům v tomto přechodném období nezbyvá nic jiného, než čekat na výsledné nařízení, které rozhodne o jejich osudu (někteří jsou po dobu správního řízení internováni v detenčních zařízeních). Nemožnost urychlit administrativní procesy a neustálé napětí a strach z toho, že budou správně vyhoštěni, představuje pro uprchlíky nebyvalou stresovou zátěž (McColl, 2008).

2.5.6 Rasová a jazyková diskriminace

Výzkumy ukazují, že diskriminace ze strany většinové společnosti se značně podílí na depresivních symptomech u uprchlíků. Trpí jimi zejména uprchlíci-adolescenti, kteří jsou snadno ovlivnitelní, a mají tudíž sklony k rychlé internalizaci negativního sebehodnocení (Ellis et al., 2008). Časté diskriminační zážitky mohou vést k tomu, že se uprchlíci začnou odvracet od společnosti jako celku. To posiluje jejich identifikaci s vlastní menšinovou kulturní skupinou a potažmo tak negativně ovlivňuje jejich integraci do

většinové společnosti. Celý tento proces se tedy uzavírá v začarovaném kruhu.

Reakce na projevy diskriminace mohou být různé, nejběžnější ale bývá internalizace, neboli zvnitřnění. Tento úkaz se zdá být v souladu s výsledky výzkumů, jež ukazují, že diskriminace je úzce spojena s úzkostmi, depresemi, jako i dalšími indikátory internalizačních reakcí (Montgomery a Foldspang, 2007).

3 Empirická část – narativní analýza rozhovorů s migranty ze Sýrie, se zaměřením na post-migrační stresory

Empirickou část bakalářské práce tvoří výzkumná sonda zabývající se třemi polostrukturovanými rozhovory, zaměřenými na životní příběhy migrantů ze Sýrie, kteří nyní žijí na území České republiky. Získaná data jsou zpracována pomocí metody narativní analýzy, se zaměřením na post-migrační stresory.

Migrace je tématem aktuálním a autorka se rozhodla věnovat výzkumnou sondu tomuto tématu, neboť se domnívá, že v rámci (nejen) sociální práce je podnětné a důležité porozumět nejen migraci jako „masovému“ jevu současnosti, ale i jedinečným žitým příběhům lidí, kteří do Evropy přicházejí hledat nový život či alespoň dočasné útočiště před život ohrožujícím konfliktem. Právě skrze vyprávění a jeho narativní analýzu lze porozumět jevům do hloubky, z tohoto důvodu zvolila autorka kvalitativní výzkumné metody.

Autorku též během studia odborné literatury vztahující se k tématu migrace zaujal koncept tzv. post-migračních stresorů a kladla si otázku, do jaké míry lze jejich přítomnost vysledovat v příbězích lidí, kteří se vydávají do Evropy z oblasti zasažené konfliktem s Islámským státem.

3.1 Předvýzkum

Předvýzkum byl uskutečněn na podzim v roce 2015 v prostorách Zařízení pro zajištění cizinců v Drahonicích, kam autorka dojížděla na pravidelné návštěvy tamních klientů po dobu tří měsíců. Bylo realizováno sedm strukturovaných rozhovorů s tamními klienty za přítomnosti policie a tlumočnicka. Otázky kladené klientům se soustředily převážně na jejich vize a plány do budoucna. Výsledky výzkumu nebyly použity v bakalářské práci, protože autorka zaznamenala mnohé nežádoucí vlivy, které proces získávání dat značně narušovaly. Byly jimi: A) přítomnost policie při vedení rozhovorů s klienty; B) nemožnost pořizování audiálního záznamu; C) jazyková bariéra - i přes snahu tlumočnicka se spousta informací ztratila v překladu (klienti mluvili převážně arabsky); D) celková atmosféra ZZC Drahonice - objekt je ohrazený ostnatým drátem a přísně střežen;

E) situace, ve které se tamní klienti nacházejí - nemají povolený svobodný pohyb po ČR a neustále jim hrozí správní vyhoštění; F) omezená doba návštěv – na každý rozhovor bylo vyhrazeno maximálně 20 minut, proces získávání dat byl proto prováděn ve spěchu a většina účastníků výzkumu byla nervózní.

Z těchto důvodů jsou data z výzkumu v ZZU Drahonice nereprezentativní. (Struktura dotazníku je obsahem přílohy číslo 1.) Autorka však díky provedenému předvýzkumu získala kontakty na klíčové respondenty pro hlavní výzkumnou část a širší kontext, do kterého mohla zasadit jejich narativy. Zkušenosti ze ZZC Drahonice autorce také pomohly k výběru metody narativních rozhovorů.

3.2 Použitá metoda narativních rozhovorů

K hlavní fázi empirického výzkumu využila autorka metody narativních rozhovorů. Chrz s Čermákem k takové metodě uvádí: „Chceme-li se jako výzkumníci něco dozvědět o tom, jaký význam dává člověk své zkušenosti či svému životu, potom je třeba se zaměřit na způsob jejich narativní strukturace.“ (Chrz a Čermák, 2011: 427). V. Chrz zde poukazuje na to, proč je důležité se v narativním výzkumu soustředit nejen na obsah vyprávěného sdělení, nýbrž i na jeho formu.

3.2.1 Narativní konstrukce zkušenosti

Narativní konstrukce je princip strukturace zkušenosti, který dává životu jeho tvar, řád, souvislost, směr a smysl. Čermák příběh přímo definuje jako „instrument myslí v konstruování reality.“ (Čermák, 2006: 85). To, jakým způsobem lidé o svých životech mluví, vypovídá nejen o jejich zkušenostech a prožitcích, ale také o jejich úhlu pohledu na ně. Ve specifickém uchopení vlastního příběhu se odráží celkové smýšlení o světě, o lidech v něm a také o sobě samém. Podle T. Sarbina příběh zahrnuje pocity, cíle, potřeby a hodnoty člověka, který jej vypráví (Sarbin, 1986). Z tohoto důvodu autorka zvolila metodu narativních rozhovorů, která se ukázala pro její výzkum jako nejvhodnější. K výběru dané metody také přispěly právě její zkušenosti z předvýzkumu.

3.2.2 Role výzkumníka v narativním rozhovoru

„Vyprávění nejsou jen o něčem, ale zpravidla také pro někoho či někomu.“ (Chrz a Čermák, 2011: 441).

Výzkumná situace hraje důležitou roli při vyprávění životního příběhu. Autorka si je vědoma několika faktorů, které ovlivňují to, kam se bude odvíjet směr a podoba vyprávění. Mezi ty nejdůležitější lze zařadit: cíl výzkumu; vztah, který se během vyprávění vytváří mezi výzkumníkem a vypravěčem; podobnost nebo odlišnost kulturního zázemí vypravěče a výzkumníka; nálada vypravěče. Čermák tedy příběh považuje za „jednu z mnoha instancí či polyfonních verzí možné konstrukce nebo prezentace jedincova já.“ (Čermák, 2006: 4). Podle Chrze má výzkumník přímo odpovědnost za spolu-konstrukci příběhu. Uvádí proto tři základní roviny, na kterých si účastníci výzkumu rozvrhují pozice. 1) rozvrhování pozic vzhledem k tomu, o čem je vyprávěno, 2) rozvrhování pozic v rámci interakce, 3) rozvrhování pozic v širším kontextu kultury. Jedná se o trojí nastavení vypravěčova příběhu vzhledem k přítomnosti výzkumníka. První rozvržení pozic vypovídá o tom, jak je důležité, komu se příběh vypráví, neboli kdo je osobou výzkumníka. Druhé rozvržení zviditelňuje význam interakcí mezi výzkumníkem a vypravěčem. Třetí rozvržení pak poukazuje na roli širšího kulturního a sociálního kontextu, ve kterém se oba účastníci výzkumu nachází (Chrz a Čermák, 2011). Tento bod autorka považuje ve svém výzkumu za zvlášť důležitý. Kulturní prostředí vypravěčů, migrantů ze Sýrie, se totiž značně odlišuje od kulturního prostředí, ve kterém byl výzkum uskutečněn.

3.2.3 Vybraná specifika narativních rozhovorů s migranty

Postavení migrantů jako „hostů“¹⁰ v České republice má velký vliv na to, jak o svých životech vypráví. „Jakékoli vyprávění příběhu může být ovlivněno rasovou nebo etnickou příslušností, třídním postavením, genderovou a sexuální orientací, věkem, náboženstvím, osobní historií, charakterem – nekonečný seznam možných faktorů, které formují vztah mezi dvěma lidmi.“ (Clark-Kazak, 2009: 134).¹¹ Důvěra migrantů se odvíjí od jejich zkušeností s úřady, s policií a s nejrůznějšími organizacemi, se kterými se v minulosti setkali.

Strach ze správního vyhoštění způsobuje filtrování informací, které by podle participantů mohly negativně ovlivnit jejich legální statut (Clark-Kazak, 2009; Gomez-Estren a de la Mata Benítez, 2013). „Zpolitizovaný kontext, ve kterém je výzkum migrace uskutečňovaný, vytváří specifické nebezpečí, že informace obsažené v příbězích mohou

¹⁰Termín autorka uvádí na základě výpovědí participantů samých.

¹¹[vlastní překlad autorky této práce]

být využita k reprezentaci širších skupin, s konkrétními důsledky v politice nebo plánování.“ (Clark-Kazak, 2009: 132).¹² Autorka nepředpokládá, že bude mít její výzkum širší ohlas v politice, ale podotýká, že výzkumná data mohou být determinována tím, co by „mělo být slyšeno“, popřípadě „mělo být řečeno“.

3.2.4 Narativní interpretace vyprávění

„Příběh je flexibilní, zatímco princip je rigidní. Na rozdíl od vědeckého řádu nebo principu, příběh je otevřený interpretaci.“ (Sarbin, 1986: str.115).

Interpretace je podle V.Chrze definována jako pohyb k implicitním významovým strukturám (Chrz a Čermák, 2011). Právě slovo implicitní poukazuje na to, že jednotlivá sdělení v textu mohou mít latentní obsahy, které nemusí být na první pohled patrné. Jak se výzkumník s textem postupně seznamuje, může se snažit tyto obsahy rozkrývat a objevovat netušené dimenze textu. Každá interpretace je proto značně prostoupena osobou výzkumníka. Leží na něm velký díl odpovědnosti za spolu-konstrukci a spolu-interpretaci dat (Chrz a Čermák, 2011). Jinými slovy lze říci, že „objektivní výzkumník neexistuje, a proto má naše minulost, předporozumění, znalosti a zkušenosti nevyhnutelný vliv na náš výzkum“ (Avila-Tápies a Domínguez-Mujica, 2014: 139).¹³ Zároveň také nelze přesně určit, kdy analýza začíná (Hendl, 2016). Již samotný proces sběru dat vyzívá k přemýšlení nad tím, co bylo řečeno a jakým způsobem. Následná práce s textem pak prohlubuje prvě nabyté výzkumníkovy dojmy a nápady, které se mu při přepisování a opakovaném pročítání textu buďto potvrdí, nebo vyvrátí. „Nehledě na to, o čem příběh vypráví, bývá většinou i způsobem tvůrčí sebeprezentace - proklamováním určité individuální sociální identity. Vše, co je v rámci příběhu řečeno, slouží k vyjádření, potvrzení a ověření požadované identity.“ (Sarbin, 1986: str. 243).¹⁴ Každé vyprávění je unikátním obrazem člověka, který jej tvoří. Jsou v něm zahrnuty jeho přání, představy a sny o tom, jak by mohl na své okolí působit, které však nemusí být explicitně vyřčeny.

3.3 Cíle výzkumné sondy

Autorka si klade za cíl vysledovat na základě analýzy narativních rozhovorů

¹²[vlastní překlad autorky této práce]

¹³[vlastní překlad autorky této práce]

¹⁴[vlastní překlad autorky této práce]

jednotlivé postmigrační stresory u konkrétních participantů. Analýzu stresorů pak zasazuje do širšího kontextu tzv. migračního příběhu, popisuje zejména důvody odchodu z rodné země a představy o životě v azylové zemi.

Cíle výzkumné sondy lze formulovat konkrétně následujícím způsobem:

- ✘ Prostřednictvím narativních interview zmapovat představy migrantů o azylové zemi (západní Evropě), jejich přání, obavy a sny.
- ✘ Objasnit důvody odchodu z rodné země.
- ✘ Vysledovat na základě narativní analýzy polostrukturovaných rozhovorů jednotlivé post-migrační stresory (autorka je popisuje v teoretické části práce).
- ✘ Poskytnout náhled na individuální jedinečné příběhy migrantů přicházejících do Evropy.

Účelem výzkumu je porozumění jednotlivým post-migračním stresorům, se kterými se migranti potýkají, aby bylo možné na ně lépe reagovat, a popřípadě přijmout určitá opatření v oborech tzv. pomáhajících profesí (Hendl, 2016), zejména sociální práce.

3.4 Vzorek participantů

Výzkum byl uskutečněn na základě tří polostrukturovaných rozhovorů s migranty v České republice. Participantů bylo vybráno podle několika kritérií. Osloveni byli migranti, kteří žijí v České republice již minimálně šest měsíců, a kterým v nejbližších měsících nehrozilo správní vyhoštění. Měli tedy povolený volný pohyb po České republice a rozhovory s nimi bylo možné nahrávat kdekoli. Zemí původu všech participantů je výlučně Sýrie, ačkoliv někteří z nich žili většinu svého života za jejími hranicemi.

Veškeré kontakty autorka získala při svých návštěvách Zařízení pro zajištění cizinců v Drahonicích. Seznámila se s tlumočnickou do arabského jazyka a dobrovolníky, kteří jí dodali dostatek informací a kontaktů pro nalezení vhodných participantů. Účastníci výzkumu byli vždy předem otázeni třetí osobou (daným tlumočnickem, nebo dobrovolníkem), zdali se chtějí podílet na autorčině výzkumu. Teprve poté je sama autorka kontaktovala a domluvila si s nimi schůzku. Byli informováni o etických zásadách výzkumu, jeho zaměření a cílech. V neposlední řadě bylo také zdůrazněno, že účast na výzkumu nijak neohrožuje jejich legální pobyt v České republice.

3.5 Způsob sběru dat

Všichni participanti byli nejdříve seznámeni s cíli a zaměřením výzkumu. Byl jim vysvětlen způsob zpracování dat, v rámci čehož byli upozorněni, že rozhovor bude nahrávaný na diktafon a později doslovně přepsaný. Bylo jim nabídnuto podepsání informovaného souhlasu - na jeho podepsání však participanti netrvali.¹⁵ Rozhovory byly vedeny v anglickém jazyce, jejich části a citace použité v jednotlivých analýzách byly autorkou přeloženy do českého jazyka.

Každé setkání začalo neformálním rozhovorem a malým občerstvením, čímž byla navozena přátelská atmosféra a interview se mohlo uskutečnit v důvěrnějším naladění obou účastníků.

Na začátku každého rozhovoru autorka uvedla svou první otázku několika připomínkami: 1) Narativní autobiografický rozhovor si neklade za cíl zachytit život participanta jako celek, nýbrž se zaměřuje na jednotlivé jeho části. 2) Význam těchto částí a jejich výběr určí sám participant. 3) Rozhovor obvykle mívá tři části, minulost, přítomnost a budoucnost. 4) Délka trvání rozhovoru bývá okolo dvou hodin. 5) Participant je vyzván se na cokoliv zeptat, v případě, že by čemukoliv nerozuměl (ať už z důvodů jazykových či významových). 6) Každá otázka bude nejdříve stručně vysvětlena.

Otázky narativního interview byly zaměřeny na participantovo prožívání nejsilnějších okamžiků v dětství, v dospělosti a v nedávné minulosti. Poslední část rozhovoru byla soustředěna na období post-migrace, vize budoucnosti a na možná participantova očekávání. Zvláštní pozornost byla věnována období samotné migrace, konkrétně pak prvním měsícům po příjezdu do azylové země. Úplné znění všech rozhovorů je obsahem příloh.

3.6 Metoda analýzy získaných dat

Nahrané rozhovory byly převedeny do písemné podoby. Autorka si je vědoma toho, že doslovný přepis rozhovorů nezaručuje přesné zachycení výpovědí, protože ve zvukových záznamech není zachycena neverbální

¹⁵Souhlas s použitím nahrávek vyjádřili participanti ústně, více se k této problematice autorka vyjadřuje v kapirole Etické aspekty výzkumu (3.7)

komunikace mezi participantem a výzkumníkem. Data jsou proto ochuzena o jednotlivé neverbální projevy participanta jako jsou jeho gesta, mimika, oční kontakt nebo postoj celého těla. Autorka se snažila postihnout náladu jednotlivých částí vyprávění pomocí metody komentované transkripce. K některým výpovědím jsou připojeny poznámky v závorkách, které se snaží vystihnout participantovo prožívání dané chvíle (smích, pláč).

Ke zpracování a interpretaci přepsaných dat byla použita metoda narativní analýzy se zaměřením na post-migrační stresory. V úvodu každé analýzy je stručně popisán participantův běh života a události jsou dány do časových souvislostí. V textu pak byly postupně vysledována tato témata (autorka hledala odpovědi na následující otázky):

- Důvody útěku ze Sýrie – Co vedlo migranty k opuštění jejich rodné země?
- Plány do budoucna, vize, sny – Jak migranti pohlíží na svou budoucnost v azylové zemi? Budou se chtít vrátit do Sýrie, nebo mají v plánu se v České republice usadit?
- V rámci post-migračních stresorů pak:
- Výčitky, „nechal jsem je za sebou“ - Jak migranti prožívají odloučení od svých příbuzných a přátel, kteří zůstali ve válečné oblasti? Pokud mají vůči nim pocity viny, jak se s nimi vypořádávají?
- Nedostatek podpory a přijetí v azylové zemi, samota – Jak migranti hodnotí svou integraci v České republice?
- Jazyková bariéra – Jaký má český jazyk pro migranty význam? Je pro ně důležité se českému jazyku naučit?
- Potíže s hledáním zaměstnání a ztráta sociálního postavení – Jaké mají migranti zkušenosti s hledáním zaměstnání? Jaké mají v této oblasti ambice? Co pro ně znamená ztráta sociálního statutu?
- Legální statut, problémy s úřady – Jaké mají migranti zkušenosti s úřady v souvislosti se zajišťováním azylu?

- Xenofobie, diskriminace – jazyková i rasová – S jakými projevy diskriminace či xenofobie v azylové zemi se migranti setkali? Jak je prožívají?

3.7 Etické aspekty výzkumné sondy

Participantů výzkumu byli předem obeznámeni s cíli, zaměřením a průběhem výzkumu. Byli informováni o tom, že mohou svou účast na výzkumu kdykoli ukončit nebo na vybrané otázky neodpovídat. Délka narativního rozhovoru odpovídala jejich časovým možnostem.

Participantům výzkumu byl nabídnut k podpisu informovaný souhlas. Všichni jej ale odmítli s tím, že s použitím nahrávek souhlasí a že se v jejich vyprávěních nebudou vyskytovat informace, které by měly zůstat utajené. Každý z nich se také vyslovil, že mu účast na výzkumu není nijak na obtíž.

Pro zachování anonymity participantů změnila autorka jména všech účastníků výzkumu. Ve svých analýzách používá fiktivní jména (autorka volila ta křestní jména, která se běžně používají na Blízkém východě). Je si však vědoma metodologického rozporu, který Christina Clark Kazak vystihla ve svém výzkumu afrických migrantů. Kontradikce totiž tkví v samotném zaměření narativů. Migrantům je sice poskytnuta možnost osobitě vyprávět svůj příběh, zároveň jsou ale ve výzkumu anonymizováni používáním pseudonymů – jako hlavní protagonisté se tedy stávají neviditelnými (Clark-Kazak, 2009). Přislíbení anonymity slibuje bezpečný prostor pro rozhovor, zároveň ale snižuje hodnotu daného vyprávění, které je ve výsledné práci uvedeno bez autora. Autorka pseudonymy použila především jako opatření vedoucí k ochraně identity participantů.

3.8 Narativní analýzy rozhovorů s migranty ze Sýrie

Každá narativní analýza začíná úryvkem rozhovoru, který autorka považovala za výstižný pro dané vyprávění. Je si vědoma toho, že je tento výběr založený výlučně na jejím subjektivním dojmu, který z příběhu získala.

3.8.1 Narativní analýza rozhovoru – Hakam

„Pro mě je to jednoduché, můj život je čistý a přímý. Takže nad ním nemusím tolik

přemýšlet.“

Hakam začal své vyprávění příběhem z vězení, do kterého se dostal, když mu bylo osmnáct let. Jeho otec byl řidič nákladního automobilu, tudíž po většinu času na cestách. Aby Hakam nezůstal se svojí matkou sám, nastěhovali se do velkého domu, který sdíleli společně s jinou rodinou.

Další důležitou osobou Hakamova dětství byl jeho učitel na základní škole. Učitel s ním a s jeho spolužáky trávil volné dny, učil je vyrábět věci ze dřeva a brával je na dlouhé vycházky do přírody. Policie jeho činnost ale brzy utnula. „Přišla policie a velmi ho mlátili a... protože dělal něco užitečného, policie nechtěla, aby něco takového dělal... Policie přímo říká: nechceme vidět více než dva chlapce nebo muže, kteří spolu promlouvají.“

Když bylo Hakamovi osmnáct let, policie ho ještě s dalšími pětatřiceti spolužáky zavřela na rok a půl do vězení. Po několika měsících společného života ve vězeňské cele se všichni chlapci navzájem sblížili a vymysleli si vlastní pravidla pro společné soužití. Každý den organizovali tematická shromáždění, na kterých diskutovali o nejrůznějších věcech, aby si ukrátili dlouhý čas. „Nech lidi dvacet čtyři hodin.. Mají čas na spousty věcí. My jsme diskutovali každý den. Později jsme se začli bavit o něčí přítelkyni, o jeho vztahu a rodině, o jeho otci, matce. Spřátelili jsme se, dodnes jsme spolu v kontaktu. Většina z nás.“

I když byl Hakam po roce a půl z vězení propuštěn, policie jej nadále každé dva měsíce vyslýchala. V necelých jednadvaceti se proto rozhodl Sýrii opustit a odstěhoval se do Libanonu. Našel si ženu a po několika letech strávených v azylu se rozhodl odjet do Afriky, aby mohl lépe finančně zajistit svoji budoucí rodinu. Každé dva roky se do Libanonu vracel a během té doby se mu narodil syn a dvě dcery, dvojčata.

Koncem roku 2014 se rozhodl společně s rodinou odstěhovat již na trvalo do Evropy. Jejich první zastávkou bylo Dánsko, kde ale nezískali azyl. Proto se přesunuli do České republiky. Dle Hakamových slov jsou tu velmi spokojeni.¹⁶ „Přátelé mě varovali, buď opatrný, lidé v České republice jsou uzavření a nemají rádi cizince... Ale já jsem se zde zatím setkal s něčím úplně jiným. Lidé tě tu přijmou hned, přímo. Lidé jsou tu doopravdy milí a přijímají nás. Snaží se... dělají všechno pro to, aby náš život udělali

¹⁶Hakamova rodina žije v České republice již minimálně rok a půl.

snažším.“

Důvody útěku ze Sýrie

Jak již bylo v úvodní kapitole zmíněno, Hakam byl ve svých osmnácti letech uvězněn. Jeho případ názorně ilustruje, s jakým zmatkem a bezprávím se musejí obyvatelé Sýrie každodenně potýkat. „Tam neexistuje zákon. Jestliže tě chce někdo zavřít do vězení, udělá to. Zkus mu dát nějaké malé peníze, třeba tě pustí... Takhle to bylo. Stále to tak v Sýrii je! Od revoluce, stále... A teď je to ještě horší.“ V tomto úseku pravděpodobně Hakam odkazoval na takzvané „Arabské jaro“, povstání několika blízkovýchodních států, které vedlo k několika občanským válkám.¹⁷

Pobyt ve vězení ovlivnil celý Hakamův dosavadní život. Zažil si, co to je „dvacet čtyři hodin nic. Jen sedět a dívat se na sebe navzájem. Někdy jsme se poprali i kvůli malému zrnku rýže. Ano! Nevěříš tomu, ale doopravdy se to stalo.“ Paradoxně se zdá, že právě tato strastiplná zkušenost dala Hakamovi do života mnohá pozitiva. Zažil si, co to je pobývat s třiceti lidmi v uzavřeném prostoru a muset se společně domluvit na soužití a celkové organizaci. Naučil se žít s ostatními v komunitě a vést dlouhé debaty o nejobyčejnějších věcech. Našel si přátele na celý život, s nimiž má dodnes velmi specifický vztah. Navzájem se podporují a ačkoli jsou roztroušeni po celém světě, jsou stále v kontaktu a ochotni jeden druhému podat pomocnou ruku. „Většina z nás si navzájem pomáhala, i když jsme se dostali ven. Nemůže si najít práci, my mu pomůžeme... Nemůže najít školu, my mu pomůžeme dostat se na Univerzitu. A i v celé naší čtvrti si rodiny navzájem pomáhaly. Kdo měl syna ve vězení, tomu ostatní pomáhali. Pro nás všechny to byla velká zkušenost.“ Zarážející na Hakamovi výpovědi je, s jakou lehkostí hovoří o prožitých útrapách. Zdá se, že má toto trauma z velké části zpracované a zasazené do kontextu svého vlastního života. Tato velká kapitola dala Hakamovi odvahu, sílu a pozitivní přístup k životu, který je cítit z každého jeho příběhu.

¹⁷Arabské jaro je také jednou z příčin rozpadu vládního systému v dnešní Sýrii.

Po propuštění z vězení ale Hakamovi potíže s policií neskončily. Byl každé dva, tři měsíce vyslýchaný a někdy také na den, dva zavřený znovu do vězení. Paradoxní na celém případě je, že Hakam nikdy nevěděl, co po něm policie chce. „Mnohokrát jsem jim říkal, prosím, napište, co potřebujete a já to podepíšu. Protože já nevím, co vám mam říct. Co chcete? Co chcete, abych vám řekl?.. Napiště to, a já to podepíšu. Přijmu všechno.“ Tato skutečnost také způsobila, že se Hakam rozhodl ze své vlasti utéct do sousedního Libanonu. Tam žil od svých dvaceti jedna let, našel si ženu a počal syna.

Z Libanonu do Evropy se Hakam se svojí rodinou vydal na začátku roku 2014. Do Sýrie už se vracet nechce, dle jeho slov je Damašek v ruinách a situace se stále horší.

Plány do budoucna, vize, sny

Hakamovi ze všeho nejvíc záleží na vzdělání jeho tří dětí. Když se narodil jeho první syn, odjel do Afriky hlavně kvůli tomu, aby mohl vydělat dostatek peněz na jeho vzdělání. Přesun do Evropy odůvodňoval snahou zajistit svým dětem bezpečné místo, kde mohou studovat. Hakam je na své děti velmi pyšný a také mu záleží na tom, aby měly možnost svobodného rozhodování. „Všechny moje plány se řídí podle toho, abych zajistil dobré vzdělání svým dětem. Když tvdě pracuji, abych si vydělal, nedělám to kvůli penězům. Chci jen podpořit své děti, aby mohly pokračovat ve svém vzdělání... Chci najít cestu, jak umožnit svým dcerám vybrat si jakoukoli Univerzitu budou chtít.“ Hakamův syn nyní žije v Lisabonu a jeho dvě dcery chodí v České republice na jednu ze soukromých středních škol.

Další z Hakamových plánů je otevřít si svou vlastní malou restauraci, kde by připravoval Libanonský hummus, nebo ještě lépe, najít si práci ve svém oboru architekta.¹⁸

Největším Hakamovým snem je získat státní občanství. Od své mladší dospělosti nezná nic jiného, než status uprchlíka. „Hlavní věc je, že chci být někde normálním občanem. V mé zemi, kdekoli, ale chci žít alespoň pár let ve svém životě jako normální občan. A umožnit to také své rodině, obzvláště svému synovi a dcerám, být normálním občanem, ne uprchlíkem, který nikam nepatří...“ Tento aspekt uprchlictví je velmi podstatný. Migrace nepřináší jen traumata, stres, změny a životní zvraty, nýbrž i stálý pocit neukotvenosti. Ačkoli Hakam působí jako velmi vyrovnaný se svým osudem, pocit, že

¹⁸Uvědomuje si ale, že se nejdříve musí naučit český jazyk.

nikam nepatří, jej velmi trápí.

V Čechách se chce Hakam se svou rodinou usadit natrvalo. „Ano, zůstaneme v České republice, nebudeme se už stěhovat. Je mi tu dobře a mám velmi rád Prahu. A lidé jsou tu na nás hodní, takže jsme tu rádi. Daří se nám.“

Výčitky, „nechal jsem je za sebou“

Vzhledem k Hakamovu věku šedesáti tři let, a také vzhledem k tomu, že většinu svého života strávil mimo Sýrii, jeho vazba na přátele, kteří v Sýrii zůstali, není tak silná. Hakamova matka i otec zemřeli, když byl ještě v Libanonu. Tato vzpomínka je pro něj ale obzvláště bolestná, protože neměl možnost je s úctou pochovat, jak se v jeho rodné zemi sluší a patří.¹⁹ „Podporoval jsem mnoho lidí, když někdo z jejich rodiny zemřel. Ale nemohl jsem být v poslední chvíli se svojí matkou, se svým otcem. Bylo to těžké. Stále to mám na paměti. Ale... můj Bůh mi pomohl, každý týden je mohu vidět ve svých snech. Mohu s nimi mluvit.“ Hakamovy vzpomínky vypovídají o tom, jak těžké je opustit svou zemi a nemoci se do ní vrátit. Hakam se cítí vinen, že nemohl být se svými rodiči, když umírali. „Říkám si, že jsem možná provedl něco špatného, že mě Bůh potrestal, nenechal mě být s mou matkou, s mým otcem...“ Když v této části rozhovoru mluvil, tekly mu slzy po tvářích.

Hakamův mladší bratr je nezvěstný, byl unešen policií před třemi lety, a dodnes o něm nikdo neví. Hakam se snažil zjistit, kde je a co se s ním stalo (využil k tomu mnoho svých finančních prostředků), ale nedostal žádnou odpověď.

Nedostatek podpory a přijetí v azylové zemi, samota

Hakamovy reflexe života v Čechách jsou veskrze pozitivní. Jak už bylo zmíněno výše, jeho heslo zní: „Zaříd' si svoje a zbytek nech na ostatních – záleží už jen na nich, jak s tím naloží.“

„Nemůžeš chtít po všech lidech, aby byli přívětiví, každý má svůj vlastní problém, mnoho věcí v hlavě... Ale pro mě, jak už jsem ti dříve řekl, udělám svojí část, a když řeknu deseti lidem dobrý den a odpoví mi jenom pět, je to v pořádku. Je to velmi dobré. Perfektní.“ Hakam se zdá být spokojený s tím, co má, a to mu dodává životní sílu a energii.

¹⁹Hakam se nemohl do Sýrie vrátit, protože hrozilo nebezpečí, že ho policie znovu uvězní.

Necítí nijak velké nepříjetí ze strany obyvatel České republiky.²⁰

První den ve svém novém bytě v Praze obešel se svou rodinou své sousedy a každému dal malou květinu. Nikdo mu ale jeho pozornost neoplatil. Hakam nad tím pouze pokrčil rameny a konstatoval, že on svou část splnil, zbytek je na ostatních. Nijak ho to ale neuzavřelo vůči lidem v České republice, jak sám zdůrazňoval. Lze se domnívat, že právě tento přístup Hakamovi umožňuje cítit se dobře tam, kde se zrovna nachází. Je otevřený novým neznámým společenským nastavením a nemá tendence se v lidech zklamávat. „Záleží na mém postoji, jaký zaujímám k lidem. Často jsem někomu nabízel, že mu pomohu a on odmítl s tím, že mou pomoc nechce. Ale pak jednoho dne ke mně zase přišel a řekl, prosím, pomoz mi. Odpovím ne? Odpovím ano.“

Aktivní přístup k životu pomáhá migrantům se odpoutat od starých pořádků, myšlenek a traumatických vzpomínek (Beiser a Hou, 2001). Hakamova dosavadní úspěšná integrace je jistě také ovlivněna jeho aktivní dobrovolnickou činností. Jezdí do Drahonic (Zařízení pro zajištění cizinců) jako tlumočnicko do arabského jazyka a každou sobotu chodí do kostela pomáhat lidem bez domova. Skrze tyto činnosti již poznal spoustu nových přátel a nasbíral mnoho kontaktů. V Hakamově příběhu též není možné opomenout roli dvou žen, které se jeho rodiny ujaly, a velkým dílem přispěly k jejich začlenění do české společnosti. „Mám už mnoho kontaktů se spoustou lidí. Někdy nevím, jak přijmout všechna ta pozvání. Každý týden nás k sobě zve mnoho lidí.“ Hakam se proto nezdá být deprivován nedostatkem sociálních kontaktů. Je však patrné, že ke svému dobrému usazení v České republice vychází vstříc.

„Když tě někdo vidí, že nevíš kudy jít, nebo něco hledáš, hned k tobě přijde a zeptá se: ‚Potřebujete pomoc?‘ To je speciální věc, tady v Praze.“ Dalo by se říct, že Hakam hledá spíš pozitivní aspekty skutečnosti a drží se jich, než že by si stěžoval na prožitá příkoří. Tvrdil například, že evropské státy nemůže z ničeho vinit, už tak prý dělají pro uprchlíky mnohé. Hakamův pohled na Evropu jako celek je proto následující: „Mnoho lidí přišlo do Evropy a nyní žijí jako normální lidé. A mohou dělat cokoli. V Evropě je řád a

²⁰ Na otázky, jak na něj působily demonstrace proti uprchlíkům, odpověděl, že nemůže nikoho nutit, aby ho měl rád. Když se ale najde alespoň někdo, kdo mu pomůže v jeho situaci, bude velmi vděčný a spokojený.

zákon. Takže ti nikdo nemůže ublížit, protože ví, že tu jsou pravidla a pořádek a vláda. Všechno je pod kontrolou.“

Jazyková bariéra

Naučit se česky je pro Hakama jedním z hlavních úkolů, který v současnosti má.

Potíže s hledáním zaměstnání a ztráta sociálního postavení

Hakam přistupuje k životním překážkám s obdivuhodnou lehkostí. Je si vědom toho, že dokud se nenaučí jazyk, nebude moct nalézt práci ve svém oboru. Dochází na každodenní intenzivní kurzy češtiny. Když dorazil do Dánska, ihned se šel ucházet o práci.²¹ „Klidně budu uklízet odpadky, jen mě nenechte sedět jen tak, bez činnosti.“ Tímto způsobem si získal přízeň tamních lidí, kteří mu pak pomohli s přesunem do České republiky. „Nemůžeš jen sedět doma a čekat, až ti stát pomůže, tím nic nezměníš.“ Na tomto výroku se opět ukazuje Hakamova podnikavost, která mu už tolikrát v životě pomohla žít život, který chce.

Legální statut, problémy s úřady

Kvůli svým zkušenostem z mládí má Hakam strach z policie. Z jeho slov se ale dá usuzovat, že v jednotlivé evropské státní systémy věří a plně je respektuje.²²

Co jej však trápí je, že nikam nepatří. „Oni říkají, že nejsme z žádné země. Častokrát jsem se ptal, když nejsme z žádné země, odkud jsme přišli? Z vesmíru nebo z nebes, z oblohy?... I kdybych byl z Afriky, z džungle, někam bych patřil.“ Hakam pak ještě dodával, že většina palestinských uprchlíků řeší tento problém vykořenění a potýká se s ním v mnoha situacích, kdy je třeba předložit příslušné dokumenty²³. Hakam byl velmi rozrušený, když o těchto příkořích mluvil a jedinkrát za celý rozhovor zvýšil hlas. „Jsem člověk! Bydlím na této zemi!“ Jako jeden z hlavních cílů své budoucnosti si Hakam vytyčil zajištění státního občanství pro svoje děti. Jelikož sám ví, jak traumatické je žít bez státní

²¹Dánsko bylo první zastávkou Hakamovy cesty do Evropy. Nebyl tam ale se svojí rodinou přijat, a proto se vydal žádat o azyl do České republiky.

²²O špatných zkušenostech s českou policií se zmiňoval jen v souvislosti s přesunem na letišti. Nijak je však nerozváděl.

²³Na ambasádě, na letišti nebo na pracovních pohovorech.

příslušnosti k nějaké dané zemi, nechce tento těžký úděl přenést i na svoje potomky.

Xenofobie, diskriminace – rasová i jazyková

Hakam má mnoho zkušeností s tím, že jsou na něj lidé milí a že jsou ochotní mu nabídnout pomoc. Je ale také schopen přijmout, že se někomu nelíbí, že do Čech přišel jako uprchlík. „Někdo nemá rád uprchlíky, dobře, je to jeho názor. Možná měl někdy s nějakým uprchlíkem problém, takže je teď proti nim. A víš, kultura a vzdělání lidí se liší. Možná mu někdo říkal, že uprchlíci přicházejí zničit jeho zemi a... Tak si dal do hlavy, že je proti nim. Takže já proti těmhle lidem nic nemám. Často si s nimi potřesu rukou a poděkuji jim. Protože musím respektovat jejich názor. Tak jako chci, aby oni respektovali ten můj. Ale boje mezi lidmi nechci... Vždycky je lepší spolu navzájem mluvit. Najít cestu.“ Hakam má tudíž vcelku otevřený postoj vůči různým názorům. Jako kdyby se v tomto případě slova stávala realitou, Hakamovi se v životě daří komunikovat s lidmi a řešit tak většinu svých problémů.

3.8.2 Narativní analýza rozhovoru – Saadat

„Se mnou je potíže.. Já se nikdy necítím šťastná.“

Saadat prožila idilické dětství v Damašku, na které s láskou a steskem vzpomíná. „Život v Sýrii je snadný. Je to to nejsnazší místo k životu.“ Když dospěla, začala si aktivně hledat partnera, jelikož nechtěla zůstat sama jako její starší sestra. Svatba pak byla nejlepším okamžikem jejího života. Poté co přišla válka a ona i její rodina musely opustit Sýrii, nastaly pro ni těžké časy. V České republice nyní žije méně než půl roku a je tu velmi nešťastná. „Můj život se tu převrátil vzhůru nohama.“

Důvody útěku ze Sýrie

Saadat a její rodina, manžel a dva synové, přijeli do České republiky v roce 2013. Stalo se tak poté, co se její starší syn ocitl v přímém nebezpečí policejního únosu.²⁴ Mladí muži v Sýrii jsou navíc povinnováni nastoupit do vojenské služby, jakmile dosáhnou dospělosti. To znamená, že se musí podřídit tamnímu režimu a v případě války jít do boje. Saadat se mnohokrát v rozhovoru zmínila o tom, že její rozhodování závisí převážně na

²⁴Jejich dům v Damašku se nacházel v bohaté čtvrti, kde jsou únosy mladých mužů a dětí časté – je za ně totiž možné žádat vysoké výkupné.

blahu a bezpečí její rodiny (hlavně jejích dětí), a že její přání a potřeby nejsou pro ni samotnou příliš podstatné. „Musela jsem odejít, nebyla to moje volba. Můj starší syn už se nechtěl vrátit do Sýrie. Protože se velmi bál, byla to pro něj velmi těžká chvíle. Byl zděšený a měl proč.“ Saadat s rodinou se rozhodli ze Sýrie odejít, protože se stala zemí velmi nebezpečnou, kde jsou únosy, bombardování a válečné střety na denním pořádku.²⁵ K jejich rozhodnutí emigrovat do České republiky rovněž přispěl fakt, že Saadatin manžel Prahu zná a má také české státní občanství. Saadat jako jeho manželce však uděleno nebylo.²⁶

Plány do budoucna, vize, sny

Saadat od začátku nesnila o novém životě v Evropě, ani jej nijak neplánovala. Její plány do budoucna proto nemají s Českou republikou nic společného. Prahu pojímá jako své dočasné útočiště, kde je nutné přežít pár let, než se bude moct vrátit do Sýrie. „Dny jsou tu velmi krátké... Víš, když jdeš někam, kam úplně jít nechceš... Já jsem sem od začátku nechtěla jít.“ Saadat byla válkou velmi zaskočena a skutečnost, že musela opustit svůj domov, ji stále dohání. Doslova se vyjádřila, že v České republice nedává „ničemu šanci“, protože musí stále myslet na svoji vlast a na zbytek svojí rodiny, která zůstala Sýrii.²⁷ Má o ně velký strach a každý večer usíná s tím, co všechno se jim může a nemusí stát.²⁸ Saadat se vyslovila, že kdykoli bude mít možnost se vrátit, tak jí využije. Na závěr těchto úvah ale také zreflektovala, že konec války přijít vůbec nemusí - že možná prožije celý svůj život sněním o něčem, co už nikdy nepřijde. „Za tyto tři roky se toho v mém životě událo nejvíc.. Zeptáš se asi: ‚A co válka?‘ Ne, kvůli této naší situaci, jsou naše životy převráceny úplně naruby! Všechno se změnilo... Utratili jsme všechny naše úspory.“

Saadatina představa o budoucnosti je postavená převážně na jejích snech a přáních. Doufá, že válka do tří let skončí a že se bude moct s rodinou vrátit do své vlasti. Sama tuto svou ideu přísně reflektuje. „Samozřejmě, že nevím, co se stane.. Možná bude Sýrie tím nejhorším místem, něčím úplně jiným.“ Nedokáže si představit, že by měla umřít v jiné

²⁵Podle Saadatiných slov je většina Damašku nyní v ruinách.

²⁶Více k této problematice v části Legální statut, problémy s úřady.

²⁷Saadatina stará matka, sestra a bratři stále žijí v malé vesnici poblíž Damašku.

²⁸Ráno vždy začíná její den tím, že s nimi vede telefonický hovor. Ujišťuje se, jestli je všechno v pořádku, a jestli se nikomu nic nestalo. Teprve pak je schopná se začít připravovat se na další den.

zemi. Záleží jí na tom, aby byla pochována právě v Sýrii.

V druhé části rozhovoru Saadat velmi zaníceně mluvila o válečné situaci v Sýrii, zaujímala postoj, který vyjádřila slovy: „Vyřešte to a my se tam vrátíme.“ Domnívá se totiž, že téměř žádný migrant nepřišel do Evropy dobrovolně.²⁹ Jakmile se situace uklidní, všichni se budou chtít do svých rodných zemí vrátit. Ona sama se také nesnaží v České republice zabydlet. Nějakou dobu se sice účastnila jazykových kurzů českého jazyka, ale kvůli úřadům, které jí odmítly dát české občanství, na ně docházet přestala. „Stále mi někdo ukazuje, že tu nejsem vítaná. Že jsem cizí. A já chci být cizí.“ Saadat doufá, že se bude moct v dohledné době vrátit do Sýrie, a necítí téměř žádnou motivaci k aktivní integraci do nové společnosti.

Výčitky, „nechala jsem je za sebou“

Při vyprávění o své rodné vlasti Saadat vždy trochu změnila svůj projev. Poposedla si hlouběji do pohovky, zaklonila se a uvelebila. I z tónu jejího hlasu bylo patrné, že svůj domov velmi postrádá a že o něm ráda hovoří. Živobytí v Sýrii označila jako „to nejlehčí na celém světě“.³⁰ Obširně popisovala sousedský život v Damašku, jak lidé přežívají ze dne na den ve válečných oblastech a jak i v takto těžkých dobách si na svůj život nestěžují. Když Saadat mluvila o svém dětství, byla velmi strohá. Na popis jí stačilo pár slov. Nezdálo se však, že by důvodem její stručnosti byla nechut' o dětství mluvit, jako spíš to, že neměla, co dodat: „Nebylo to nic fantastického, ale pamatuji se, že jsem byla šťastná. Rána a večery. Všechno...“³¹

Již na začátku rozhovoru Saadat velmi zaníceně mluvila o svém nuceném příjezdu do České republiky. Tato náhlá změna socio-kulturního prostředí ji učinila velmi nešťastnou, navenek odtažitou a uzavřenou do svého vlastního vnitřního světa vzpomínek. Během svého vyprávění o „převrácení života vzhůru nohama“ se ale v jeden okamžik pozastavila, jako by si na něco vzpomněla - „Já jsem ale ta, která má štěstí! Když zapnu

²⁹Podle Saadat byli všichni ze svých zemí vyhnáni.

³⁰Na doplňující otázku, co to pro ni znamená, nenašla přímou odpověď.

³¹Po této zasněné větě samu sebe ihned pokárala, že je příliš nostalgická. Těmito sebekritickými reflexemi Saadat protkala celý rozhovor. Patrně jí velmi záleželo na tom, jak její vyprávění navenek vyzní. Z jejího výrazu v dané chvíli se ale dalo usuzovat, že vzpomínky na dětství jsou pro ni neobyčejně silné a krásné.

televizi a vidím, co se děje ostatním Syřanům...“ Pocit viny vůči těm, kteří zůstali ve válečné oblasti, je jedním z největších stresových faktorů, se kterými se uprchlíci potýkají (Samarasinghe a Arvidsson, 2002). Jak vidno, Saadat samu sebe v běhu svých myšlenek a slov usměrnila, protože si připomněla, že ona je ta šťastná, ta vyvolená, která by měla začít nový život v azylové zemi. V nynější situaci si vůbec nepřipouští, že by měla právo nad něčím naříkat nebo projevit pocity nespokojenosti. Tento zvnitřněný morální apel „musím být vděčná“, jakoby částečně bagatelizoval i všechny její ostatní pocity.³²

Faktem je, že v Sýrii zůstala celá Saadatina širší rodina, spolu s její starou matkou (o které se Saadat v rozhovoru mnohokrát zmínila). Zdá se, že právě nemožnost se o svou matku postarat, Saadat nyní trápí ze všeho nejvíc. „Cítím se za ni vina.“

Saadat má v sobě dva protichůdné pocity.³³ První z nich v rozhovoru uvedla otázkou „Co jsem komu udělala, že všechno ztrácím? Vždyť jsem taky jenom člověk.“ Ptá se tak sama sebe, proč zrovna ona a její rodina musí zažívat traumatické situace a úskalí migrace se vším, co s sebou přináší.³⁴ Druhý z nich je pocit viny za to, že se před ní rozprostírá spousta možností, kterých není schopná využít. „Ten problém je ve mně.. stále si stěžuji.“³⁵ Velmi ji trápí vzpomínky na minulost a nejrůznější obavy, které jí zabraňují v aktivní integraci.

Nedostatek podpory a přijetí v azylové zemi, samota

„Od začátku jsem sem nechtěla.“ Faktory, které imigrantům znesnadňují zabydlování se v nové zemi, se zajisté prolínají. Nedostatek přijetí ze strany obyvatel azylové země například úzce souvisí s tím, nakolik je nově příchozí imigrant otevřený navazování vztahů (Berry et al., 1987). Saadat nic neočekává a od nové společnosti si ničeho nežadá. „Nikdo tu pro mne v Čechách není.“ Domnívá se však, že to není problém

³²Saadat se doslova zastyděla, když si uvědomila, že mluví o svém trápení, které ji potkalo v nové azylové zemi. Jakoby to pro ni nebylo přípustné – nenachází se ve smrtelném nebezpečí (jako většina jejích blízkých), tak si tedy nemůže na nic stěžovat.

³³Saadat sama si vytvořila toto rozdělení svého vnitřního prožívání na „dva pocity uvnitř“.

³⁴Ingleby ve svém výzkumu nucené migrace poznamenává, že ptaní se po „racionálních důvodech svého utrpení“ je u migrantů po příjezdu do azylové země velmi běžné (Ingleby, 2005).

³⁵Dalo by se říct, že je její pocit provinění dvojitý. Jeden vzniká z toho, že nezůstala ve své domovině s rodinou (tou širší), a že jim nemůže nijak na dálku pomoci. Další se pak rodí paralelně s tím prvním - tedy nejen že je v bezpečí azylové země, ale ještě toho neumí pořádně využít.

okolních lidí, ale jí samotné. Necítí se v Čechách dobře a nemá chuť se sblížovat s místními lidmi.³⁶ Starost o manžela a své dva syny se stala jejím zdejším posláním, o navazování sociálních vztahů mimo svoji rodinu však nemá zájem.

Dění v politice a ve společnosti je pro ni velmi podstatné. Demonstrace dne 6.2.2016, na níž se shromáždily tisíce lidí na pochod proti islamizaci České republiky a uprchlíkům, ji velmi vyděsila a zčásti uzavřela vůči všem obyvatelům České republiky. „Co si potom budeš myslet? Oficiální hlasy jsou proti tobě, takže pak už nechceš slyšet ty ostatní.“

Jazyková bariéra

Podle Saadat je život v České republice velmi složitý. Sama ale neuměla přesně vysvětlit, proč to tak cítí. Jediné, co v této souvislosti uvedla, byla jazyková bariéra. Její synové se s češtinou těžce potýkají.³⁷

Potíže s hledáním zaměstnání a ztráta sociálního postavení

V Sýrii byla Saadat matkou rodiny, a tedy důležitou osobou pro širší společenství. V azylové zemi se teď setkává s tím, že je její status neustále zpochybňován. Ztráta sociálních pozic a celková změna interpersonálních vztahů je pro imigranty traumatizující skutečností (Samarasinghe a Arvidsson, 2002). Saadatin manžel byl v Sýrii inženýrem, vlastnil privátní kancelář, sbíral umělecké objekty a jejich dům byl postaven v nejdražší čtvrti Damašku. V České republice je jejich situace naprosto odlišná, Saadat ani její manžel jsou nezaměstnaní a celá rodina bydlí v bytě o dvou pokojích. Pád na sociálním žebříčku je proto dalším nepřehlédnutelným bodem, který k psychické nepohodě imigrantů přispívá.

Legální statut, problémy s úřady

Saadat má s úřady mnohé neblahé zkušenosti.³⁸ Ačkoli má její manžel české občanství (stejně tak i její synové), ona sama je nezískala. Podala si žádost o povolení k trvalému pobytu v České republice, ale z jejího vyprávění vyplynulo, že jí nebylo uděleno (pravděpodobně na základě toho, že neovládá český jazyk). Saadat tato skutečnost velmi

³⁶Ne, že by Saadat nebyla přátelská. Na konci rozhovoru se vyjádřila, že by byla ráda za možnost se ještě někdy setkat.

³⁷Ačkoliv žil jejich otec delší dobu v České republice, čeština je pro něj stále velkou výzvou.

³⁸Ty byly také zdrojem jejich počátečních obav, zdali si tímto výzkumným rozhovorem neuškodí.

zasáhla - měla slzy v očích, když o těchto traumatických zážitcích vyprávěla.³⁹ Vznikl tím pro ni jen další důvod, proč se v České republice necítí dobře. Na této situaci se dá ilustrovat, jak moc je legální statut pro uprchlíky důležitý (McColl, 2008). „Chovají se k Syřanům, jako kdyby byli podezřelí.“ Saadat v současné době čeká, až ji bude vystaven nový pas. Prozatím má pouze povolení k dočasnému pobytu.

Xenofobie, diskriminace – rasová i jazyková

„Nejvíce mě zlobí, že nás berou jako Syřany, jako bychom nebyli lidské bytosti. Každý má přeci svou vlastní osobnost...“ Anonymní přístup je pro migranty velmi traumatizující. „Úředník na letišti se mě vždy zeptá: ‚Mluvíte česky?‘ – ‚Trochu.‘ ‚A kolik je ‚trochu?‘ ‚To znamená trochu, dobrý večer, dobrý...‘ ‚A vy tu žijete a neumíte český jazyk?!‘ A já mu v duchu chci říct, že kdybych byla Američanka, nikdy by se mě na takovou otázku nezeptal...“ Když o těchto zážitcích Saadat mluvila, dalo se z jejího výrazu tváře vyčíst, že je velmi pobouřená. Na takový přístup patrně není zvyklá.

3.8.3 Narativní analýza rozhovoru – Fadila

„Já jsem otevřený člověk... Vlastně jsem šťastná skoro pořád.“

Fadila strávila téměř celý svůj život v Sýrii. V dětství byla dle jejích slov „velmi rozmazlovaná“, protože byla prvorozená a celá rodina se na její příchod těšila. Již při studiích se jí narodila první dcera. Fadila ji ale neprodila v Sýrii, nýbrž ve Spojených státech amerických, aby jí tak zajistila americké občanství. Zpětně tuto odvážnou výpravu hodnotí jako nesmyslný nápad. „Neměla jsem ani ponětí, co to je za práci, rodit dítě. Velmi jsem si vytrpěla.“ Studia na vysoké škole ekonomické dokončila jako matka a v průběhu let se jí narodily další tři dcery.

Fadilina širší rodina (matka, otec, setra a bratr s rodinami) je v Čechách usazená již více než patnáct let. Fadilin otec totiž v Praze několik let studoval a když nastaly nepokoje v Sýrii, rozhodl se do České republiky natrvalo odejít. V roce 2012 přijela Fadila se svým manželem a dcerami jen na pár měsíců do Prahy za příbuznými. Válečná situace v Sýrii se ale během té doby natolik zhoršila, že se tu pro zatím rozhodli zůstat. Fadila je praktikující muslimka, nosí hidžáb a islám hraje v jejím životě důležitou roli.

³⁹Saadat byl navíc vystaven deportační příkaz, který ale nebyl podložen právním odůvodněním.

Důvody útěku ze Sýrie

Fadilin otec byl vrchním manažerem velké státní firmy v Sýrii, a proto byl nucen ji opustit, jakmile začaly tamní nepokoje (které sice ve větší míře vypukly až v roce 2011, ale policejní útlak a únosy začaly již mnohem dříve). Odjel proto i se svou manželkou do České republiky, do Prahy, kde si založili vlastní pekárnu. Fadila se svojí rodinou za nimi přijela na návštěvu v roce 2012. Chtěli počkat pár měsíců, až se situace v Sýrii utiší, a pak se vrátit. Naskytlo se ale mnoho problémů. Fadilin manžel opustil své zaměstnání profesora na státní damašské univerzitě. Udělal tak bez dovolení, tudíž by jej po návratu do Sýrie mohlo čekat nemálo potíží.⁴⁰ Navíc začalo být čím dál nebezpečnější se do své vlasti vracet. „Když jsem si uvědomila, že tu zůstanu, že ty problémy jen tak neskončí... To byl pro mě vážně zlomový bod.“

Plány do budoucna, vize, sny

„Co se mě týče, nevdá mi skoro nic.“ Fadila přijímá věci tak, jak přicházejí⁴¹ a tudíž i svou budoucnost chápe jako otevřenou možnost. Její první dcera má americké občanství, její čtvrtá dcera zase české. Fadila příliš neplánuje, se jejich kroky budou ubírat. Jedním si je ale jistá: „Moje rodina je celá tady. I kdybych šla kamkoli na světě, musím je jezdit navštěvovat. Znova zpátky sem.“

Výčitky, „nechala jsem je za sebou“

Fadila se s těmito pocity viny nesešla, jelikož celá její širší rodina žije v bezpečném azylu České republiky. Možná že právě na základě jejího postoje, který vyjádřila svovy: „Ber věci, jak jsou.“, orientuje svou pozornost především do přítomnosti, a nenechá se tak ovládat svou minulostí ani vzpomínkami. Krom toho nikdo z jejích blízkých neutrpěl žádnou válečnou újmu. Všechny, které miluje, má stále okolo sebe.

Nedostatek podpory a přijetí v azylové zemi, samota

Fadila reflektovala změnu v přístupu českých občanů k uprchlíkům po atentátech v Paříži a v Bruselu.⁴² V prvních letech jejího pobytu v ČR se na ni lidé usmívali a někteří ji

⁴⁰Opuštění státního zaměstnání „jen tak“ je v Sýrii bráno jako přestupek.

⁴¹O tomto svém životním postoji Fadila mluvila v souvislosti s náboženstvím.

⁴²Pravděpodobně se jedná o teroristické útoky v Paříži dne 13.11.2015 a v Bruselu dne 22.3.2016.

i vítali. Dnes se setkává se „strachem v jejich očích“. „Oni se doopravdy bojí, že exploduju...“ Fadila také hovořila o velkém vlivu masových médií a vyjádřila pochopení k obavám, které lidé pod tímto vlivem mají. „Kdybych pořád poslouchala zprávy o tom, že mi muslimové jdou vzít můj vlastní život...“

Na základě těchto odmítavých postojů se Fadila začala od většinové společnosti izolovat, přestala používat veřejnou dopravu a svůj volný čas nyní tráví pouze v úzkém rodinném kruhu.

Jazyková bariéra

Ihned po příjezdu do České republiky Fadila přihlásila své dcery do českých škol a velmi lpěla na tom, aby se rychle naučily česky. Nebylo to pro ně mnohdy snadné. Dvě z nich ale nastoupily do Montessori školy, kde jim individuální přístup pedagogů pomohl s adaptací na nové klima třídy. Fadila sama česky nemluví, ale uvědomuje si, že pro život v azylu je znalost jazyka téměř nejdůležitější.⁴³

Potíže s hledáním zaměstnání a ztráta sociálního postavení

„Já jsem byla zvyklá žít opravdu krásný život. Ve své zemi jsem respektovaná a mohu se tam pohybovat se vší ctí. Ale tady nejsem nikým, vlastně jsem ještě méně.“ Fadila žila v Sýrii po boku svého manžela, váženého univerzitního profesora, a sama pracovat nemusela, protože o peníze neměli nouzi.⁴⁴ Když přijela do České republiky, její životní standard se značně snížil. Zpočátku se chovala podobně jako v Sýrii, ale po čase zjistila, že je nutné se zastavit a věci znovu promyslet. Přestala utrácet peníze a seznámila se s několika studenty, které nyní doučuje angličtinu a matematiku. Má za sebou několik nezdařených pokusů otevřít si vlastní kadeřnictví nebo s někým spolupracovat na výukovém projektu. Dosud se pokaždé setkala s neúspěchem. Jak ale napovídá její povaha a životní styl: „Začnu znovu, budu mít své vlastní místo, nechci studenty doučovat v knihovně. A bude to malé a budu tam sama, ale začnu znova.“

Legální statut, problémy s úřady

⁴³V září plánuje začít znovu chodit na pravidelné kurzy českého jazyka.

⁴⁴Fadila si dokonce měla ve svém domě mohla dovolit služku, která ji pomáhala s domácími pracemi a péčí o děti.

Žádost o azyl a získávání legálního statutu je další oblastí post-migračních stresorů, které se Fadila měla možnost vyhnout. Díky jejímu rodinnému zázemí v České republice, jí nedělalo problém získat zde trvalé povolení k pobytu.

Xenofobie, diskriminace – rasová i jazyková

Fadila nosí pravidelně na veřejnosti hidžáb, což přináší mnoho nesnází. „Jsem atakovaná každou minutu. Na ulici, kudykoli jdu... Oni si vážně myslí, že exploduju. Někdy je mi jich líto, že se tolik bojí. Ale někdy si říkám, že jsou doopravdy hloupí, že by se nad tím vším mohli trochu zamyslet.“ O své dcery má proto Fadila strach a poradila jim, aby hidžáb nenosily. Bojí se, aby jim někdo neublížil.⁴⁵ Kvůli hidžábu Fadila také přišla o svou práci v kadeřnictví. „Češi to nikdy nebudou akceptovat.“

3.9 Závěrečné shrnutí narativních analýz

3.9.1 Hakam

Na základě narativní analýzy Hakamova vyprávění se lze domnívat, že jeho dosavadní život byl plný nečekaných zvratů a mnohých dobrodružství, které jej činily velmi pestrým a bohatým. V mladistvém věku byl na rok a půl internován v syrském vězení, několik let žil jako imigrant v Libanonu, deset let pobýval v Africe a nyní začíná zas úplně novou etapu svého života jako uprchlík v Evropě. Všechny tyto nasbírané zkušenosti mu jistě napomáhají se pohotově orientovat v novém sociokulturním prostředí a najít si v něm své místo.⁴⁶ Dalo by se i odvážně tvrdit, že akulturace je pro Hakama novou životní výzvou, které se nebojí hrdinně čelit.

Člověk by se mohl domnívat, že zážitky z vězení Hakama neblaze poznamenaly na celý život. Zdá se ale, že opak je pravdou. Způsob, jakým Hakam o své zkušenosti mluvil, prakticky vůbec nesvědčil o tom, že by to pro něj byla traumatická vzpomínka. Zní to paradoxně, ale pobyt ve vězení Hakama pravděpodobně více zocelil a otevřel světu, nežli nějak zásadně poškodil.

⁴⁵Na léto jim nakopupila spoustu druhů čapek a klobouků, aby měly možnost si nějakým způsobem zakrýt své vlasy.

⁴⁶Jak Berry uvádí v jedné ze svých studií, dřívější interkulturní zkušenost má velký vliv na průběh celého akulturačního procesu.

Hakam je ve svých každodenních činnostech velmi iniciativní, činorodý a podnikavý. Jeho aktivní přístup a otevřený postoj k novým věcem je velmi prospěšný a nápomocný jeho integraci do společnosti. Hakam o sobě ví, že je schopen věci okolo sebe měnit. Umí si život zařídit tak, aby s ním mohl být spokojený. Tento postoj je patrně zdrojem jeho dobrého pocitu ze sebe samého a potažmo i z celého svého života.

Mnohým migrantům se stává, že ulpí ve svém stesku a smutku po zemi původu, což u nich pak vede k mnohým psychologickým potížím (Samarasinghe a Arvidsson, 2002). Hakam se vzpomínkami na minulost příliš nezaobírá. Jediné, co jej dodnes trápí je skutečnost, že nemohl pochovat svého otce. Je to pro něj stále bolestivé téma, protože je chápe jako křivdu. („Co jsem udělal špatně, že mě Bůh takhle potrestal?“) Nalezl si ale způsob, jak se s tímto traumatem postupně sám vyrovnávat. Každé ráno se za své rodiče modlí a oni k němu pak naoplátku promlouvají ve snech.

Největším Hakamovým snem je zajistit dobré vzdělání svým dětem a získat (nějaké) státní občanství. Už nikdy víc nechce být „občanem žádné země“, jak se sám vyjádřil. Považuje za důležité najít si bezpečné místo, kde bude moci v klidu po boku své manželky zestárnout. O návratu do Sýrie v nynější situaci už neuvažuje.

3.9.2 Saadat

Z analýzy vyplynulo, že Saadat svou nynější situaci chápe jako dočasný stav. Nepočítá s tím, že by se se svou rodinou natrvalo usadila v azylové zemi. Stále doufá v brzký konec války v Sýrii a také v to, že se bude moci do své vlasti vrátit. Jak uvádí Sluzki ve své studii migrace, brzký návrat domů je společným přesvědčením většiny uprchlíků, na které doléhají útrapy prvních měsíců v azylové zemi (Sluzki, 1979). Saadat však cítí značnou nostalgii po své rodné zemi. Většinu času tráví sněním o svém životě v Sýrii a také o tom, jaké by všechno mohlo být. Kam by se asi ubíral její život, kdyby nebylo války, která jí vzala domov, zázemí i štěstí?

Saadat trápí pocity viny za to, že nechala svou starou matku v Sýrii. Na dálku jí nemůže nijak pomáhat ani se o ni náležitě postarat, kdyby bylo třeba. Má velký strach o své bratry a sestru, kteří zůstali v Sýrii. Všechny tyto obavy a starosti jí ubírají energii a chuť do života. Proces integrace je značně ovlivněn tím, nakolik je člověk komunikativní,

a jak velkou má motivaci se zapojovat do nové společnosti (Berry et al., 1987). Saadat je v této oblasti velmi pasivní, necítí téměř žádnou potřebu se zabydlovat v novém sociokulturním prostředí. Má silný dojem, že v azylové zemi není vítaná, a proto se orientuje pouze na svou rodinu. V České republice žije převážně samotářským životem, který odkázala péči o své dva syny a manžela. Staví však jejich přání a potřeby nad svoje vlastní, díky čemuž pak takřka nežije nic z toho, co by doopravdy chtěla. Často ji dohání smutek kvůli tomu, že není víc otevřená vnějšímu světu a že neumí být veselá a vděčná za to, co má. Má přesnou představu o tom, jak by se člověk v její situaci měl chovat. Trápí se tím, že ona sama toho není schopná.

Miluje svou rodinu, ale cítí, že svůj život nežije tak, jak by chtěla. Má pocit, že se nemůže vymanit z víru dění a osud ji přijde nespravedlivý. Chtěla by se chovat jinak, ale svoje stesky není schopná odložit stranou. Válka v Sýrii jí totiž vzala domov, zázemí i štěstí.

3.9.3 Fadila

Z narativního rozhovoru s Fadilou vysvítá, že je to velmi pozitivní a veselý člověk. Již její první věta „jsem vlastně stále šťastná“ poukazuje na to, že má Fadila svůj život ráda. Zdá se, že ani nástrahy a překážky, se kterými se nyní musí jako migrant potýkat, nenarušují její pocit životní spokojenosti. Fadila zprvu vůbec nepočítala s tím, že se v České republice usadí. Plánovala pouze delší návštěvu příbuzných, kteří žijí v Praze. Jak se ale situace v Sýrii zhoršovala, začala si uvědomovat, že vrátit se zpět by pro jejich rodinu mohlo být velmi nebezpečné. Rozhodnutí zůstat v azylové zemi Fadila nazvala jako „zlomový bod“ a konstatovala, že trvalo dlouhou dobu, než se na něm společně s manželem usnesli. Pro Fadilu tato nová skutečnost ale neznamenal nic fatálního nebo konečného. Její všeobecný postoj k životu by se dal vyjádřit slovy „beru to tak, jak to je“, což značí notnou flexibilitu k životním změnám a převratům. Ani budoucností se Fadila příliš nezabývá, snaží se pouze zajistit finanční příjem pro svoji rodinu.⁴⁷ Její nejstarší dcera má americké občanství, a Fadila proto nezavrhuje možnost přestěhovat se za pár let do Spojených států amerických.

⁴⁷Její manžel je v Čechách téměř nezaměstnatelný, protože neovládá český jazyk. V Sýrii byl univerzitním profesorem.

Podstatnou roli ve Fadiliné životní pohodě hraje fakt, že má všechny své blízké pohromadě, při sobě a v bezpečí. Nemusí se bát o jejich zdraví⁴⁸ ani o to, že je navždy ztratí. Tento aspekt dodává jejímu životu v azylu značný klid. Co ji však rmoutí, je postoj většinové společnosti vůči migrantům. Jako žena nosící hidžáb je často konfrontovaná s tím, že v České republice není vítaná. Čím dál, tím víc se proto straní vnějšího světa a tráví většinu volného času pouze se svojí rodinou. Ve výzkumech Ellise a kolektivu se lze dočíst, že právě jednotlivé projevy diskriminace vedou k izolaci migrantů od společnosti jako celku (Ellis et al., 2008).

Velkou změnou je pro Fadilu i to, že v České republice „nikým není“. Na rozdíl od Sýrie ji tu nikdo nezná a nikdo se k ní ani nechová tak uctivě, jak byla zvyklá.

„Stále ale bojujeme, stále s životem zápasíme.“ Těmito slovy by se dal vyjádřit celkový dojem, který vyplývá z narativní analýzy Fadiliného příběhu. Je v něm mnoho naděje a síly, které je v životě migrantů velmi zapotřebí.

3.10 Diskuze k výzkumné sondě

Každý narativní rozhovor v rámci výzkumu byl jedinečný a neopakovatelný. Autorka si kladla za cíl poskytnout náhled na jednotlivé životní příběhy migrantů ze Sýrie. Snažila se nastínit kontext jejich odchodu z rodné země a jejich představy o tom, jak bude nový život v azylové zemi vypadat. Svoji pozornost pak zaměřila především na jejich prožívání fáze post-migrace, konkrétně na post-migrační stresory.

V rámci interpretace dat a závěrů výzkumné sondy je nutné poznamenat, že získané poznatky nelze vztáhnout na celou populaci migrantů - vzorek participantů tvoří pouze tři lidé. Autorka by se tématu ráda věnovala i v navazujícím výzkumném projektu a dovoluje si podotknout, že by bylo vhodné vzorek participantů výrazně rozšířit.

Autorčino předporozumění dané problematice a především její předvýzkum, značně ovlivnily konečnou podobu jejího výzkumu. Při návštěvách Zařízení pro zajištění cizinců v Drahonicích (kde byl předvýzkum uskutečněn) se autorka setkala s několika lidmi, kteří jí poskytli dostatek potřebných informací k realizaci jejího závěrečného výzkumu. Autorka si také na základě zkušeností z předvýzkumu uvědomila některé

⁴⁸Vyjma projevů diskriminace a xenofobie ze strany českých občanů.

limitující prvky sběru dat, kterých se ve svém finálním výzkumu snažila vyvarovat (jazyková bariéra, přítomnost policie, omezená doba jednotlivých rozhovorů, nemožnost pořizování audiálního záznamu, atd.).

V rámci analýzy výzkumných dat je též nutné poznamenat, že autorka si uvědomuje potenciální problematičnost hledání tzv. post-migračních stresorů v jednotlivých rozhovorech. Z metodologického hlediska lze namítnout, že pokud v datech hledáme určitý koncept a více či méně si jej přejeme nalézt, může se stát, že si data určitým způsobem „přizpůsobíme“ a vidíme v nich to, co vidět chceme (nebo klademe návodné otázky během rozhovoru atp.). Autorka si tuto skutečnost uvědomovala v průběhu práce na výzkumné sondě a v rámci zvýšení validity sondy předkládá potenciálnímu zájemci verbatim rozhovorů s participanty (je tak možné učinit si vlastní závěr týkající se adekvátnosti tvrzení autorky práce).

Nahromaděné emoce a stesk po rodné zemi hrají v příbězích migrantů významnou roli (Gomez-Estren a de la Mata Benítez, 2013). Z toho důvodu byly všechny tři narativní rozhovory s migranty ze Sýrie silně emočně vypjaté a strhující. Autorka proto usilovala o vytvoření bezpečného prostoru, v němž by dotazovaný mohl svobodně vyjádřit svoje myšlenky a pocity. Již po prvním rozhovoru ale zjistila, že si díky jejímu přátelskému přístupu dotazovaný nastavil příliš volné hranice své otevřenosti a snadno se tak dostal do emočně vypjaté situace. Autorka si v takových chvílích začala být velmi nejistá svou rolí výzkumníka, ale na roli terapeuta nebyla připravená. Proto se před realizací třetího rozhovoru rozhodla účastnit supervizního setkání, které jí dodalo odvalu k poslednímu rozhovoru a pomohlo s doplňující sebereflexí. Také při něm získala několik užitečných rad, jak lépe udržet rozhovor ve výzkumném rámci (jednotlivá doporučení se týkala práce s časem, posturikou a vlastními očekáváními).

Nelze opomenout fakt, který popsala Ch.Clark-Kazak ve svém výzkumu afrických uprchlíků - dotazovaní prezentují sami sebe různými způsoby, záleží na konkrétní situaci (Clark-Kazak, 2009). Existuje tudíž mnoho faktorů, které mohly sběr výzkumných dat značně ovlivnit. 1) Rozvržení pozic mezi participantem a výzkumníkem⁴⁹ - do jaké míry participantovi záleželo na vyznění jeho příběhu, a hlavně komu jej vyprávěl. 2) Rozhovory byly vedeny v angličtině, která není rodným jazykem participantů. Používání cizího jazyka

⁴⁹Viz. Kapitola 3.2.2, rozvržení pozic v narativním rozhovoru dle V. Chrze (Chrz a Čermák, 2011).

nepochybně vedlo k určité redukci získávaných dat. (Autorka tuto variantu zvolila proto, že v předvýzkumu se přítomnost tlumočnicka ukázala jako kontraproduktivní.) 3) V neposlední řadě si autorka uvědomuje, že v si některých situacích neudržela neutrální postoj a kladla buď příliš sugestivní otázky nebo se k některým probíraným tématům přímo vyjádřila. Uvedené nedostatky se však autorka snažila aktivně reflektovat a jejich výskyt v průběhu rozhovorů eliminovat.

Závěr

Bakalářská práce se zaměřuje na jednu ze čtyř fází migrace, na fázi postmigrační, která je iniciována příjezdem migrantů do jejich azylové země. V této fázi se většinou potkávají s mnohými nesnázemi a překážkami, takzvanými post-migračními stresory, které ohrožují jejich duševní zdraví a brání jim ve zdařilém začlenění se do nové společnosti.

Práce je rozdělena na dvě části, teoretickou a empirickou. V teoretické části autorka zběžně nastiňuje kontext migrační vlny roku 2015, detailněji se pak věnuje psychologickým aspektům migrace, mezi které řadí post-migraci jako takovou, akulturaci a akulturační stres. Dále definuje jednotlivé post-migrační stresory, které se týkají problémů se zaměstnáním, s jazykovou bariérou, se získáváním legálního statutu, s diskriminací. Empirickou část bakalářské práce tvoří výzkumná sonda zabývající se třemi narativními rozhovory s migranty ze Sýrie. Cílem výzkumu bylo vysledovat v příbězích migrantů jednotlivé post-migrační stresory, nastínit konkrétní důvody jejich odchodu z rodné země a jejich přání a plány do budoucnosti. Se získanými daty autorka pracovala pomocí metody narativní analýzy, ve které se soustředila především na post-migrační stresory.

Z jednotlivých narativních analýz vyplynulo, že každý participant přistupuje k nástrahám a výzvám období post-migrace svým vlastním osobitým způsobem. Berry ve své studii akulturace poznamenává, že záleží na jedinečné povaze a vnitřním nastavení člověka, stejně tak jako na mnoha vnějších okolnostech, jak se s novou situací vyrovná, a co si z ní vezme (Berry, et al. 1987). Na někoho dopadne stesk po domově a smutek, takže se stáhne do sebe a přestane komunikovat s okolím. Někdo se naopak chopí nabízejících se možností a začne s chutí realizovat novou kapitolu svého života.

Z výsledků mnohých výzkumů post-migrace je patrné, že stresové faktory, ohrožující migranty ve fázi post-migrace, mají velký vliv na jejich duševní (i tělesné) zdraví a celkovou životní rovnováhu. Vzhledem k dnešní situaci v Evropě autorka považuje za přínosné snažit se porozumět jedinečným životním příběhům lidí na útěku a na základě tohoto porozumění jim pak poskytnout odpovídající psychosociální pomoc.

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Přílohy

Příloha číslo 1

Dotazník Drahonice 2016

- Odkud jsi?
- Jaké jsou tvoje záliby?
- Jaký byl tvůj život/práce před válkou?
- Proč jsi opustil svou zemi?
- Jaký byl tvůj běžný den doma?
- Jaký myslíš, že bude tvůj běžný den v azylu?
- Co bys chtěl dělat ve svém volném čase?
- V čem myslíš, že bude problém (co se týče integrace)?
- Čeho se nejvíc bojíš?
- Čemu myslíš, že bude nejtěžší se přizpůsobit?
- Na co se těšíš?
- Kde se vidíš za tři roky?
- Co tě dělá šťastným?
- Kdy jsi byl nejšťastnější?
- Myslíš, že se někdy vrátíš domů?
- Napadá tě ještě něco? Cokoli?

Příloha číslo 2

Doslovné přepisy rozhovorů vedených s účastníky výzkumu

Rozhovor číslo 1 – Hakam

Hopefully it works. So, this is like the life story interview, which is about the story of your life. I will ask you to create something like your own autobiography. And I will ask you for some few main moments of your life, if you don't mind. And.. We can't catch your whole life, but just the few main moments. And it will have three parts, the past, the presence and the future (something like your visions). It will take us something around two hours maybe or we'll see. Cool? Is it alright with you? We'll see, ok, good. Ask me for anything, because my english is sometimes very bad. So, that's it, I think. And! I won't put your name anywhere, I should tell you. OK. So, we can start.) Firstly, the historic part. I'll ask you about some main moments in your life (I am bit nervous, you can see it, so sorry...) I will ask you about eight episodes and firstly I will describe the episode, so you will know, what I am asking for. The first is the top moment, if know the Maslow's pyramid of needs, and on the top there is something like the peak experience. Something when you feel like the huge happiness and you can't put it out of your mind and if will someone ask you, Majed, when were you happiest, you will just like say, oh, yes, I can describe you... So it's like the best experience you have. And then if you can tell me where was it, when was it, and for example people who were there and what did you feel and do and... I will ask you through it.)

It is not happy moment. It is something unhappy moment happened to me.

The top? Aha.

Yeah. When almost I finished my high school and start going to University to study architecture engineer after one month the security police in Syria came take me with thirty five friends from the same..

When you were at the University, you told me?

Yes, when I started. I have already started, I started.. you know, when you go to University it is new life. So, just when I start, maybe after two months, or one month and half, because one of our friends put list, he will try to find out some people that we can make football team. But he didn't issued to the police. So the police somebody told them: this people they want to make football team but they didn't issued for the police, security police. So, the came, take this guy, and they found this list, our name and many of our friends. Because we are living like compounds. We call it compounds for the refugees. It is buildings, but it is compounds. It is building, normal building, but this area its belongs to United Nation and they allow to the people to build their own houses, so they call it compounds. It is camp, but its normal building like this. It is just three floors, four floors, it depends to the family, if they get money or not. But they call it compounds, its a special area. So, and in the same area they took 35 or 37, between fifteen years old up to nineteen, twenty years old. They took us and (náznak mláčení), you know.. too much. And they put us in one room. I don't think is is more big than this one (majed ukázal na můj malý pokoj). 37 people in one room,

sleep, eat, even the bathroom in the corner. For one year and half. And underground. You can not see the sun, you cannot see anything.

No... And it was when you were like twenty?

I was eighteen years old.

And it was in Syria?

Yes, yes.. In Syria. Thats nineteen seventy six.

And you know why they did it?

Because we make footb.. This our friend he put the list, he want to make football team in our area to play with another part. Like Prague 10 with Prague 9.. we have this same sections in our city. So a lot of sections of the city make teams and they will play with each other. So, that guy he want to make football team, he didn't issue and he didn't go to the police security and say I want to make football team. And they thought he wants to make party. Not party.

I know. I know, like political party.

Political party. And they took us. Because when they start hit him, this guy, our friend who make this list, he start talk everything. Even lie. He say we have gun, we have the veapon, we have... He say something nobody believe it. Because later, when come big officer, and ask this other officer, who made the investigation with us and. It is normal what he say? It is not normal. This guy, he is lying, because you beat him too much, and he say anything you want. So, they put us one year and half in the jail. And under ground. After nine months up to our family know where we are. After nine months they visited us. They allowed for them to visit us.

Ou... I wasn't prepedated for this, sorry... That's not understandable for me. And you were there year and half and then...

They released us.

And they say OK, you are free now? We changed our minds or what?... And was is for any purpose? You don't now...

Just, they ask us many questions. I don't know. If you say I don't know, they beat you too much. If you say I know, start beat you again, because they need more. So, you don't have a choice. Many times I told them, please, write what you want, I will sign. Because I don't know what I will tell you. What you want? What you want me to tell you? So, write it and I will sign. I will accept everything.

What? Thats the scarf... (majed mi pak ukazoval jizvy na nohou, které má z vězení)

You see it? On many places here. Thats before thirty years maybe.. Yea, all this.

So, you were there with your friends from the school?

From the school, from the University, from the area, our area... And about three or four of them were fifteen years old, sixteen years old. They put them in the jail. Cause their name was on the list. Of the football team.

And your parents were searching for you, but nobody knew?..

And they pay a lot of money and they tried to find us. And after nine months they sent for them. Someone told them you can come and visit your sons.

Aha... And, so, when did you leave Syria?

After that they start bother me. So, I study and I finished study and if you study and continue your studying in University, they didn't ask you to go to the army, to make service in the army, you must make it for two years and half. And all the time in the army, they didn't allowed you to... so, when I finished (*lusknutí, Majed naznačoval, že odešel ze země*). Because everytime, every two or three months someone came to me: you must go to the police and check. And sometimes put me one night in the jail.

And you didn't know...what the hell you should do.

And than I escape from Syria to Libanon. Yeah...

Sorry for my reactions...

No, no, its normal. For me thats when start the fobia from the police and from the government and...

Of course!...

Yeah, it was big experience. We are living 37 guys, you know, different culture, different education, different back-up. In the same room, sometimes for something like that (*drobeček na stole*), we have fighting... Because we didn't have anything. Twenty four hour nothing, just sitting and looking on each other. So sometimes for one peace of rice we have fighting. Yeah! You don't believe it, but it happen. The food very bad, the condition very bad, When its hot and they didn't allowed for us to get shower for three months.

And they let you go, all of you at the same time?

Yes. One day they sent us back. The whole house.

And they didn't prepare you for it or didn't tell you anything?

No, just in the morning came to us: collect your things. And than after one hour came to us, lets go by bus, we eill send you home. Because they moved us to another city, to the capital, to Damasques.

What did you feel at the moment, what did you thought?...

We thought... Because nobody told us we are free. But they took us to another police station and stuck us up to the evening, because they didn't wat our family and our area start make like celebration or party.. So, they keep us up to midnights and then send us one by one. One by one to our houses, not make noises, not make celebration.

It must be huge, when you came to your mothers house with just like one and a half year experience of this...

Yea, its, its... And after three days, no, I arrived home at around eleven o'clock midnight... next day in the morning, than came one police man, tell me you must go to the police station tomorrow afternoon. When I came to the police station the put me in the jail another time for one night. An come my mother and my father, make big fighting with them. And

my father told them: put me. And let my son go. And than the chef of this station say OK, I will send him back home.

Just like this.

It depends. There is no law, nothing. He wants to put you in the jail, he can put you. He didn't want, pay small money, maybe he will release you. It was like this. Still like that! In Syria. Still, up to the revolution, still like that. And now it is more worst. Just if you pass the road, police take you, you don't pay money, they will leave you in the jail for... And now it is more worst than before.

1.

And now the second question, which is the lowest moment. And you were just talking about it. When you felt the biggest anger and fear and sadness.. Could you think of something specific from this time?

Yes.. it was a... When they put us in this room and stop beat us every day, (they can take us two, three times and than beat and send us back to the room.) After two, three months it stopped. And thats situation, I talked to two, three of them, they had good education, and good culture, I told them look, if you will live like that, thats mean we'll have a lot of problems. And the police like us, to see us we have problem with each other. So, we must make like community. Or something. Organize our life here, organize the food, organize when we must sleep, when we must... And we can make activity everyday. So, we make big meeting and we start talk to each other. And I told them, look, its three cars in one cross section in the road, if they didn't have thats traffic light, they will make an accident. We are 37 people in small room, so we will make rules, we will make activities everyday, and we will organize everything, because they didn't let us to get any products to get shower or cigarette. So, we stolen cigarette from other room. A lot of people was there... And than really we organize everything. So, when they bring us the food, the food is very bad and its a small food, it is just two breads like this (Majed obkroužil svou dlaň) for all the day, small rice, small sauce.. So, we organize everything. Thats food for this group, thats food for this... And than when start our family came and visit us, they bring for us many things everytime. So, we make storage and make rule, how we can use it, to get it for more time. We don't loose food later, so everyday.. Ok, today we'll eat this, today we'll use this... so, really we... That was really big experience. Let the people in 24 hour, they have full time to do many things. We discussed everything everyday. We make everything about: one day we'll make about the flower, tell me, about the flower. One day we'll make about the tree, one day we'll make about the birds...

And you were talking about it.

Yea, discuss... a flower is good (smích), what flower is good, tell me, explain for me. – Details. To spend more time with discussing. So the people, when they start discussing, start talk, they move from their inside many things. So, later we start talking about his girlfriend, about his relationship between his family, his father, his mother, so start the people talking. We get good connection with each other. Up to now we have connection with each other. Most of us.

So you started to be friends...

We started to be friends, we start to do something usefull. A lot of them, they didn't go to

school, so we start learn them how can write, how can speak.. English, French, spanish.

And did you have any hierarchy? Or was it just like boys in the group?

Yes, boys in the group. We didn't have boss of the group. We have like community, five, six, and every week, we change it. Even if he is young, he must be. So we share it.

And community its like the deciding persons?

Yea, they decide, today we have meeting descuss about for example for the bread, for the cigarettes. So he can decide and call us, we must respect him. Even the young one.

And was it working?

It works very good. Because one year and half, you don't believe, 24 hour. Baccuse you didn't have anything. So everyday morning we stand up all of us, after we washing, go to toilet and finish, before we get our breakfast, we singing some songs, we do something... Because all of us is Palestinian. So, we song palestinian songs, traditional songs, something like that. Together. And many times the police came and beat us, because we are singing. And than we get our breakfast, and than we have another activity, that some people wast the dishes, other people clean the area, the rooms, other people clean the bathroom. We make it really as a community, everything in rules. And if you do something wrong, for example, the community give you three days you must wash all the dishes.

Aha... So, and you were here, all the same guys, all the year and half?

Yes.

And are you in contact with some of them?

A lot of them. Most of them I have contact with.

And they are spread around the world now?

Some of them still there in syria, some of them in Europe.. some of them work in Dubai, or Saudi Arabia. Even lot of us help each other after we go out, he didn't find job, we help him, thats didn't find the school, we help him to University, something like that, so... And even the our area, all the families support each other. Who has his son in the jail, other family support my family. And when I came out, for example, the family came and support me. If you need this things, if you need money to go to University, anything you need, we can help you. It was good. For all of us it was big experience.

Wow... so, lets move on to the third question. When you look back to your life, if you can see some important changes. For example, your life was going this direction, however, than something happend and than it was going another direction. Do you understand me now..?

When I get my son.

And it was in the... so, tell me something about it.)

I had relation ship with my wife for five years, and than we get engaged and than we get married after three years. So, we have eight years together and than... We start as a friends and it grow up. And than, after we get married, after three years, my wife was pregnant and I like to get daughter, but our god give me son. And still about six months, everytime I saw him I started crying. I don't believe, that its my son. (smích) so... It changed everything. At thats time I stopped eighty percent smoking, I stopped many things doing. I stopped spend

more time with the friends, just I want to spend with my son, with my wife. Most of the time. And me and my wife make it as a project for us, so when he has something like one year, he was speaking more than forty, forty five words of english. Meaning. What that mean, tell him in arabic, he can say it in english. And he start talking when he has something like eleven months, he start speak full sentences. It is not something, because the doctor told me, it is not usuall, one child making full sentences, usefull sentences, in thats time. So and he grew up, now he is twenty four and he has master engineer.

And is he here?

No, in Portugal.

A.. Lisabon?

Yes.

I was there like two months ago and I just loved it.

Ou... Why didn't tell me?

We didn't know each other yet.))! And, so, tell me, where was it? Where was he born?

We was in Libanon, really, but in Libanon started civil war, and than we go back to Syria. Friends help us, the police bother us, so my wife, my son was born there in Syria, and than after maybe one year, we go back. When the war stopped in Libanon. And we spent all our life in Libanon. Because everytime I go visit my mother, my brothers, the police bother me. Take me to the jail and investigation and they stopped give me permission to go out, to travel... So, I tried to go every one year, two years, one time, because its not something happend normal. Because they ask me to go to the police, and than they put me there from the morning up to the twelve midnight and than tell me: go, you must come next morning, so one week, every day take me. And sometimes they make me sleep there.

And your parents...

My father died early, when I was... maybe twenty two years. Because he has schock heart, when I was in the jail. He was very angry and very upset. Thats my son, when he get born and I put something in my life to my son, to give him. And to open for him everything. So I started work hard to give him good education, even.. My reason to go to Afrika, just to give him... To find for him the money, to give him the best best best education. In the best school and the best University. And he is very good guy.) He is not very good, he is more. Because he is mechanical engineer, you know, what is mechanical? Not mechanic. It is for petrol and for water system, for... water supply, gas supply... Special engineer. It is very difficult to study engineering. And he finished it in the three years and half.

In Libanon?

Yes, in special University. American University. It is big University in middle east. Is issued for one big University in USA, I don't know the name.

And how old were you, when he was born?

I was maybe thirty two or thirty one.

And you went to Afrika when you were..?

When he was someting like nine years old. And in thats time I have my twins.) dvojčata. I

went to Afrika, when he was maybe, yeah, nine years old.

OK. And the twins stayed in Libanon.

Yea, all my family stayed in Libanon. Just I went by my self.

Ok, ok.. so you have three children?

Yes.

Ok. I like it till now.) First memory. So, everything starts somewhere.)), so if you can go as far as you can in your memory... It doesn't have to be any thing important, it could be something ordinary, but important is that its the first memory. If you can think about something?

Yea.. the first memory (smích). You don't believe, that I can remember when I was four years old or five years old. I remember the details of our house. Really. I don't know why. Now, you ask me, what I eat yesterday, I don't remember. And its difficult for me to remember your name after.. maybe after three hours. Its you know.. my memory bad. I have special memory for numbers. But not for names. Even my son. I stil call him, his name is Mohammed, I still call him for three years Mahmud.

Thats quite cool. (smích)

When I enter my house and ask where is Mahmud, who is Mahmud?? Is my son. You see I have a problem.)) So, when I was eight years old, exactly. We were living with my grand father in the same house. And I was the first son for the family. So, my grand father have special things with me. He is very strong man and ... One day, it was like holiday for arab.. for Syria, I ask him, what will you do? What you will buy for us? Today, some sweets or some desert. He told me, shut up! Your mother and your grand mother, they will make for us small desert. He like to let me sit with him every time and start drink. He smoke and drink coffee too much, and tea. – so, like around five o'clock, six o'clock afternoon, because our house was big garden, so he sit inside the garden. We put for him small blanket. And he sit under the trees.. And he told me, brink for me all my things and brink it to my room. I brink it for him and he told me: I feel tired. I can not breathe. I say, what you want, to brink for you water? And he start (sípavý nádech). And than I called my grand mother, my mother, my father he was travelling, because he worked outside. And my grand mother told me, go, go, call our neighbours, call our nephews, go! Call people! To help us. And than a lot of people came to our house, try to make for him aid or something. Than he passed. In front of me. I was holding his head. She told me, my grand mother, all the time, He talked to my mother and to my father: I hope, if I will pass away, Majed hold my head. My grand father, my mother, still talk to all, you know, a lot of peope coming.. He was very famous, my grandfather, and even in BBC they put his name and they say, today he passed. I hear it thats time, because my neighbour told me, come here, they are talking about you grandfather. In BBC. So, my mother and my father told me, thats the main thing for us that your grandfather, you hold his head, before he passed away... so that I will not forget.)

Yea, thats huge.. And what was he doing?

Nothing. He was old man, and... It is also long story about my grandfather. He was something special in Palestine, but he was very old man and he was tired, because he was refugee from Palestine to Libanon, and than from Libanon to Syria. And he miss his sons, even he miss his wife, the first wife, she pass during their way. Maybe he was more than

eighty four years old.

Aha.. And were you crying or what were you doing?

I don't remember, if I cry or don't cry, I don't know. I don't remember. But that's moment.. even the colour of the blanket, many things I still remember. It's in my memory, I will never ever forget it.

Your life is full of massive experiences.! Wow. Like really, I didn't think it will be such a rich story. Ok, so, and aren't you tired, tell me if you are tired, or is it all right to talk?

Yea, I am tired because I am running three kilometers. – I am just talking, why I would be tired.)?

Well.)) you know, those are not small things to say.

Ou.. Those are small things.. My daughters push me too much to write book about my life. You know, that's just twenty percent of my life. Twenty percent. Most of the details I..

You don't wanna tell.

No, I can tell, but it's not... It's not... Each one, it belongs to other things, so it will be long, long story. It will not finish. That's part of my grandfather belongs to other things. So I will give you short, short chapters.)

Cool, ok. Great. Maybe you will change your mind in the future, you know. About the book.)

No, I will.. My daughter, really, she like... Because when she was five years old, start write stories. You know, child story, she write it like this. And I keep it up to now with me. Because she it for me to Afrika, oh dad, you need something to read to spend your time. So I will write for you stories, which you can read during the day, so she told me now. Because she is going to study something about movie, yeah, she told me I will write for you the book. I say ok, when you have time, tell me, I will start with you. Sometimes, when I travel with them by my car in Libanon for two three hours, I start tell them about my life, my history. Everytime I give them something. And than they told me, no, stop, you must write it down. I say, it need long time. And I told my daughter she must find the name or the book, if she wants me to write.

Majed's one thousand stories.)So, important memory from childhood. And childhood, if we can take it from your birth to your thirteen years. And if you can think about something, it doesn't have to be important, or huge, but it has some strange colours in your memory, you know... It is vivid and stucked and you can easily recall it.

Yes.. it was when I was six years old, before we live with the grandfather and our uncles in the same house, we were living with other family. We share one house together. Because my father was driver, he has track, so he travel to Iraq, to Saudi, to Dubai. And that's time the road is not like now. Take sometimes two months, three months outside home. And I was young and my mother was young. So he talked to his friend, his closed friend to him, and they rent one house, big house, and they separate it, but they make access between each other to let my mother and the mother of the other family stay together all time. We spent with them about seven years. Before I was born, my father started with them. And than, when I have six years old, we separate like... So, so, so. That's family, you don't believe. Up to now we have connection with them. All. The mother, the daughters and the sons. And we are very close to each other. They can not do anything without asking us, we can

not do anything without asking them. And usually, before my mother pass, when I talk to my mother, I must talk to them. In the same time. If I talk to my sister, I must talk to one of the daughters of them. And most of them now, because of the war in Syria, all of them go many places, but we are still in touch with each other. That's house, I talk to one of them, she is very close to us, one daughter of the family, she is now more than sixty five years old, and I told her, I will tell you details. In our house, where we live with each other before, if you know this details, I will pay for you five hundred euro. If you didn't know, you would must pay for me two hundred euro. And I told her exactly where were the trees, where were this things... Yes, that's true! I say yes, I can not remove it from my mind, because we spent very nice time with them. Never ever my mother and the mother of them make any problem. All the time share the food, share everything together, even me and them. If they came visit me in my room and she feel tired, she can sleep or he can sleep, if I feel tired, I can sleep there... There is no problem, that means it's our house. So, it's not that's our kitchen... And really up to now, we have special things. We believe they are more close to us, more than our uncles... You know, in our culture, if somebody want to marry my sister, or my brother want to marry any woman, the family must visit each other, and ask them, we need your **permission** to get married. It's our culture like that. So, they can not give them or we can not give any other family answer, before we ask each other about this guy or this girl. What you think about her? Is good? Maybe no, so, if they say maybe, my mother, she can not give him answer. I live more than twelve years in that compounds. It's community. Is not closed, there is no fence, no nothing. It is open. The United Nation take this land, pay money, and let the palestinian refugee build their houses. So they give for each family one piece of land, you can build your house. That's before fifty years, sixty years. They organize it like same road, straight road, organize everything. Ok, here we make garden, here we make... The people, not the government or city hall, no, the people themselves! Ok, this one, we must make here small road, here something... And the people share each other. Even in 1967 we never eat just one type of food every day. My mother cooking and my grand mother cooking, and than they send for our neighbours, small food and they send for us also, so every day we can find three type of food. You know, and in the holiday, for example Christmass or muslim holidays, festival, they make cake, they make many sweet things, but how they make it. They share in one place all of them and start making together. And than divided for for each family.

Hmm... Even Samar told me that in Syria people live much more close to each other, than here. Because here you have nothing like this. You are family, you have your own flat... You are not in such a connection with another neighbours.

Yes... in our culture, they say: your house, and its cycle, seven, seven, seven in all directions, seven neighbours, you must help them, you must protect them, you must even... If sometimes you pass in front of one house and the window is open, and the lady or one daughter is naked, you must bring blanket and close it for them, so nobody can saw. Maybe she didn't mention that the door... So you must protect them. And if you like one of the girls, you can not talk to her direct. You must talk to her family and take permission to talk to her. That's like some more respects. So, they say, in our culture, the neighbours are more important than your family. Because your family is living in another village, or another city. But that's your neighbours every day, you can saw him and share with him everything. And any problem happened for him or for you, you must support them. They must support you. So, we have it this things. Here I tried, when I get my flat, you didn't visit me in my flat? No... We'll do it.) First day, I bring small flowers, small plant, and I: Hello, I am new

here, we rent this house, my name is Majed, my wife, my daughters... just we want to tell you hello. And we are new here. I do my part. And later they didn't do anything for me, its their problem, its not my problem, no.

... We are not used to it. We are cold as the weather.)

Its ok. But... I do my part. And the rest... yea. So, nobody can blame me later. So I will do my part and the rest is the people problem, its not my problem. That is my life and thats for my daughter. Do your things, do it good, do it right and than... leave it. I can not pass one neighbour without say dobrý den, so its normal. Maybe here in the city... Usually in big city, there is not too big connection with people. But I saw here in the vilages people support each other. I saw many villages, I saw old lady and the people start go out together and make picknick or something and in the road, the old lady, aa, give me your things, I will take it. I saw. The villages is different than big cities. The capital usually its for bussiness, nobody say hello, its bussiness and money.

And in Syria you were living in a village or city?

Its big city, it was... It was in the middle of Syria, it eas very important city. Damasques is the capital and this is the second city in Syria. But its the first destroyed city in Syria in this war. It was big big fighting and the army destroyed everything in this city. And most of the people are outside the city. Because that happend before three years and half. **Destroied** everything. Everything. There is one area belong to the government, its protected, and the rest... In the city there are areas like Prague 1, still the road stone, black stone, its before maybe more than seven or eight hundred years. And the castel... Many things. Destroied everything.

So, your family is away from the city?

I have just one brother, and have the youngest one, the police government kidnapped him before three years and we didn't know anything about him. We don't know if he is still alive, or... we tried many things, we pay a lot of money, but we didn't get any answer...

I don't know, what to say... how to tell you I am sorry.

You will have bad dream tonight.) I will give you advice today, drink, three four beers and to sleep without any bad dream. I am thinking now, with you to go down and buy cigarettes... Is it good? Because we need it now, right?

So, if you can think about something specific from the age of thirteen to seventeen? Like one concrete memory? And again, it can be good or bad, negative, positive, important, unimportant, bt strange somehow.

It was in our school. Elementary school. We have, most of our teachers doesn't have good education, most of them they have just only highschool education. Because in thats time there is not to much people have good education. Special for Palestine, because most of them go out from Palestine, so the family have to arrange them self and organize their life, start send out their child to the schools. Take long time, so, most important teacher was a ... because we are studying through United Nation schools, it called UN schools, and they give us in the morning normal courses, fysic, everything, and in the afternoon they give us training like two hours, so we can make something usefull to our family. Like something used in the house. You need to use it. So they teach us how we can weld, you know wild? Thats with the machine zzzzz... for iron work, for steel work, so we can make something

like small spoon. And we have for design work. They let you know how you make design for small house... like architect, but its not architect. You can make three dimension, perspective, for houses, for garden for something and the last one it was carpenter shop. So you can make by wood. They offer for you all the material, and there is big factory there, big ... its like big area they have a lot of equipments... the teacher of this area, carbenter, he was very very interesting man. Because we are... the old people, he was fourty year or thirty five years, they have tragic history. When they go out from Palestine and they walk sometimes for one month with child and... there is no car, any transportation and than sleep in many places and the people sometimes help them and up to find house or some places. So thats man he say I want to help the young, like our age, ten years, twelve years, to do something in their lifes usefull. Don't loose your time just play football and in the street. So he build small club, we can go there, play ping pong, thats table tennis. He was studying history, but he has smething special about the wood work. So, this man really up to now I can not forget him. Because he was all the time he didn't like us to do something is not perfect. So, when I want to use any equipments to cut wood, that chain you cut wood, he say, you can not make it like (kvíkavej zvuk), no. You must make it as a symphony! The wood is something special, so if you cut it, cut it with nice system, nice form. And this man, every week, he make for us trip by walking. For six hours sometimes. Get our small food, and than he chose the way, and when he started walking, he would not stop, after two hours. So many times, he go far away and we are far away behind him.) and than he wait for us and say.. bother us, much shouting, but his heart is very very clean, very kind, he like, you now. That man is very strong, and want to push you to do everything perfect.

But with love.

Thats it. But his love is not in his mouth, his love is inside his heart. You get it? So that man... because he tried for all young people, age between ten up to eighteen, twenty years old. The security police came to him and beat him too much and bother him, and... because he make something usefull, so the police didn't like him to do something like that. And somebody told me, I didn't saw it, the officer he push him on the ground and he put his foot on top of his head and he say I will still my shoe on your head if you do something like that. Stop do it. Stop help young people, don't do it any more. So, that teacher in the morning, in the school, and his wife brink him the food and he go direct to the club. Invite the young people to go to his club. Not go to the street, fight each other, or do something bad, so they can play there, teach them many things, inside this club, in his own club, and than police came close it for him and say no more. Hah... It was big experience with him, that man, because really really, everyday he teach us something usefull, everything. Up to now I have a lot of experience, how to fix many things in my house, because he learn us how to do many things.

And how do you understand those represive movements from the police?

A lot of people like him, a lot, but the police didn't like them, so they stop them.

Because they could be powerfull or because they can have any influence?..

Yea, the police tell direct: we didn't like to see more than two guys or two man talking with each other. More than that, it will be problem. They say if start three people talking, they start against the government, against the police, so they didn't like the group comming together like this. So, we have a lot of like this teacher but it was the teacher most famous for us, because maybe three generatios he learned them and now every year the people

make for him (because he pass maybe ten years or something like that), every year in this time the people make like small memory for him... The same thing happend to lot people, not only to him. A lot of people... but in our area he was the famous one, he do the best. And he say, even the police bother me, put in your mind, my heart is with you. So, you can come one by one to my house, I can learn you something special, so don't come as a group. He say I will not stop. It was our life like this. Get it as it is.

Get it as it is, yes... alright, and the adulthood. So, its from twenty one till now. If you can think about something essential? Some basic moment..

As I told you, when I was lie 23, almost last year in the University, my father passed. And I have one brother, that the police kidnapped him, he was only one year old.. I have most of my brothers youngest, still in school, and I started work and work hard to support my family, my mother and my brothers and usually in summer time I never get holiday, when I finish school twelve o'clock afternoon, I started job in restaurant, many places. And even when I was studying, I work every week three days in the night, because they... In thats time, I never put in my mind I will get any girlfriend or.. I just want to make my life to my family, to my brothers. And really most of my brothers, they got good education, finish high school and some of the study in University and I support my second brother, who is the second one, because i am the biggest... The first one. The second one I support him to get married and I support my sister to get married also before I get married. And start my family and say no, you must get married and we need to see your daughter something like that. And than I met my wife. And she is good lady, she has good culture, her mind is open, I like her. – thats experience give me a lot of responsibility about how I can take care of families. Even for my mother. She didn't have big experience before, we are seven, brothers and sisters, it is not small family. You know in thats time, even here in Europe you got four, five, six sometimes in thats time, it was like this before. And really I do good and up to now my brothers and my sisters they say, we must support you, its now our time to support you. You must take rest, I say no, I can not stay without work, without job. But for me, it was very bad moment, when my father passed I was in Libanon, I can not come to my family, to stay with them. So, I didn't saw my father... Up to now its still in my mind. I didn't saw my father... I can go, it is by car just two hours, but because of the police, my family told me please don't come, you will have big problem. Up to now I can not start my day without some pray to my father. Every morning. I must do it, I can not do anythings. And I say, please, God, thats my father, but don't do it with my mother. But it happend to my mother also. My mother passed, I cannot go there because of the police and the war start and start the police looking after many people, so also my mother... I was with her before one month, I spent with her, me and my brother, he is living with her we spent with her about two three months. We make everything, she was very sick. So we give her shower, we feet her, we sleep with her, do everything, because my sister was tired, help her too much. We say its our turn, but when I travelled with my brother, after one month she passed, me and him we can not... That moment wasn't easy for... Because its... If you saw him last time, I support a lot of people, when they somebody passed from their family. But I can not do it to my father to my mother. It was hard. Thats still in my memory. But... (Majedovi pak tekly slzy) my God help me, ... My God help me every week every two weeks I can see them in my dream. And I can talk to them.

Really?)

Yea, every two weeks. And they speak to me many times in my dream. It make for me

more easy. Because I had good relationship with my father, sit with each other many times, two three hours talking about everything, even his bad things he was talking to me about it. We were like friends and when he pass, still with my mother all the time, find how we do for our brothers, for ... so I shared with my mother everything, she share me everything... I had spacial connection with my mother, with my father. And a lot of time, before my father passed, he start to give me responsibility of our family. Take money, go, buy this.. bring this, when I was young, when I was nine years old, ten years old.. He send me to many places far away, go, bring. And if I don't bring it good: you don't bring it good! Why?!! You know this things.. Everyday I must say something for them. Pray for them. It helps me too much. This memory, its not easy. You know, I support more than one hundred family, when their father passed and stayed with them, help them... I say maybe I do something wrong, thats God punnished me, don't let me saw my father, my mother... But, its ok. Even I can not look to their photos. Cause I say, their faces still in my memory. I don't want to change it with thats photo. Its block. Its comming in hard copy. I still see them when they are laughing, when they are talking to me.. Thats why I don't put photo of them in my house. I feel its better they are still in my memory.

Of course...

My father last minute still ask about me. I want to see Majed... so... last minute he spend talking about me. Even I believe, that my life is comming like this. Thats our neighbours, he was against the government in Syria, and still the police came, every two three weeks they put him in the jail. So the family were afraid to send for him food. They give me the food and send me to the jail, visit him and give him the food. When I was six years! I say for many people, my life I like it. Even if its hard, I like it, but give me a lot of experience, to make connection with the people, how make connection with the people, because its not easy to let the people except you. Its not easy to talk to the people for the first time and they except you. That thing is not easy. So, I have big advanture, when I met anyone, lady or man for the first time, I have big question how I will let him to except me. He will not forget me. You understand? Many experience, when I go to the shop, I talk to him and start talk to him before I buy anything, because later I will see. OK, I will make special price for you and... this one is good, this is not... Take this, not take that. It give me a lot of experience. I try to use it to my so and to my daughters. My daughters never ever call me papa. No, they call me Majed, Majuda, ... More than friends.

Ok.. so, the last episode is totally open. If there is something, what shouldn't be forgotten. Just some memory from any season, any kind of memory... It can be just small peace of memory, small peace of some moment, which is somehow significant?

Yea, it happend in the ast ear, when I went to Denmark. Because most of my family were living in Denmark, I tried to get as well there and they didn't accept me, because I am under Dublin agreement. When I arrived there, we arrived around four o'clock afternoon, they give us the house, the key, everything, we arrange everything, seven o'clock I went to the office I told them I am ready with my son and my daughters with my wife to help you. Anything we can help you, translate for you, any job you want. Even we can collect rubbish, but don't let me sit without do anything. And I start make connection with the people. They didn't except it. What? You arrive before three four hours and start ask for job to help us or something like that. And than the people saw me and my wife my son, my daughters help and we do many things for them. And than the people there, we get them as a friends. I am still in contact with them up to now and they still ask about me and they

still... And then we move to another camp, north of Denmark, and really I met there very nice stuff. Very nice stuff there. And also, we arrive afternoon and then I came to the office next day morning early I told them: find anything for me to do it every day, I can not stay without do anythings. What? I say yes. You arrived yesterday, yes, I start with them, they give me many things to do. And I do many things for them and they put me the... I don't know how to say it. They make consult for the refugee camp, from the refugee people, and we make as a community, and they put me the chef of this community. After one week, and I have good connection with the president of the city hall, and the president of the city and the community of the city and start coordination between the camps and them... And I help a lot and really I have good relationship with them. And I am still in touch with them, all of them. When they send us back to Czech Republic, I came by my self, I can go to the court in Denmark. And I can make many things... Maybe need seven months I got residence there or they can give me positive decision, but I told them no, I will go back to... Because before five years I was planning to move to Czech Republic. I want to make some job here or bussiness and we came direct. Say, please, send me quickly, I don't want to loose more time, I want to go there. Other reason, my daughters loose one year without school, so i don't want them to loose another year. And through our friends in Denmark, they call friends here. Lars, the boss of the camp, the manager of the camp, one lady call him DiDI, call Iva Roze, Cathrine, ... And this two ladies direct call us. And really, thats two ladies here, they hold us and they make our life very very easy in the Ptague. It is not easy for you to move to new city, don't know anything. And they open for us a lot of relationship with many families, many friends, czech friends or foreign friends, and invite us to their house, make for us food.. They found for us thats flat, it was not easy for us to find a flat, and that two ladies, up to now, maybe they put us in their mind, we take palce in their minds maybe thirty or fourty percent, because all the time still thinking, what they can do for us. To make our life more easy. So they start talking with the company, to find for me job in my career. As architect. Even now. If I know you now, through Iva and Cathrina... If I know Martin, Mikuláš, all this people now, through them. And I have a lot of connection, with a lot of people. And sometimes I don't know how can accept their invitations. Every week invite us many people. The main thing, when I was working in Africa, usually my road I must passed through Europe. Paris, Madrid, Frankfurt, because there is no direct flight from Africa to Libanon. So, I passed Paris, Madrid, Frankfurt, many cities... I found here something special. I didn't see it in other cities in Europe. Here, many times, old lady, seventy, seventy five years old, saw me like today, in the train station, looking in the map, I am confused, I don't find my places and the ycame to me ask me: you need help? They came to me. I didn't ask them. And many young people, fifteen, sixteen, twenty, twenty five years old, many times saw me looking for something. Ah, you need help? That never happened to me in another cities. It happend to me. I don't care for other things. This point is very important, that when some people saw you, you didn't find your way or missing something and they came to you: you need help? It is special thing in Prague, I saw... Many people told me that its... the people here... I didn't see it. Even when I was living in Kostelec nad Orlicí, it is small city, I saw a lot of people even in supermarket or somewhere, ou you need help? It depends to the people. One old lady told me, I can speak small english, so I can help you if you want, and she spend with me more than twenty minutes. And her tram passed and she didn't accept to go by her tram, she told me I will stay with you up to find your way. And start ask the other people. It happend! Look, up to now to me, I tell to everyone, one you go to one new city and find fifty percent of people bad, fifty percent is nice, that means perfect. Ok. But up to now, I really never ever met any people. Even in

Kostelec nad Orlicí, I was living in one hotel I didn't accept live in the camp. The condition in the camp...

Majed, do you know the saying, that the things you are putting in the space, the things are returning to you.)) so, maybe its a bit like that the person you are, those persons are going to you. If you are open hearded, than maybe you are supposed to meet open hearded people...

Maybe. Maybe yes... It is something like that. But for me, never ever I met here in... everywhere, anywhere, never ever meet no one not being normal. You don't ask all the people be nice, because everyone he has his problem, many things in his mind. So dont ask him, when he say dobrý den, he must smile and tell you dobrý den. Maybe has big problem, is sick... But for me, as I told you before, I do my part, and if ten people I told them dobrý den, five peope say dobrý den and other didn't say anything, is ok for me. Is very good. Is perfect.

So, we went through like two thirds or something like that... I feel like... Would you have time for one more session?

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Now, I would like to ask you about the possible developement of the future. Of course, you don't know, what will happen, but you can have some visions or dreams or plans, something like this... So, firstly, if you can tell me your something about your positive future, if you could describe the... If things happend in the way you want it, how would it look like? Its not easy, I know..

No, no, its easy for me. My life is clear and straight. So, I don't have to think too much. The first, most important for my life is the education for my child. That is the most. Everything I planning, just the main thing, most important consider in this planning is the education. So, if I work hard to collect money, I don't want to collect money. I like just collect money to support my child, and let them continue their education. What I planning, I really... I know I need to study czech language hard to find the job, because any job in any place... You must speak the local language. So, I am looking for the job. And I planning to make my own job. That mean maybe just small shop or small restaurant, fast restaurant, that thay call hummus, something like that. It is not big restaurant, its just special... My planning, I want to find the way, how can I let my daughters choose any University they like. That plan is comming... When I get czech language, its easy for me to put it clear or a... Fix my planning. Now my planning is variable. Because nothing... I can nit do many things, even my own job, I need local... The things thats I thinking about it if I can do or I can make my planning... Just, if czech republic, government I mean, usually this part I am not talking about the people, about the government, if will give us like some document, like citizen, normal citizen. Because every night is comming to my head, to my mind, thats I was born as a refugee, and I live all my life as a refugee and all the documents is comming like... All the documents in title: refugee, refugee... I don't want this one comming to my child, to my son, to my daughters. I want them to continue like normal citizen in rest of their life. Because thats one caused for me a lot of things. Even when i want to work or when I want to travell... Its not easy. Travel documents for refugee... Up to here we still have it. Up to here they didn't say we are citizen or... I hope one day I can have it. Maybe me no, but I hope thats my son, my daughters can get it and finish that part of bad side of our lifes. Like still as a refugee all your life. And the main question for me is how.. Because

ninety percent of the documents they even in Czech Republic, in other countries, they say we are without country. You know what it mean? When they say from where is without country. They say that man he didn't has country. He didn't belong to any country. That what they say about us, specially about us, Palestinian people, who are refugees in another country. They say we are without country. And I ask many. If you write without country, from where I came? From the space or from the heaven or some sky?... I don't know. They still say it. If you still say it, from where I came? Tell me. Even if I am from Afrika, from the jungle, I belong for one country.

And that is Syria?

Yes... We are talking about Palestinian refugee, that they leave their country and make us a refugee in other countries... Our documents still say up to now, we are without country. Or we didn't belong to any country. They didn't say Palestinian refugee in Syria, they say without country. Without country. He didn't belong to any country. Here there is name for it. Bez...

Státní příslušnosti?

Yes, something like that.

And that's what make it difficult.

Of course. Anywhere any embassy, any company you want to go, when they saw, oh, what is that? What it mean? They ask, because its not normal to say... I am human, I am living in this earth! And I didn't belong for any place?.. Its not normal. From where I came?. I hope that's also in my planning to find way maybe I will do something that's... I don't want to my self, I want it to my daughters, my son. Because I almost, I have my life. Its ok for me, but for my child, its really important for them. Didn't feel like they don't belong to anywhere.

And how long do you have to live in some country, for example Czech Republic, to get the citizenship?

I didn't think so, I didn't think they will accept it. It need to go for many things and to the chords and I don't know.. I don't know, really, up to now I didn't think about it. Because I want to fix the things of my son and than I will think about any things. Because my son up to now he didn't have any documents. In Portugal. So, that's why I will travel there and I will check.

And if you can think about three, five years in the future... Do you have any picture of it?...

Of course, I want to find job, to find my own job there. I don't like to be retired, even here in Czech Republic I don't have any support from the government. But... My planning just I want to be here like... that's the main things for me to find way to get job or to open my own job, to find good education in any way to my daughters, because my son has already finished. And to fix our documents to be normal citizen somewhere or anywhere anytime so...

And do you feel like staying here?

Yes, I will stay in Czech Republic, I will not move from here, I am ok and I like this special Prague, I like it too much and the people is really nice with us so we are happy here, we are good here.

Ok.) and now the other side, the negative future... Its a bit strange question as it seems to me, but like if you could describe the negative visions. You hope that the things won't happen. The future you don't want. If you have some picture of it in your mind?

... the main things as I told you before, that i want to be normal citizen anywhere. In my country, anywhere, but I want to live few years in my life like a normal citizen. And bring this things to my family, especiall to my son and my daughters, be a normal citizen, not stay as a refugee without belong to any countries. The other thing, I hope in any way of any... In any a... That the war in the world stop. The worst things thats we still a... The people still fighting each other for nothing. Because I believe that most of the war in the world or the people fighting each other, its just to collect money. Its not for something else. Its to make the life better, or not to make. Just the people, the company or any or... they just want to find ways to let the people fighting each other to make money. And I believe there is no one when he pass he will take one crown with him, when he pass. So, everyone when he pass, he will leave everything, so... I believe that the war stop and I believe somewhere we can live in peace together and accept each other, the most worse things I am thinking in few years more, it not, look... It will be our life living without any war more. I believe there is more war, bwcause its something for economy, for money, so I have bad view about the future, about this things. It will not stop. So, I am worried about my child, about the other childs, because I care for the old people, but a... I am worried about the future of the childs in this earth. Its comming maybe more bad for them, everything. So, thats I hope stop all of this things , but also I have in other side, I have bad bad view for the future, that it will not be ok for our childs.

When you were going to Prague, no, to Denmark first, you told me... From Libanon to Denmark. Did you expect anything? Or like... In Libanon you were refugee from Syria, so you knew, how to set the life somewhere else, because you've just experienced it. So, you were going to Europe with quite realistic view how it will work? or no?...

I don't know exactly what you...

You don't know, yeah... We'll come to it in another...

No, no, tell me about this point, its important.

Ok, for example, if I'd go somewhere, cause in my country is war and everything, I think my vision of the place, where I am going, of the people, of their behaviour...

Is better than our.

Like I won't have any... You know, I wouldn't know, what to expect.

Thats really good question, because for me I have idea abut Europe, exactly about Europe. A... Maybe I can try to go to USA, but I choose Europe. Because Europe they have back-up of culture, education and big history, and I believe that people here they are they have open mind. Because I met a lot of european people in my job, and I work with them more than three four years, sometimes five years and ten years in Afrika. And I am still n touch with them and we discuss everything.. I believe european people that thay have open mind more than people in USA or in Canada... Yes, I believe that, because I saw that. The people they accept the other people, if you talk to them in the same way they are talking to you. So, I can live anywhere in Europe, anywhere, and I believe Germany is not better than Czech Republic, or Sweden or any place. Is not better than Hungary or Bulgaria. It depends

to my self. If I try to find good life, I will find this life. And if I want to find good friends, and good people to support me, I can find it. But if I want just come here and still watch the people, oh, look, what he... Its not work. You must do. You must do your part and do it hard, let the people accept you and let the people... Because I can not blame Europe and population in Europe, because they have really or they do many things for the other people to help them. Especially for the refugee this five or three years. And thats before also. A lot of people came to Europe and they are living now as a normal people. And they can do anything, .. In Europe there is rules and there is law. So, nobody can do anything wrong with you, because he know there is rule, there is law, there is govvrnment, there is everything is under control, so...

So, you can feel safe.

Yes, I can feel safe, thats the main thing for me. That if the police call me, I know they can not do anything wrong with me, if I didn't do something wrong. So, its easy to live here in Europe, and easy to thing that if you came to Europe, you will have first peace and you can if you want to do something to get good education and good job or to start a new life, you can do it. But if you just want to stay in your house and waiting for the government support, nothing change. Its something in Europe, I believe you can not find it in any country outside of Europe.

And if you for example compare the USA and Europe?

Yes, I prefer Europe.

Cause you think that we are more open?

More open and here the culture and the education has very long history and America is a new country, it has not very long back-up history.

I am thinking about that... In Prague, there is quite a ig group of people, who are against refugees. Have you heard about them? And have you heard about Klinika?.. Yes, I have many friends there and when we were in Drahonice two weeks ago, there was the huge demonstration. And I was thinking... For you it is different maybe, because you are in Prague, you met Iva, and people who are now your friends. But I thought about that if the man in Drahonice saw the photos of demonstration, what would they think? Like I am in some country, I am locked up in a jail and outside of the jail thousands of people are doing demonstration against reugees...

It is normal. Because even in my country, anywhere, there is some people can accept this things, other people no. It is normal, if its fifty percent of people accept this and the rest they didn't accept, its ok. Its ok, its normal. The life is comming like this. You can not say to all people be the same what you think about their life, about the refugee or any matters... So, it will be ok. Because the life there is two parts. You can not feel you are happy if you didn't feel before you a re sad. Because all your time if you feel you are happy, its normal for you, so sometimes it must come. But to your life to be sad, because later if you find something happy in your life you feel it good. Thats it. Thats it. But I believe, that we must still talk to each other. Not to do it like fighting each other, no, we must talk. I still talk to you, you can uderstand me or you can let me understand you or you can accept my idea or you didn't accept it. But if we still talk to each other we can get our points and we can find something to share it together. Ok, you don't like refugee, its your oppinion. He have something, maybe one of refugee make with him some problem or bother him or

something, so he has something against the refugees. And you know, the culture of the people and the education is different its not same. So, maybe somebody start talk to him, refugee is coming to destroy our country and ... and he put it in his mind, so, I am not against them. And many times I shake their hand I say told them thank you. If even say I am against you. Because I must respect his oppinion. As I want to ask him to respect my oppinion. Maybe its something like that, but don't like to comming this things with fighting or... Thats connect between each other by hands or help themselves in this things. Its better to still talking to each other. To find some way.

For me sometimes its a bit... I am a bit afraid. Because just like after the demonstration the nazi people (I think you've heard about it, because it was quite a big issue), about thirty of them come to Klinika and they were throwing stons or something like this on my friends there.. And than the police came of course and say, come on.. But I was just like...

You must feel. Thats normal. Thats when some people do something like that you feel you are afraid or you are scared. But its... because I know the police must stop that. Must stop it and stop the people who want to heard other people. They must stop them. They can talk to each other, they can make anything, but with good way, not with thats forest way or something like that. But its happend anywhere. Even I told you in... I will be honest with you, even if you live in muslim area and all of them is muslim and sometimes for something, its not too much important fighting each other. Its normal, because some people they didn't have open mind or good culture. Education is not do many things, but the culture is very important. So, they like to use their hand, they didn't like to use their mind. So.. its normal, its not here only, anywhere anyplace, in germany, in Sweden, in Denmark, everywhere, in USA, a lot of places. One day in Afrika, he is african man and he has good power there and I know he didn't like me. I am living in front of his house. In Afrika its hot too much there and he still open his window and he has daughters and something and my house is in front of him in the same level, but any time I want to go out from my house, its in the same direction of my face. So I face them. I don't like to look for private inside the houses of the people or ladies, anyone. But this man I know he didn't like me. And he can talk to me bad and I say ok, I am sorry. And one lady saw me there and she start talk to him, she told him its not his problem, why your daughter didn't close the window and get shower when want to change their clothes and... he was very bad with me. Very very bad, and he start to beat me or something. And next day I pass in front of him and I told him good morning. And afternoon when I saw him, oh, good afternon. Good morning, good afternoon. And one day I saw him he has problem with the car and I came and I help him to start his car, he need to go to job. In afternoon he send his son and told him: tell him to come to my house, I invite him to drink something with us. And I pass there and I saw that lady she tolked to him when he has fighting with me. And he told me, I bother you too much and I tried many time to beat you, to do many problem for you, but you still tell me hello and good morning. I say yes. And thats man he say I can not believe. I cannot put my eyes in your eyes I can not look at your face, because I am really do something very bad, very mad, you let me feel very bad. And I want to cry, please, excuse me, ... I apologize. I say no, its ok. And up to now we still best friend, he is best friend for me. And he say why you still tell me good morning and I hate you at thats time, I say thats it. Thats my father, my mother told me. Say hello. Maybe half of the problem it will fix by itself, if you say hello. In our culture we must say salám alejkum. You don't know, what it mean, no? Salám, that means peace. That I give you peace. And I say salám alejkum that mean „peace for you“. That mean I start with yu with peace. So any problem do it in this way. Its not like

just hello, hello, no. Salám that means peace. I give you the chance to be in peace with me, it will make half of the problem. My father told me if you say salám alejkum, that mean you must believe that fifty percent of the problem it will be solved.

And in response you say alejkum salám?

Yea, anything. You can say anything. I want to tell you something. Its... most of our things in Islam and in Koran, even that hijab, we get it from cristian people. Absolutly. One hundred percent we get it. That hijab, the first... You know Ibrahim? Ibrahim he started with this... but who make up-date for that hijab is our, we must call our lady. Maria. Mary. Look in the church. You can find any picture for our lady Mary without that hijab? No. You can not find. The mother of Jesus Christ, she give it to us and we get it from her. We didn't make any up-date, because the same things she do it if you want to check the original hijab for islam its the same which saint Mary do before. So, we didn't create anything. And in Koran, there is a lot of... many things give it to part of Maria, or saint Maria, or our lady Maria, and Jesus. Our lord Jesus. I can not say just Mary, we must say our lady. And I can not say Jesus, in islam you cannot say Jesus, just Jesus, no. You must say our lord or our master. If you want to say you have to say our master and than you say Jesus. Yeah. And in islam if you didn't believe there is Jesus and there is Ibrahim, and all God who send it before, you will not be muslim. You must believe in all of this to be muslim. Yes. I believe something. The God send for the people the same rules, but in different way and in mayn language. In different language. Because who as liing before three thousand or one thousand or two thousand year, he is not the same people who was living before three thousand year. Or who not, the same people who living before one thousand year. Because now every ten year many things change. My daughter now, she know many things I didn't know about it. My daugter, sixteen years old. Because we didn't have computer when we are studying. We didn't have google. Facebook, anything of this. So when I want to send letter or my father was working outside of our country, he want to send money or letter, it need three months to reach to our... There is nothing like that. Now in just one, less than one second. Do it like this, you can talk with Japan. Try? So the God send everything same. But send it in many way. Because before three thousand year maybe the people they didn't accept hijab, so he send it to Abraham and develop it to our lady Mary. Because maybe the people didn't accept it before long time. He send it in this way. Thats I believe nobody can tell me that God send different things for the other people. He send same things, but in different way. But. Sorry there is up-dating, now you are not like your mother. Even if you have one sister, and there is five years between you and her, there is many things different between your mind, your think, technology, many things its change. When I was young, nobody can believe in that time, that somebody will go to the moon. Or there is something you can talk direct with other one in less than one second. Far away. Now you can talk face to face, make interview by skype, by many things and every one year maybe every five years change everything. So, I believe the ... if you say Jewish or Cristian or Islam, God send the same rules for them but in diffent way, different time, different places... So, he change it. In our Koran there is a lot of part our book, just talking about Jesus, about Abraham, about many and we cannot... if the young lady still virgin, we say you are, we call it like our lady Mary, because we believe our lady Mary still virgin. The God send his word and she get pregnant, we believe that. There is somethng dfferent between this and this, I don't know why, I don't have any idea about it, because I didn't make research, why its here different, not same in Koran and cristian book or other books.

So, if I understand it, God send us different things to different places and to different ages and that why we have three main religions and different beliefs.

Yea, yea, because you by yourself, you can talk to the people in one far away village, like the people in Prague, you cannot talk to them in the same way. Ok, and you cannot talk to your grandmother as you talk to your mother, because she is very old and she didn't understand what is going now like technology and this things. But maybe your mother have idea about it. So, you cannot talk to the people who live before before twenty years in the same way, you cannot teach them in the same way. In our time, in Europe even, the teacher all the time he has piece of the stick. To beat the students. Now he not use it. You understand, the God is God, nobody can say there is two, one before three thousand year and now. No, the God is one. I cannot believe the God control aaaaal this things in our life. Start from your bdy, start from that small insect up to the space, everything. And he cannot change, but he want to sen it in many wy to let the people accept it , what he want to tell them, to teach them. Because the traffic rules in the roads its not the same traffic rules now, it was before thirty years something, now it change. Now you have sign to speed, over speed, everything change, Thats the life, you create yourself, because you need it. So create many things because you need it. Thats why, the food wasnt the same food before thirty years and wasnt the same education, everything change, but the God he cannot send for you now as he send it before one thousand or two thousand year. If he want to send for you now, he want to send it in other way. In new way. If I can give you this point exactly, I want to go back to one point. That God send for all of us the same things, but in different way and different language and different rules, not I mena different different rules, but in different way to let you accept the rules. Maybe in time of Abraham, the God he cannot say don't frink too much alkohol. But in time of our lord Jesus, they say small of alkohol make you happy or make you, right? But in time Abraham, I don't know, I dont have any idea, he cannot say stop alkohol. Its comming development of this. I don='t know if you get if you understand me, what I want to say.

Yea, I am trying to.. yea.)

Because look for yourself. You cant believe that... for example your father, and you can ask your father or your mother, that before thirty years when he want travel from your village up to Prague it was big issue for his family, oh, he will travel from there to there, it was around maybe four hours... ok, and I saw it. Sometimes people want to travel from this city to other city, the family start crying oh, he will travel. Now, ha, like this, you go to your mother, ok, tomorrow I am going to Japan. She believe that after seven hours or ten hours you will be in Japan, so you cannot tell to your grandmother I can travel from now here to Japan, in sevenhours, she will not accept it. Oh, like this? And look my mother, now I am talking to one friend in Janoan, yea ', I saw him and I talk to him direct. Its not easy for her to accept that you are talking direct to someone far far away. Thats why I believe the God send everything same. I dont have big research, what is different, the difference is comming between many regions. But I believe something, that my father is my father. I cannot say I can have two fathers. My mother is my mother, I cannot have I have two mothers. Is one mother. But the God is God and the God is something nobody can imagine, what he is look like. But who control all the things, he cannot make mistake that he send for you something and snd after that something different. Send something here small and here make it more big.... inKoran, first message send to Mohammad, nobody know about this one, first message he send its in Koran now, but first one he get it from the God, he tell him Read!

He give him order to read. He didn't tell him read Koran, or read in cristian book or Jewish book, no, he tell him read, read and he send it for him three times: read read read. Read what I create. Look for start in you body, look in your body, because your body is something special. Really if you looking in your body, how it work, its something, and still accept lord, the life, and still read up to find the truth. There is God or no God.

What I wanted to say... that if someone is saying that he believes in God, it doesn't mena that God is with him, you know what I mean a bit like... I felt like, not every people who believes in God, have soe relationship with God.

Yes, look. I believe something. Its something. You know why I believe. When you read much, you can find the secret of the life, how God is created. It was something nobody can believe. And I am telling you. Now, if you want to find machine, just small machine to work as you eyes, you cannot. Look for the report now. They try to do many things, but they cannot let your eyes give order to your mind to let yur hand move, because that is hot, you cannot touch it. Like this!! Other things, as I told you before. I believe that people from the beggining of the life or I don't know which time, they start use what the God send for us to collect money. I believe every problem, every war, its just for money, for economy part. Its not for to make your more better or to make your life more bad. Its just to collect money. The people use this things . so you will find and thats happend in islam, I am talking about myself, I cannot go to the mosque. Because I cannot listen to the one who make speech in the mosque every week, and he talking about many things, because one day I told him, before you talk I must pray or I must believe God, believe islam, and... take, talk to the people tell to the people taht before we must pray in islam, i must wash myself. I must wash my hands, my head, my eyes, my nose, my mouth. Its not to wash. To leasrn how you be clean. And start to clean yourself, to clean your house, to clean your part in front of your house, to clean your area. And if you find some rubbish in the road, you must remove it. So, talk to the people, when the want smoke, dont throw the cigarette in the road, because other people didnt like to see cigarette. Or make smell bad. That is more important than to push him, oh you must pray you must come to the mosque... No. I must clean myself, my house, my child and than start outside clean my area, my street, ymsgarden that is close to my house and keep it clean. I cannot accept someone give order to live good just pray, you must tell them a lot of things usefull to let the people start connect with each other with small things. If you see my if I throw my cigarette in the road and I saw you get it and put it in the container, next time I will do it by my self. You know, I will respect you, because you do something for me. The people start make communications with each other in best way, start from this small things. And there is some people, in islam and he make him as imaam or as leader in islam and start take part of Koran and use it to push the people to fight because he will collect the money and he would have authority and he would be as a president or the king, has the power, so the people respect him.... And the main thing is I believe its ... first thing they do it and they use part of religions, the leader take part to let the people fight each other just to make money and to get more authority. I want to tell you. For example. A lot of people discuss this with me. That the muslim man, he can get four wives. Its not true. Its not true absolutely. The God say, in cristian part, its not easy to divorce. It need long time and many things. In islam its more difficult, and its not allowed for you to get four wives. But the people read the first part of thats matte and leave the rest. What they say? They say if you get married and start problem with your wife or the wife start problem with the husband, you must talk to your family and the husband talk to his family and maybe two family sitting with each other and start talking to find solution for

the problem. If not happen, you can ask friends to help you. If not happen you can ask the leader of the mosque or anyone you trust him. And she can ask anyone she trust him. Maybe if the other people talk to each other they can find solution for the problem. And what he say? If there is no way to solve the problem between the husband and the wife, there is possibility to saparete or to keep your wife and get another wife. But there are conditions to do that. What are the conditions? The conditions of that, if you get two wives or four wives, you must do the same things for all of them. For example, if I smile to one of them from my heart, I must smile for the other one as well exactly from my heart. And if I touch one, in any way touch it. If I want to touch it to say hello, or touch it for other things, I must do it in the same way from my heart. And if I bring anything for one of them, I must bring the same. If I spend one hour with one of them and make joking with her from my heart... I must do the same for the other.

So its not easy to have four wives.)

No, The God say in Koran nobody can do it. Because I have three child. You don't believe me, how much I love my child. My life is for my child. But I love them all in the same way. But this one eat too much, so I don't want to take care of her about the food. But the other one doesn't eat too much, so I give her more food, more things, to help her to get more healthy. Because the other one eats good. This one maybe she all the time she cannot sleep. So, I give her something special to let her sleep... But I love them all the same level. But this one, because she help us all the time, so I support her more small, this one not eat too much, I support her. So the God say nobody, even for your child, you can do the same things for all of them. Each he has special things, so you give him special things. Who can do it for the other lady? Even if for your daughter, for your sons, you cannot do it, so you cannot get four woman. But what the people saw the first chapter and leave the rest. Thats the way they use it, because they want to make money. So they take part and leave the other and let the people fight other, didn't accept each other. If I go to the church, you believe the God ask me, you are muslim, why you went to the church?.. Thats house of God, thats place of God.

But not everyone is like you, you know...

Yes, because the people didn't open their mind. They didn't looking for the truth, for the real things. The people just maybe sitting and I came to him and told him, thats bad and that good. And he say ok, yes, and he do it. Do this things, don't do this things. Why? Because i am the leader of mosque or something or i don't know.. thats anywhere, not only in one part. Anywhere it happen. I will tell you one example. The police bother me, because I am going to Drahonice, they didn't like it. Because as I told youbefore, why they just me? Send after me. Close it for you? No. The police didn't like me to go to Drahonice, but I must respect. I am not real citizen here, I am as a guest here. And the government really help me, they accept me. But I cannot stop to help the people. I must find another way to help the people. Its important to go to Drahonice maybe, but if it will make for me problem and the other.. there is no problem for them. Why i will still do it? I can do other things, help the same. So I told to everyone, that I cannot go to Drahonice, I cannot go more. Because I feel something missing. And maybe its message from police, they didn't want me to go there more. But I will stop help the people, because the police bother me? No. I cannot say that. If I do this things from my heart, I will loo for other things I can help. In other way. I go to the church to help the homeless people, its Saturday. Ok, we talk to our church, why they didn't open Sunday also? Maybe we can find another people support us,

give us small food we give. Why one day in week for homeless people, and the rest days, what they will do, from where they will find food or something, so we start talk to each other. Thats man, he work in it now, he is from the church, and I help him and I ask him, I believe thats its really everyone do it. If you want to do something to help the people, you must do it from your heart. And if you like? Like you. Why you help the refugee? Because you have brave heart, clean heart. Its not that the education or your culture or your father told you help the refugee, no. Because you study, you see, you check... but the main thing, you have clear heart, that you want to help the people. If the people make their heart clean, thats call it write heart, you don't have too much things against the people. If the people even make problem for you, you don't have very bad things against them, so you can live quiet, in save in peace. That the God give it to us. Because our leader Jesus or Abraham or all of them, they didn't have money. Jesus he didn't have shoes on his feet, he didn't have money for food, the people feed him, help him to get small food. Right? He didn't have clothes. And he didn't pay for the people to follow him. But he has clean heart, white heart, and when he start talk to the people, the people accept him and tell oh, who is tat? Who talk to us like this? Even his enemy, he didn't have anything against them. He cannot escape, when comming one want to kill him, he cannot escape? He can escape. And he can ask a lot of people to protect him. But he didn't do it, because he believed thats the God, he want to do it for him and he accept it, because his heart is clean.

Yea.. and do you think that you are born with it?

I don't think so. I don't believe that I was born with my heart like this. But I believe thats comming from my family, from my area, from my culture, from my mother, my father... sometimes also the school and the friends around you, its everything, but who has open mind from the beginning of his life, thats his father and his mother give it to him, he will start looking for something special in his life.. Its not necessary your mother tod you before, you must help the people, no, its not necessary, but maybe you saw your mother help the people, maybe you saw your father. Maybe your father, most of the neighbours around your house,like your father, like your mother, because they are nice. And you dont feel you get it, but you get it, its your back-up. You have it. In your heart. So, later its comming out. Because you still make research, looking for.. right? I don't know, thats my oppinion about this...

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For me happened... look, a lot of things happened in my life, but I cannot stop. Stop it and say, look what happened for me. No, direct. Usually I go to sleep. I try to sleep. When happens something big for me, I didn't think about it direct now. I go sleep, take rest, and next day start, even if I saw my daughter make some mistake, big mistake, a lot of time I didn't spoke to her direct. I spoke to her next day. Because if you spoke to somebody direct, maybe he is angry and... so, the life is experience, take it as that.

Good, I have few more questions...

If you have anything you want to do, we can do it another time.. Don't.. really, I told you yesterday, you must tell me what you want and I can tell you what I want. So, if you have any appointment and you need to go..

No, thanks, if you have time.) so, I will ask for few more questions, it will be quick. So, the... the influence. Again, it will be positive and negative, so, when you came here, lets take it from the presence, when you came to Prague, who were the people or organizations or institutions or anything, which had the good influence on your life and the life of you family? And than the negative part..

From the beginning, when I came here, to Czech Republic, not too much happened, something wrong happened, when we arrived to the airport, with the police. And I don't know the rules, but really when I ask, direct when I sent message for many organization, for many foundation who help the refugees, they came to me and they try to help us in many way.. And than when we finish our part in thats closing camps in Brno and in the airport, it take about three weeks, a... also I went with my family to Kostelec nad Orlicí, in the camp, and the people was normal with us. You cannot say that must all the people be nice with you. There is people follow the rules, exactly, without anything. There is people follow the rules and more.. they are nice talking, nice.. but tha main thing, everythings happen for us, except of this two parts in the airport and Brno, the rest of the things was ok. It was really goo.

And did you expect something for example, and it didn't happen? Or if you followed for example your culture expectations, how should people behave, did you come here and was just like surprised, that its different?

The main things for me.. I am telling you, because who is working for the government or organization or anythings.. he is followed the rule. So, I didn't take that part to judge all things. I know there is officers and a lot of problem, many things.. but, really here, even in that part, we living in Kostelec nad Orlicí, about seven months, really we met.. All the time we met I can say nice people, and some of them very nice people. Yesm its not only nice, some of them are very nice. And we have good relationship up to now with them, still in contact with them. So, what I saw. The people for example, my friends in many countries, in Europe or other countries, be carefull, the people in Czech Republic, the people are close, they didn't like the foreign people and.... And I saw something else, I saw something the people they accept you direct. So, I saw no. I saw the people is nice and really accept us and try.. they make the best to help us and to make our life easy. Look, if I found, or if I make connection with ten people, ten people and seven of them is nice and three of them is very nice and one of them is normal. Didn't like us and didn't unlike us. Its very good, because you found nine people is nice and part of them is very nice and if you find one of them he didn't like me. Its excellent! I believe if five of them is nice with me and five of the against of them against me, its excellent, fifty percent is ok. So, I saw here, as I told you, many times people came to you ask if you need help. Thats not happend for us anywhere. In any place even Denmark, even Sweden, than German, nobody came to you and ask you if you want help. Here in Prague I saw this. I am not really surpeised, because I have had experience, in Afrika, they didn't accept too much white people, as we say white people, or they say white people, because there is some... A lot of people stil say white people, black people. The Afrikan people, because the history about what the people make with them, before many years ago, the didn't likethis color, like you like me. And I saw, if I do my part and do it good and do it nice and friendly with the people, its not only like me. They protect me. Many times some people want to make problem with me, this people come and protect me. So, it depends on my part, what I do with the people. A lot of time, many people I told them, I want to do this this for you to help you, oh, no, we don't want

your help. But one day he came to me again and he say, please, help me. I will say no? I will say yes. And that man come to me and say, before I push you away and now I ask you, you came direct? I say yea...

And what was the most helping... The way, which helps the most? Do you understand me?... no. If I will be refugee somewhere, what will be the thing I will appreciate the most?

Yes, maybe I understood what you want to say, but look. Before i am talking about anything, I must talking about thats Europe. I appreciate for Europe, all Europe. Even some people talking something bad about Serbia, about Bulgaria, thats country, block therefugee, don't help them too much.. You cannot say bad things or they do something bad. Because the government.. The government see everything and organize everything and check everything. You can, you see one part. Sometimes you say, why our government do this things for the refugee? Its not good, but no, the government see many things. Government must take care of aaaal things inside the country. But the main question, even if europe didn't give, some countries in Europe didn't give good conditions for living, the refugee living. But the rich arab countries, like Emerates, like Dubai, Kuwait, like Saudi Arabia, they didn't open one room, one room for refugee. They didn't take any chold he need healthy care. To give him care. So, what Europe do for the refugee, its something amazing in any condition in any part, bad or good. But the accept them. They give them a save place... And let them. If they living inside one camp. Any situation.

So they are doing enough, you think?

They do something. But the rich arab countries have billions billions of dollars, put it in the bank, they didn't do anything with this, they didn't make one room for one family or for one child.

Ok, I see. And the last last point is life theme. I think you were talking about it in the previous time a bit, but if you can say what is like the main topic of your life or the message, the central theme? I know that you were talking about your children...

I believe that for everyone.. i believe anyone, especially the young lady or young man, they must have something in their hand. Like good education or any experience, or get any job, he can put in his hand and catch it good. Like even if I don't want to study, I can go go, learn as a carbenter, as other things he can do and keep it. And in my experience in my life, the language is very important, more languages is very important, so it open for you many things in the life. That is the man thing, I say it for everyone. He must, even if he study and he didn't use it to work on it, but he has something. For me for example when I finish study as architeck, I cannot work in Libanon, because they didn't give me authorization to work, official in Libanon. I work as taxi driver, as labour, I work many things, but later I have something. When I found one chance to work in my career, I went and I success in my career, so if you catch something in your hands, special things, one day you will use it good and it help you too much. Sometimes I sell vegetables in the street, like a farmer, go to the villages, collect vegetables, fruits and I sell it in the street, but I believe I have something, I have architect diplom in my hand, one day I will find job in my career, thats it. And when I need language, I direct go, take this language and start take curse for this language to start speak and that help me too much. Open for me many things. And the main things in the life... even my enemy, who stolen my money or who do many things bad for me.. I leave him to my God and if I have the chance to beat him or to do something bad with him I didn't do it. I don't like to do it. Maybe one day he will come back to me and give me my

money or anything he get from me. So, I beleive something, that we must clean our heart, if we clean our heart, it will be our life is easy, it will be easy really. It works?..))

Rozhovor číslo 2 – Saadat

So, it will have three parts, the past, presence and the visions of the future. We'll try go through it quickly. And we can sign the inform consent, that I won't put your name anywhere. Its up to you... if you'd like to sign it, we can do it.

I don't have any activities. Unfortunately, of course, for me, I don't have anything that... any activities, I don't involve in politics, I don't care. My life hasn't anything to.. dangerous to be said, you see.

I understand it, its just for your comfort. And my english is, as you can see, not perfect, so ask me if you don't understand anything.

And I forgot my english, my english... we will manage to.)

Ok.. Its not like I will try to catch your whole life story, we'll talk just about few moments in your live.

Yes, of course.

And I have here something like the structure, but we don't have to go as it flows exactly. So... the first point. Yes! The last thing. I will explain the question everytime, because they are a bit shaped, so you'll know, what I am asking. So, if you can tell me something about the main moments of your life, something like the peak moment of your life when you felt... When you were the most happy.

Yes... when I . Really, there is a problem with me, I don't feel that I am so happy (smích). Because... When I get married, because I wanted that very much. Badly. I fought for it. When I got married, I think. Because I was late, so... And.. I was thirty years old, so.. I thought thats enough, I want to get married...

And you met your husband.

I met him before that he was engaged and I was also looking for a husband.) But he.. There was something between him and his fiancée and they separated. So.. but I know him before that. Three years or four years before we got married.

Aha. Ok, thats nice. And that was in Syria?

Yes.

And there is like... what makes the moment so beautiful? Or it was not moment it was more like the season, or decision, that you get married.... I am sorry, now you don't understand me. Yes... Why do you think, that that you get married is the best moment?

Because I wanted that very badly and... Ok, I have an older sister, she didn't get married. The older one. The oldest. So, I was afraid that, not to get married. You see? Thats what makes it... so, I worked on it. On everything, and you see, that was my goal for five years. (smích) to have a husband and... I think that it is God who arrange these things, because I know my husband. He was, we were sitting between friends and everyone complains that. Complaint about his problems and you see. So, and I didn't think of him, because really, he is not... I was wrong. Because I wanted someone tall and dark and you see, charm... And he didn't come this.. You see? But not I took my husband as a compromise, no, not that. He is a great man and he is a loving person and you see, this is the wrong ch- a... This is

the right choice for me. And God knows that. But for me I was thinking of something wrong. Of course, because my husband is better, way better than me. Yea, he is loving, I am always complaining and neging, you see, so he is better than me. At least he could bear me all these years.

Ou... you are very nice person!

Really, I am not telling you some..., but this is reality. Now I started to become calm and you see, reasonable, at this age. But before no. I was very... not bad, no, I... A person who doesn't want to be with. One can't bear him. Unbearable, you see?

Because you were... wild? Or?

Yes. And always there were things that I don't like them. And I always have judgements. Ok? Not... I feel that in the latest years I know I have changed.. I don't know how, but I feel that. I feel myself calmer, quieter and my neging is less. And that's why I thought God that I didn't marry a charming dark tall handsome guy, you see? Definitely he will not bear me. That charming man or guy or... And within years I found my husband as really a great person and loving one and he is tolerant, you see? What I want more?

Ok, cool. Alright, now the lowest moment, its something like the opposite of this peak moment, of the top. If you can describe some moment, where you could feel the ground really.

A... I am a person who always feel himself unhappy and you see? I tend to be like this, so.. but the most tragic moment in my life was when my father died. A... Thirty two years ago. That was, I thought that everything changed in my life, yea.

And that was in Syria?

Yes, of course, I lived and married and all of them, because I have family. In Syria one lives and marries and dies and works... All in Syria. We go outside of Syria, but not to have these important things in our lives.

I understand it.

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But even now, they will go back to Syria to get married, to be buried when they die and you see, everything is in Syria. That's the Syrian way. Everything should be in Syria. All important moments in one's life are in Syria. Even he goes and come. I know very rich and very important business man all over the world Syrian, also their lives should be, the most important moments are in Syria. That's the way. I don't know if it's good or bad, that's the way we.. That's the way in Syria, I think, I don't know if there are other...

And do you understand it somehow?

We in Syria... it is easy.. its easy to live, to...

Yes, tell me, because its not the first time someone is telling me that living in Syria is easy.

It's the easiest way in all over the world. We have not fancy things, we have... It is modern, we have modern cities, of course, we have all the options, we have whatever you think modernity is, but in general, it is easy. I don't know, it is easy, you can... Here... when I came to here after war, because before war it doesn't count, because I only I know myself

as that I am going to Syria and my children are going back to Syria and we are just visiting. We are changing some places only. You see, but after, when I came here after war and when we thought that it is necessary to come here, because its safer for our, at least for our children!, for our sons a... began to change, because it is difficult here to live, yea, I don't know why!! But you see... ah... maybe because the language, I don't know, but we feel, even my husband, he speaks Czech very fluently, but he feels not as in Syria. It is very difficult. Not, he is a Czech and he had some memories and he was eight years when he came back to Syria. In Syria there is nothing fancy, I am telling you, you see, but but.. I don't know, it is easy to live in Syria.

Maybe the sun as well?

Yes, in two thousand thirteen, I told you, we came here after my elder son was tried to be kidnapped. So, we came here, but my second son, he didn't accept that. Both of them are enrolled in schools and we decided that we should stay here in Prague. Because Damascus is not safe for us anymore. My younger son didn't accept that. Ok? He was seventeen, a sixteen years old and he was crying all the time, he didn't accept that, I was afraid that something will happen to him, so we had a compromise. And my elder son didn't want to return back to Syria, because he was very afraid, yea, you see, because it was very difficult moment for him. He was terrifying, and he was right, because we heard something.. many cases of kidnapping happened to his friends, because they were kidnapped for money. Because this is, the neighborhood we are living, in Syria, in Damascus, it was for.. it is known for rich people, not rich people, but financially comfortable people. OK? Not for us, we by accident live there. Not because we are rich. So these accidents happen, to kidnap someone and ask for money for them. So, my elder son was refusing to come back to Syria and my younger son refused to stay here in Prague, so we had the compromise, I came back to Syria with my younger son and my husband, because he knows Czech and he knows the country and everything, he stayed with my elder son. He was seventeen, elder son, and sixteen. And we came here on summer vacations. Ok? On two thousand fourteen, to see my son and my husband. Because we finished the school year and came here to summer. And he was, my younger son was determined that he will not live here in Prague anymore. He wants to at least finish his high school in Syria, ok? Ok, we manage our lives to this thing, because they are the most important things in our lives, so ok. We will, two years and we'll be finished and everything will be ok. After we came here last year, no, last summer, for visiting, when we had to go back to Syria, my younger son said he doesn't want to return to Syria. I don't know why. He was enrolled in private school there and we pay for the fees in Syria, but when we have to come back to Syria, he didn't accept to return back. So, we had to, but I didn't,.. I have my mother, I have my flat, I have everything.. Because I thought its only for the month and we'll go back to Syria, me and my son. So, we looked for the school for our younger son and he was enrolled. But he went only two weeks to the school and he said he couldn't understand anything, because all in Czech. And my elder son was in Czech for first time, not first time, his Czech is very... „trochu“, you see, little Czech, but he could manage that. Difficult, but he managed to pass to maturity. This year he has maturity. He will finish his maturity on June. He will have his exams. But he, we say, ok he will be like his brother, but he didn't. He didn't accept to do this, he didn't want to go back to Syria to finish. In Syria we have high school only twelve years, here thirteen years. So, I thought only this year and he will finish!! It will finish very quickly and you will not even think of it. Ok, its one only nine months, not the whole year. Why you don't, if you don't want to study in Czech schools, why you shouldn't come back to

Syria? He didn't want come to Syria and he started to cry and you see, blackmail us, as usual, so we thought, and we thought what will happen to him and someone told us about arabic school in Istanbul. (smích..) you can register there, enrolled there in school, and you only go there you will have books and everything, you study here in Prague, and you will only go for the exams. And now he is in Istanbul for doing his exams. So, thats... really, thats why I am telling you: this three years are the most three years in all my life. Don't think of war? No, because of this, our situation, our lives are outside down with everything! Everything has changed, and we spend all our savings. My husband was, he is an engineer and he has a private office, his work was doing very well, but now we spent everything. So, I don't know, what else..... He did his best, my son, and I hope that he will pass the exam. Otherwise, he will start the two years, his eleven grade, and he will have two years more to finish his maturita! If he started to learn Czech and he had to learn Czech! After all. You see? Otherwise I will go back to Syria. I told him. Thats the only, if he didn't, if, I hope no, I hope he will pass the exam, but if he didn't I don't know what will happen and I don't want to think about it. Yea?

And I was interested in that if you... when you said that the life here is difficult, what... Like for me I have been living here my whole life, so..

Because first of all, because I leave Syria obligatory. I was obliged to not in my consent. You see? Ok, it is for the best of children, but I am obliged to do, for my children. But, maybe thats why I feel it is. I feel like the day is very short here, I don't know, you see, when you go to somewhere and you didn't completely, you don't completely want to go, to do anything you don't want to do, you feel it is... even that for others this is interesting thing, but for the one who is doing this work, he'll feel like it is aching. Doing this is aching, I don't know how to express myself. Maybe the first, the reason, because I am saying it is difficult to live here. I didn't want to come here from the beginning, so maybe....

That you are not really motivated, because you were doing it for your child. Which is the most important for you..

But I feel I have an old mother there and I have the sisters and brothers and... Ok, we are not that close, I have more close to my sister than my brothers. They are married and have families and so they have someone to be loved and care about, so I don't... But I feel guilty for my mother.

And she is in Damasques?

Not in Damasques, she is in the south. Something near to the Jordanian border in Syria.

So the summer two thousand four teen, when you came here just for visit, but than you decided to stay.

I went back to Syria, because I have a lot to do. No, in summer of nineteen fourteen, it means that at the end of nineteen fourteen I return back to Syria.. Or not? Not. This year, I am sorry, I am sorry, two thousand fifteen. This summer, we came here first in two thousand twelve and return back and in two thousand thirteen we started to... when rafad (=arabsky odmítnout) came here and spent two thousand fourteen school year here and the next year... so it is two thousand fifteen, I return back to Syria and I spent there four months by myself. I have.. You see there are, my husband is.. his hobby is to collect objects, artistic object, and we left everything because we... I thought that we are going back, so I went to hide them somewhere, because my home will be exposed to be stolen anytime, because no one

is living there. So I came here in January fifteenth two thousand sixteen, I came here. This the beggining of this year.

Ah.. yea. Thank you, thank you. So, can we follow?... No, I have here the twisting point, but maybe you were just talking about it, like the important change in your life?

Yes, my life have changed upside down. You see, I am telling this to you, but when I see other Syrians, I feel myself lucky one. Thats why sometimes I feel giulty, when I am talking about this. Because this is not important, really. Because what happens to Syrians, (pláč) really, thats why I consider myself I am lucky and... I always reach this point and really you see, I am telling myself I don't want to cry and...

Thats totally understandable.. and I won't ask about it anymore..

You see, inside me, there are two feelings. One feeling that ... feeling guilty, because you know you... you know that you are, you have choices for your life more than other my family even. More than any other who is in mysituation. Rich people always have solutions for their problem. I am talking about my living, my community, my fence, my family, you see, this is the feeling of guilty for them, because I couldn't do anything for them and also I feel that... Also I am a person and I am a human being, what that I do to loose everything. You see? On the other side when I feel that. But I am loosing many things, you see, but ok. I only open, turn on TV and watch the Syrian everywhere and ok. I am lucky.

But its very hard to bear it...

Thats how we can survive. Actually thats why, not me, even, my niece was... her husband was detained, she had one twin, two girls, they were three years old and two boys, when their father was detained, one year, twin boys, nine months, and the twin girls three years and something. Their father gone the service, the regime captured him, and two thousand eleven, directly after the revolution began, it began on March, they took him on May nad uptil now, she didn't hear from him anything. Mostly he is killed in prison, ok, she my niece, herself, she is telling me, everytime I see her, she tels me: don't worry about me, I am better than other persons. Thats how she is surviving her life with four children to raise and you see they are babies! All the things they need she.. she say there are many people around me who are helping me, they gave me money, she is talking about her.. my mother and uncles and her mother and father and brother and sisters. And she is... kept saying that at least I have home. With her four kids and she is feeling that she is in better situation than other Syrians. So how? This feeling, the Syrians surviving their life everyday. Because they see that there are more misserable people than they. Because she told me that her sister in law are in Zaatari refugee camp. So she is way better than her sister in law, thats the way the Syrians are survived. They are feeling bad, we are better than the other Syrian. And is it allowed this..?

And your niece, where is she living now?

She is also in the same village as my mother and ... yea.

Its interesting. And so your family, you and your husband are in Prague now?

Yea and I have a brother in London and one in Arabi Saudi. Working, they were working before war. Not because of the war, so.. only us.and the other stayed and there are younger, young man, my nephews are young man, they are ... I am afraid to take them to do their military service, because its very dangerous for them, but they don't have any choice. They

have to be in Syria. I wish they came to Germany, I was telling them to try to... they didn't want, I don't know why. What if something happened? It is very dangerous, so I was encouraging them, but... they didn't.. than I didn't ask them anymore. So there are lot of them. And my nieces are married and live there. In Syria.

And you are in contact with them through internet?

Yea, of course. Every day. I... because, you see, when I go to sleep I think what happen or not happen, so in the morning the first thing I call them.

So, thank you. I would do the same. This is something happier. If you can tell me some moments, which first flows into your memory, when you think about you childhood.

Hm... I was happy. It was village where I lived, so village, you can play, you can.. there was nothing fancy for us, but I remember I was happy. Mornings and evenings. Everything. Maybe it is nostalgia, but no, I was happy..

Aha.. and, I have heard about that in Syria people are living much more like a community? And community I mean like that you know your neighbours and they know you, and you are sharing food and everything.

No, not in that meaning. But they are very close, we know each other, who from where and he will go to where... And his grand mother, from where and you see it... A. Yea, close, but not for all neighborhoods. There are conservative neighborhoods, yes. Everyone knows everyone. But there are new neighborhoods and usually this neighborhoods from the regime itself. You see? Like 'mohazrin' in Damasques, it is a neighborhood. It is only, most of the people in Mohazrin are from Damasques and they are living here and for... maybe from decades there, and their fathers and... everyone knows the story of the grandmothers of the other story of other person. You see? Not only the person and his family and his grand family because they lived in this area. Maybe they changed the street where they live, maybe they demolished the building, because it was old building and build a new one. But they live in a Mohazrin. And in the nineties of the last century, it became very expensive flats and residence in Syria... Some of these neighborhood couldn't afford to captured, children didn't afford to buy in the same area, they had to buy in suburbs. But also they lived like that. Most of the Mohazrin lived in 'Kotsaia' ok? This new neighborhoods or in mashudmar or you see? Also they live as community. But there are neighborhoods, new neighborhood and they are mixtured. From villages, from governerit all over the Syria... from the north from the south, from ... usually there they lived, they lived there because it is cheaper and they don't know each other, they can do whatever they want to do. They don't know each other.

They are not connected?

Maybe some will be connected eventually, because they are neighbours, but still if one doesn't want to be, no, he will not be connected to other people. He can do whatever he wants. Ok? And in these neighborhoods, there is another face of Damasques. The face of liberian. They are not conservatives, they have free relationships, they have.. you see? Even the people of the conservative neighborhood didn't know that there are something like this in Syria. We have coexistence between... when young man and young girl lived together without marriage, we have this. But if you ask someone from Mohazrin, he will say no, in Syria we don't have. Because really he doesn't know that there are... it is impossible. Someone tell you it is impossible in Syria to have such.. no, there are everything in Syria.

But all families are looked for traditional and conservative environment to raise their children in. But who are coming from the west, from the south, from the north of Syria... young man and they are University students usually, so they live in this neighborhoods. It is safer for them. They live whatever they like. However they want. So... yea.

Ah, understand. And now the future, if you can think about where you will be in three years? Or just... if you can think of something.

In Syria, of course.... even my husband, we are now, we will not leave our children till they enter University and they start their higher.. at least to know each one began his way here in Prague. To go to University and start their high education. That's the way, otherwise, what else I could do here?

And you don't want them to go to Syria with you?

No, in this situation no. Of course, after war I hope that both of them will come live in Syria, because there is no place like Syria. No, really, I don't know, what will happen, maybe it is the worst place will be. But I don't know. Maybe Syria will not come as it was. I don't know. I don't know, really. But for me, of course Syria. My husband also... he, at least he is saying the same.

And sorry for asking, but its very interesting for me, like that, if someone will ask me about my country, I don't think I will be such in love with it.)

It is not love, no no, it is not love. It is easy for me. It is easy. I don't know. Maybe Syria which is in our mind or in our memory is not there anymore, I don't know... really I don't know. That is the problem, that we are thinking, we are saying we are here for two or three years because of our children, but the reality we don't know.. but for me I don't want to die... Only in Syria. Not any other place. Yea? So, I don't know maybe ist deamed not to die in Syria, I don't know. Really I don't know.

Yes, no one knows... its about your wishes, so, you wish to go back to Syria?

Yea, of course I... for me, whenever I had a chance, I will go back to Syria. Yea... I had mother and... I don't know why. Maybe because.. I don't know.

I understand it.. yea... ok, if we can.. Aren't you tired? Or don't you want anything? Will you tell me.)? ok, thanks. And if we will now talk about the presence, for example about the three years you told me that everything changed. And if you can tell me, what does have the positive influence, like some people, some institutions, organizations, anything?

Here in?.. no, there is no .. there is noone. No. In Czech? No.. it is not the problem here, it is my own problem. I didn't give the chance for anything, because I am living... all the time I am thinking of Syria, so in moment you are thinking in someone and you are obsessed with aa... I think you are not along to new things, to come and change the situation, so it is my problem. But no, there... and I had you see, in two thousand twelve and thirteen, first we came twelve.. I had a temporary, even before in two thousand nine I had a two thousand eight I had temporary residence here in.. Because it was easy and my children are Czech and my husband is Czech. So, I manage to have this temporary residence. And it finished, it finished in the time that I should have substitute for my Syrian passport. Ok? Because it is a must. We came here to... because it is my right. You see? What I had, the temporary residence and I applied for permanent residence. And I had to go to the police department and all these... they were very exhausted psychologically. Because they were very

revengeful and very rude and once she... I will show you, that she hurt me, because I applied for the temporary, for the permanent residence and the date of my temporary residence expired. So, I stayed here, and it is legal, because I have the reset that I applied for the permanent residence. So, she was, the worker there, the employees were very rude and one of them stand me a deported visa. And it is not her right to do so! But she wanted to show me that she could do this. Because of her... I will not, maybe that's why I didn't try to.. to go further in.. see. I thought. you see, it was very bad, because everywhere.. because now aa Syrian passports are very auditing. By all people in all over the airports in all over the world. And when they was seeing the departure order. (Lama mi pak ukazovala to razítko). Departure order, this is. And it is not right because I am almost...

It is canceled?

Yea, later on.. because she.. that was not legally accepted. And you see? Everywhere I go they saw this and... (lama zase pláče)

So, it makes you problems than?.. but I don't really understood the... You came there to get the new passport and she put the sign taht you have to leave Czech Republic?

Yea! They started... at the time, that was in two.. because I applied for the my permanent residence in two thousand twelve and had, I had my temporary residence expired in nineteen thirteen, so I came back and it had the expired date and they started to treat Syrians as... As if they are suspicious. Ok, that's why.

Its very unpleasant...

Yea, everywhere, even in Libanon you see, in Libanon, the Czech passport like this and like this and they put me in.. evry airport I go through, because I travelled a lot to Beirut, they will check my passport and they put me, because of this deported... they will question me about this... Because even my.. when I show them ym permanent residence, they will not believe. They will put it in. I didn't do anything and... you see? Here, when I came here and had permanent residence, I have a .. I know I should learn Czech, for many reasons, but when... when I started to do this, I started to do that two years ago, I was enrolled in a course for Czech language and I started to attend this course and than I didn't bear it. I quit, simply I quit and the fees, I is refundable ,so ok.. but everytime I came here, the officer in the airport will ask me. Mluvíme česky? Trochu. Trochu aa, how much trochu? Tht mean, ok, trochu, dobrý večer, dobrý.. And you are living here and you don't know Czech language? She is saying that. I don't know, ok. In my mind, I want to tell him that if I am american citizen, would you ever answer this question, or if I am from other country... Because you are asking because I am Syrian. There is aa.. these hassment in everywhere, there is someone wants to tell you taht you are not welcomed here. So that's why you feel that you are not.. you don't belong and you are stranger and... and I want to be stranger.

When you are talking about it like this, I feel very sorry for it, beause I understand that if someone is giving you those signs and he has such a prejudice, you don't feel like learning the Czech language or anything like this.. Anyway, the yellow point I can tell you that not all the people are like this.)...

Of course I know that, no no, - I know that. I am as Syrian should know that, because I am.. The most thing that makes me angry, that they take us as the Syrians, as if not we are the human being, everyone has his own personality, we have good people, we have bad people.. so I am against this, I know that there everywhere there are good people and there

are..no that they are afraid, but I don't care, for me I don't care for the others, I am thinking about, only about myself, you see? When you are living in a place, I am saying not all people don't want refugees, and I am actually I am not even refugee, you see, it is my right. In Syria, the wife of Syrian man can get nationality without even to... don't need to come to Syria or.. everywhere. They don't need to learn the language of their husband, because it is her right to take his.the nationality of her husband. But we are living in a community, the official thing when you hear every day that the president is saying this and this and this, so you don't want to hear the other voices, because the most important thing: voices are against you. The official voices. I am talking about here, in Czech, the official opinion is against migrants, so when you are hearing that the voices, the official voices against you, what other you need, you see? You are not in the situation, that you will see, ok, I know there are good people, good people are everywhere, I know it is the way of life in Syria and.. there are bad and good people, but I will not wait to see those other people, you see? And I don't want that, you see, even you reject the idea that I want to go back.. Where I belong, I feel belong. That's the situation of me.. Maybe I can't express myself well, but..

Nonono, its just aa I have many thought, but I don't know if I should tell it to you now. I know if the official voices are against refugees, so you can't feel comfortable here.

Even save aa. Not to that point, but after the demonstration against the refugees, a month or.. ago. What you will feel than?.. I know there are a lot of people, good people and good hanted and more than Syrians even. But really, that's not the point for me. Because I need, i am in a situation they started the war and I am the victim here. I am not talking about myself,you see? I am talking as a syrian, people are victims. They are started all over the country all over the world started the war. And we are the victims and they don't want to finish it. Finish it and we can go home. It is easy, there isn't an easy solution as this. Finish the war and we all can go back to our country.

Yea, but who shall be in the order?..

All of them. All of them. USA, Rusia, Czech Republic, because she is supporting the regime, she is selling weapons to the regime and they had very special relationship, close relationship with regime, I thing they are doing this, because of this relationship. Even there are officials, Syrian official who came to hear and they told that... the responsible here the responsables here in the country or some delegate, I don't know if it is a parliament or.. that they should not take Syrian refugees. So, you see? It is conspiracy, somehow. And everyone is involved. I don't want to say that the ... if they want to affect this war, they will end it in one hour, because they will not support, they will not provide weapons for any party. With all the technology, with aal (lama je hrozně našťvaná). America in her movies show us that we are aa watched all over the day, all over the seconds of our lives. She don't know where is Daesh? Where is Bashar Assad? The Rusian they are bombing, why they don't bomb ISIS, why they are bombing the civilians and the children and women? If they don't want migrants, they just stop the war. You see, these really, what you will enter in chaos and unmeaningfull debates, because all this lead to extreme thought and.. you see? We don't want to come, I am telling you, really, I am telling you, nobody wants to come to Europe. Maybe they are thinking that they are civilized and the countries and everyone wants. But I am sure that most who came to Germany, they don't want to leave their countries. But they are obliged! Young men are afraid of military service, because the regime will take the obligary to kill his brother. Otherwise he is afraid that he will be captured, otherwise he will be afraid that he will. In the dangerous zones they are bombed

everyday. Everytime in the day, they are bombed with the rackets. Everything. It is not a way one can survive his family, his children... yea? So really I am telling you, no one wants to come to Europe. – A, there are, of course, I am saying no one it means that most of them. Because the moment I heard that my friend's son he was in ..he was studying medicine in his third year and her husband was working as engineer, he had a private office and his work stopped, as my husband at the beginning of the war, so she, one day, she told me that her son will go to Germany, I told her well, is he?.. In Germany we have the system, she grants visa for the students. You put eight thousand euro in bank and you provide your certificate and everything and they will give you the visa for studying. It exist and all the students who applied for this are granted a visa to continue their study in Germany. It is legal and save and everything and I told her, is he going to .. as a student visa? And she say no, I couldn't afford eight thousand euro for his trip to. You should deposit eight thousand euro, she told me that. And he is very, this boy.. i know him, because when he was a little boy, because we were friends and the same work, we had the same work, and he was the cuties, and he was very... he didn't used to the hardships of going by boat, you see boats? I thought, is he going by boat? She told me yes, because we don't have other choice, and I thought, ... samir is going?... And she told me yes, and I didn't sleep, I couldn't sleep, because I thought that God, ... thank.. this boy was the most spoiled boy, he was raised as very rich and... but he had to go.. she told me that... once they almost got him for do the military service, the army and he didn't want to go through this again... He choose to go by sea... you see? People don't want to.. Syrian don't want to leave Syria. And they thought that yea... we want or dream only to come to Germany or (Lama je zase našťvaná..)

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And between the neighborhoods there are me and regime had this brigades they had this brigades, they make tensions between neighborhoods, ok? They close neighborhoods and if they saw a young man, even if he, the lonely young man, doesn't in Syrian regulation, doesn't have to go to army. He is the only son in the family, doesn't have to go to the army. This is according to the Syrian institution, he had no military service. Because he is lonely son. Even this lonely young men, who don't have military service, they are humiliated by these intelligence. You see? Agents intelligence agents and militia of that regime, he has militia in every neighborhood, because they close the neighborhood, no one is permitted to come or go, so they are humiliated, they are treated badly. Sometimes they are beaten by the officers, it is humiliation! They intend to do this. That young men get angry and it is easy to kill them or kick them. So, it is not only because of the military service, they intend to humiliate them. It is a policy, they don't want anybody in Syria. The regime doesn't want anyone. He wants Syria for his militia and for his groups and for the supporters only. It is easy in Syria. He can't make the elections at that time and he can't want voices, ninety percent and he will do anything, when all supporters are living in Syria, so it is easy for Basar Asad.

Ok... I have two more questions, ok? The first is „life theme“, its a bit abstract, but if you can think about some central theme of your life, you don't have to think about those three years, but what is the thing around which your life is doing the cycles?

My family of course. My sons. And husband, that's all. My sons.

And the cultural expectations? Again, you were talking about it quite a lot, but this point would interest me. You came to Czech Republic, you knew Prague because of the previous visits.. do you expect something how people will behave and you didn't find it? You can describe it in this negative way or you can tell me the positive, if you felt like..

No, I don't expect anything from here. Ok, I told to myself I only came here for period of time and than go back to Syria. So I thought... there is no expectation of anything. Because I don't know, maybe I die tomorrow, but to me I am I don't know, what else I have to do here, without not... the only job here for me is to take care of my family, that my sons are going to University and start their life and they will be at the age that they can manage themselves. Thats why I am living here, not for any other reason.

Ok, so, this is the end, I am very gratefull to meet you, like really.

I a... thats me. I can have Czech friends and I enjoy going out with them, of course and they will be very interesting. You will feel yourself as a human again. But the most important to me that taking care of my family. And you see, I don't want to work, I am not looking for a work, but ok, if there is a work, I can do to help my husband in financial comitment, you see.. mostly I will not work here and what else I.. I think this question is important for young men who wants to enter in the society, because they need, they want to work, they want to... For me, ok, my life is in Syria, I have friends, I had, I still have friends. Maybe this question is for my children.. I don't know, I feel, I know I had a problem, because in Syria, it is not Syria anymore. So, I will spent my comming life, dreaming of returning back to Syria and when I go there I.. maybe I will run to here. Nut really it is confusing. When war will be finished, I hope soon, maybe and than things will be for me more devastated, because I will discover something that I don't want. About Syria.

And is here anything what can help you to feel a bit, a bit better here?..

aa.. no, really, I don't want to be.. I start to learn Czech. Maybe that will help, but I don't know, it is complicated.

Its hard to think about something what can help you at some place where you just don't wanna be at the time. Anyway, if you would discover something, you can tell me.))

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The reason why people started all this in Syria, because we reach a point that is unbearable the situation, it was really unbearable. I know that many things entered to the syrian and confuse everything and evrything start to be chaos, but the most important thing that everything seems to be a gift from our leader. Or I don't know, superman. In Syria. Everything, even the air we are breathing, it is a gift from the superman. Yea, you see, so when you feel that in your own country and aa... you are locked, you can't do anything. Than people started to a basar revolution. I am saying that... What am I saying? I don't know what I am saying. I am saying that really, the most important that I hope that things would get set in Syria and people will return to their.. everyone is buying and selling us, everyone Turkey, Jordan, Libanon, USA, Rusia, the world globally. I think.

Rozhovor číslo 3 – Fadila

I'll tell you few points, which I think are important.) so, thank you very much for accepting the invitation and its for my bachelor's thesis. The life story interview its not about catching your whole life, but just like few main moments, which are strong for you. So, you don't have to answer some questions if you don't like. Just like feel free.) And if you won't understand anything because of my english, ask me. And the last main thing that its anonymous, so I won't put the information anywhere. It will be just in my bachelor's, your name won't be putted anywhere or your identity. We can than sign some informatic consent if you'd like.

No, no, no , I don't mind. I am really open person. I have nothing to hide, I am... I don't mind. But I don't like photos anywhere...

Yes, me neather.) no photos. Ok, I will ask you about the few episodes and it will have three parts, like past, presence and future. I will ask you to describe each episode in your words and the way you think about it. It will have one or two hours, we'll see. We can make it shorter, so for each question its like quater an hour. It will have 10 questions. Ok, so.), the first question is the peak moment, when you were happiest, or like the best time of your life. If you can think of some moment.

You don't mean here, no..

I mean anywhere.. even in your country.

Actually I feel happy most of the time, so... I don't have a special moment. I don't know. I don't have special moment, really, because sometimes I remember once.. I was in Syria, I was speaking to my mum than I told her. How could anybody be more happy than me? What will happen next? Because when you are too much happy, than you feel fear, that something bad will happen, because you are very happy, nothing... you missed nothing. So, I don't know.))

Ok, thats good answer, thanks, ok. And the second question is the lowest moment, which is like the opposite to the first question, if you can think about the worst time in your life... Or worst experience?

Actually it is here. When I moved here, than my situation really declined, and everything is changed. And I hated everything here.. when we came here, we didn't manage to stay. We came here because everybody told us: come on, come here, you already have your residency, you are quite fine, just let everything go away and you go back, of course. And I came here and... you know, when the problems came in Egypt and in Tunesia, it was like twenty, thirty days and maybe three months and everything went back. See. And when I was in Syria and it started this way, they told me, come here, just wait few months, than go back, of course you have to go back. I left everything in Syria the way it is. I didn't leave as I am leaving. I just came here just for a visit, but a longer visit. Than when I found out that staying, the issue is not going to finish, this was really big break moment for me.. Because my husband used to be a professor in Damasques University and my life style was there really great, everything were fine... And here I find I am nothing. And I have to start over. And when I discovered this, I felt really bad. But I am still struggling, I am still fighting to find out the best situation which is.. would be the most fit for me.

And what was the time, when you realize, that you won't go back?

Actually I would tell you something. The moment I came here, because I came here in February and I came here with my four daughters, I have four daughters and immediately I started to think that I have to find for them schools, they have to follow schools system, like normal normal life. And I mean, I started as if I am strting without going back. But, that wasn't my plan. I was thinking than, I mean, because I told you, my family are here twenty years ago. So, all the time, I was all the time thinking, this language I need it.. My father, my mother, my brother and his family, my sister and here family are all here. And I am coming here. So, we need this language, thats why I was pushing my daughters to go to the school normally. I was thinking than that this is good idea that they are going to get the language.. so thats why, than I am thinking, when the semester is going to be finished, they are going to have their certificate and they are going back not to miss any semester, any school year of their life. Thats what I was thinking, I wasn't thinking as if we are going to continue here. So, it was this way, but by the time going... and at the beginning I was spending money, I was feeling free to... by the time going I felt that, come on, I am spending my money than I am going to be with nothing. I found out that it comes worse and worse, so than I have to stop I have to rethink I have to find something to do.

And you were here like half a year and than you decide that you will stay?

Actually it is not a decision to be made in minute. It is a decision has been made...

Thanks, so, third question is turning point. When your life came through massive change?

Actually when I was in Syria, I am graduated from economic school, specialized in accountants and I had also master degree ect.. But i have never think, actualy I sought to work, but my husband keep saying, why to, you don't need to.. so I kept follow courses i kept enjoying myself with many others things, but I didn't go to have a real job. But here I saw, that I need it. And I still don't have it.)) but I am working like this way, teaching somebody, doing something. Three years ago, I met somebody, she is a chzech woman, and I told here, ok, anyway I am spending my money, lets start bussines together, she is a hairdresser, and I told her, I will provide you with a money and you can be the person who are working and we are partners, but it didn't work out, because I had to be in the... in that place with my skarf, and Czech people never accepted that. And we quit. For example, but it didn't cost a lot. Which was really fine. It cost, but not really a lot. So I mean, the change here that I have to do something, I have to work for living. I wasn't had to.

Because your husband was professor?

Yes, and he had extra income and we had also places to rent, I mean we were fine, really fine. Acually I had a fillipian maid for more than five years before I came here. I told her bye when I travelled here and I thought I am going back to see her. She was in Syria. Than my husband had to, let her leave to her country. See.)?

And the time you decided you will go to Czech Republic just for some time, it was the last time you were in Syria? You have never come back?

Actually I went back for... because we are five, we left, and we left my husband and I went back just to visit him like one month, than after one month he came. And all of us. And he came, he came there just for visit, he had his residency, but he only just came here to visit us, than in that time.. his brother in law, its not my brother, I mean the husband of his sister,

he just disappeared. And I believe one of his relative also ha been killed and.. I believe he felt.. he get fear. So, he decided not to go. And thats really bad for him, because he is an employer and he is just like left his job. Which is really bad in our country. If you are an governmental employer and leave your job, this is really not good. This causes for him a... an issue, a case.

So if he would come back to Syria he would ave a problem?

For sure. Because he left his job in the government. It is this way, it is not now. Not because of the war, it is long time uptil now. If an governmental employee left his job, it means that there is a case against him. A case is to leave a job without a permission. So, now he cannot go back, until the situation is settled. And he has already a case. See. Maybe by now he has some...because it is against the law to leave your job in the government, because he is a professor in Damasques University, the governmental University. Not a private one.

And what is he doing here?

Nothing.)) (smích). Teaching some students, doing nothing. I don't know. We still struggling, we still fighting.)

And your first memory... If you can go as far as you can in your memory and something jumps in your mind?

I don't know. What memory do you mean? Bad one or good one?

As you wish. What first come to your memory.

Actualy the first came to my memory when we are going out in Syria. During weekend, we usually we going having really nice picknick. Each week.

And important memory from your adulthood?

This one is adulthood. You wanted something from my childhood? You didn't mention. My childhood, actualy I am from Damasques and my mother is from a city called Ums. Have you ever heard about that? And it is like one and half hour by car. And this is the best time for me. Because I am the first child for them, the first grand child for them and I used to be very much spoiled one there. Everybody interested that I am comming and I am really spoiled.) (smích) It was really nice time then.

So you were the priviledged one.) and how many sibilings do you have?

I told you, one brother, one sister. I told you the whole of my family are here. My father, my mother, my brother, my sister. All are here.

And what was the first reason you came here? Your family came here?

Something like the same. Because my father used to be very important employee in the government, he used to be a.. the general manager for a big big governmental firm, constructions, it was for constructions. And actualy the problems in Syria is really not new. It is long time ago, that we Damasiin, we are sunna, and the regime is alaui etc.. so my father went through the leather very high which is not really preferable for them. And he is sunna, he is damasiin, so there is something happen, than he had to escape.

And he escape to Prague.

Because he studied in Prague, so he knows the language and.. there is two brothers for him

married to the czech woman. So he choosed here to come, because his brothers are here, etc...

Ok, thanks. So, it was the past, now the future. The possible development of your story? What can happen. Like that of course you don't know it, but you can have some thoughts about it. And I will ask you to describe firstly the positive future, the things, your dreams or visions, and than the negative one.

Actually after my experience here for four years, I had this kadernictvi, this haidressor salon. And second I also tried to work with somebody also... It is not a big matter because it was really from the beginning failure (smích), failure experiment, but after I found out I work wih Shaima. Maybe you know her. She is the one who Jitka work with... she has arabic institute. Actually shaima called me and told me to go to her institute and I started to teach, because I am teaching math, and I am teaching english for arabien. I know my english is really bad, but .. but I can teach for these levels, its no problem for me. So, I started to teach there and actually we had a deal with her, that its good idea to go on together, stronger and stronger, because calf students are really in need, especially the embassy, so we were thinking that this is good idea, but problems happens, than we quit with her. Than I continued alone, not alone really, than I also met somebody who also let me down, but not I decided to start over again, alone. This is the best. I don't believe in this. I believe that partners is really good idea. Actually good companies, big companies, all the time has partners, has many people. But I don't know what happens here, whenever I am going with somebody, to be partner with somebody, there is problems happens.

I think its very tricky to start a company with a friend..

So I am thinking for the next semester, because now already the school year is finishing, for maybe in next september, I will start all over again, I will have my own place, I don't want to be in the library. And it will be small one, that will start over again, yes alone, because when I work with others, I had to pay more than what I get. With Shaima and with this other person. So, its better for me to start alone.

And you would teach math, arabic and english?

Yes, actually maybe you see the person who is teaching my student, thats the one who is responsible for math, my husband is going to teach science, and.. this is good I think, I mean we are good band together, also my daughter is eighteen and she is perfect in many also other subjects. I mean we are ready to teach these people, these kind of people, what do they need. So its good idea and they are paying well.

And one again, which kind of people?..

Embassy employees having children. They are not going to study here. For exapmle, Saudian people has their own test who is... I mean they are like studying in a distance. Studying home only having tests. They need it. They are away from their countries and they have to go back to study in arabic in their own countries, so they need arabic. Also when they are arriving here and for example if theirs children are young, they need, they need to put them in international school, meridian school, maybe you have heart about it. So also their children are not really ready to be taught in english. So, I can also help. These are another kind of my students.

And you have contacts?

Czech contacts, very few. When I came here I wasted my time with DMJO, really.

What does it mean?

The nongovernmental organizations which are unprofitable. It was really wasting time. We followed few courses in czech... actually there was some advantages that I had a.. the driving licence through them, also another course in my field, about accounting. But it was really a stupid one. Because I had to follow something, for example. If you are interested to know, how does there accounts goes, in their own firms, they follow it. They are czech. And it is like really for beginner, beginner in accounting, but in czech. For me the problem was czech, not the accounting. It was really stupid, but its fine, I had a degree, also I wasn't really speaking czech. I am comparing about. Because accounting is accounting, just like math. Just right is left and left is right.))

Logic.) and you are learning czech for four years?

No, I followed I think two course and all the time there is repeating.. No, actually I asked her lately, but she is really busy. So I am waiting for her to be less busy, or for me to be less busy, because I am waiting for the semester is finished, because I am really committed with the students. I have another one in the afternoon, which is too much. Its really not few.. It is too much. So, we will see, they are not going to be my students for the next year, but I believe it will be fixed up.

And you feel like staying here in Czech Republic? Do you plan to stay here?

For me I don't mind anything. Really, my daughter is American, maybe we are going to try to go there. We don't know. My first daughter is... my first daughter was born in US, so she has the.. actually I went there just for giving her birth there. And it was really a stupid idea. I felt really stupid. Because I didn't know, what labour is. What is giving birth for the first time!! And I suffered a lot.)) (smích).

And you were doing it because you want her to have the US citizenship?

Yes, and she is.) so, she is eighteen, she is not going to give us this citizenship until she is twenty one, but I am planning for this summer but not for sure of course, it deppends on how much income can I manage for her to go to the US to see what... what can she be, what options she can have. Maybe we all can go, or maybe we are going to stay. Anyway, my family are here, even if I go anywhere in the world, I have to visit them. Back, again here.)))

Now about the time of the migration here. Of the moving here. If you can tell me something about the influences of.. on your life? Like the people who influenced it? Organizations, important institutions?

I am telling you, working with these organizations is really wasting the time. For me. There is only one advantage that to follow the first level of the czech language and if you want to go to the second level, you will never have it. Because it is very few and I don't know. If you want to have a real czech language, you need to go, to follow something real. This became wasting a time for me, so I quit it. At the beginning it was usefull, kind of usefull, but after a while I found out that it is nothing. Because also, they are making you signing contract and doing nothing sometime. I have contract with embassy, I have contract with everyone.)) and nothing. The good also thing I had from them that they also gave us...

private teacher for the children to help them at school, the first year was awful for them. Really they suffer a lot, because the language is not easy at all. But they didn't lose any year. It's worth. Actually my first three daughters are like younger than usual and they came here and they went through their normal year and they are, the youngest in their class.) They can speak English, Czech and Arabic. Because they used to go to very good school, with really high level of English in Syria, when they came here, their English helped them a lot. And the other, I mean the following two, went to Montessori. Which is really helpful for them. It is individual, I mean caring about individual needs. So, they went on normally, but Jasmine suffered, my oldest, suffered a lot. Really, because she entered immediately to the tenth grade and she had to be in this one in Czech and she didn't know that she had to pass all of her subjects, by April they told her. And she found out that she can never catch, she was only concentrating on math and English, things that she can do. But by April they told her to repeat or to go through exams during summer. So she kept studying, since April till the beginning of September. And she made it. Actually she didn't make it.) I will tell you. She made it, really. Literally she made it. Because she went all. She had ZSV, biology, Czech, I don't know, geography, history, something like that and she could make it in everything, but biological teacher was applying discrimination over her and she didn't want her to do it. She made her fail for the first time and we applied *odvolání*, she had private teacher in biology and this private teacher told her, your knowledge are more than children in your age, in your level. And the second time she used Latin... Latin terms to let her not to pass. Than you know what happens, but don't tell anybody, maybe you can keep it.)) that she didn't... what you call it? She didn't give the white flag, she didn't say no, I quit...

She didn't give it up?

And she went to the whole gymnasium, the best gymnasium in Prague and she applied, because she had certificate from this Saudi school. She applied to the tenth grade in Czech school. And she already has a certificate, that she passed this. She took in September and she went to four gymnasiums and they told her we need you to follow some tests to accept you or not. And all of them did accept her. All of them, Nad Alejí, Arabská, Keplera... than she went to Nad Alejí at the beginning and after while she told them I don't want this *všeobecný*, I want something *matika*, so she went to Arabská. Arabská is also one of the best.

And if you can more about the difficulties here you have? Or why?..

I am telling you not to tell anybody, because I think this not really good way to leave one school to another etc...

No, I won't put the name of the school anywhere. For me is important how you feel about it.

Actually, I don't like it, yes, because I used to live really nice life, I am respected in my country, I can move with full pride. But here I am nothing, actually I am less than nothing. I am being attacked every minute. In the street, whenever you are walking... they really feel that you are going to be exploded. If I am passing near to them.) sometimes I am telling my husband, really sometimes I feel sorry for them, the fear is very showing their eyes. But sometimes I feel they are really stupid, come on, think a little. Muslims are in between you long time ago, nothing happens. Nothing happens and sometimes it happens that some maniac or some stupid person causing death for more and more people and you are not speaking a lot about it, come on, think a little.. right? But it is still difficult for us. We cannot go on this way, really. We cannot move, I feel really worry about my daughters,

my oldest has hijab, I told her to replace to the head or something, now in summer I don't know what she will do and the other one should have hijab, but I told her not to, but they are little dark. I mean, my oldest is really, she really looks czech, she is really.. but the others are darker and they are being.. I am afraid about them. I am afraid that somebody will attack them. Because it happens... It is happen, they are not few, they are many now. When I arrived here, everybody were, not everybody, mostly lets say half of the people are welcoming us, they are smiling to us, it fine, it was ok. But things going really rapidly. And people are changing immediately with the media. Really, when I walk in the street I used to smile to people, if there is any eye contact, than you have to smile really, than it... people are smiling back, or sometimes they are smiling for me. But now no, noone. Actually I am not using public transportation, isolated myself, isolating myself, because I am.. I don't want to have this bad situation, really. Once I entered the mole and somebody some women started just to keep shouting for nothing. She was going up by the electrical leather and I am going down, away... come on, come on, this is not once, it happens really, it happens every minute. In the metro, somebody we know a girl actually she is fifteen and somebody attacked her. It is dangerous now. In the bus my daughter my daughter was and some women also started to speak to her, but my daughter can answered, she speaks czech, but I don't. And I don't want. This is really bad. They don't think that they are the one who are attacking us, we are not attacking anyone. Come on, they have to think it. This message should be delivered for people.

They need time..

What time? They are having time to be worse and worse, because media is going this way. But this problem should be solved. Because they have fear, they are not relaxed. They are not ok. And we also have fear. Understanding me? I understand them and I can think instead of them. I can be somebody czech, listening all the time for the news and feeling that come on, I am going to loose my life if I have somebody muslims crossing by me. And it is a live threat. They are going to loose their life. People are loosing their life.

And can you think about some ideas what to do?

This is something not individual... needs more than individual effort. Needs governmental effort and government is working this way, taking it this way, so... if you speak, you are going to speak to ten people, one hundred and ten, and you are not convince them all, the way they are convincing.. they are seeing people dying by a bomb. Wow... what can you do? They are going to speak a chat, chat, chat...

Chat?

I mean, what you are going to speak it is chat, words in the air, right? And they are seeing a fact, which is not fact.)) (smích) I mean it is not fact that muslims are doing this.

Aaa, I thought that you are talking about the bombs in Syria.

Nonono, I am not speaking about bombs in Syria, I am speaking about the bombs in Europe. But we have to think about it also more deeper, USA, which is a mixed mixed culture are also have the same fear now. They are mixed already.

But they have some experiences with the new wayves, new flows new people... In my oppinion they are more used to it. They are more prepared.

I think people are saying that for example to go to France, Paris you go to London you will

not feel this bad.. this way. At schools, they are teaching our children that foreigners are protecting our society. Two years ago my daughter came here and telling me this sentence, exactly this sentence (but I don't know what happens after.)), she came here and told me: you know that they are teaching us that foreigners are protecting us. I mean.. they are teaching them that your society needs foreigners. But what happened after? I don't know. I think the problem would be worse.

And life theme, if you can tell me in few words whats your central topic of your life? If you can think of something like this?

Give me an example?

Children for example, something what is the most important in your life, so your life is just like shaped around it.

... I don't know, I think religion. It is religion, because we believe, we are muslim, we believe that we have to be a... how do you say it, I have to explain it really well. We are believing that if our behaviors is satisfying our Lord, than we are fine. And satisfaction for a Lord is never killing people.)), going back to that. Satisfaction for a Lord is just to follow his orders. And following his orders is to pray well, to treat people well, to be nive to your husband, to do all your duties.. And etc. Even to enjoy your self.

I like this point.)

Because it is written our.. so. If a Lord is satisfied with me, than I will feel happy, no matter what. And it is the fact. I also raised my children up this way. I am telling them, a Lord is watching you. Sometimes you go to school, I am not with you, but you have to know that a lord is watching you, never lie. For example, lying is really prohibited in our... do your praies, study well, because studying well is a piece of your duties, right? For example we are really commited in our, the way of being.. to dressed up. For example, my second daughter has now to wear hijab, but she is not, because I don't want her to go through more suffering. So i am telling her, don't were hijab, but your body have to more covered. Because she never quit wearing jeens. But for exapmle I would tell her let your sweater be little longer, your sleeves shouldn't be very much.. schould be longer and also collar. For example, this is also an example, you will feel that you are more satisfied, you are very fine. You have peacefull between you and your creator and you will feel fine, everything. And if it happens, than whatever it happens to you, it is from a Lord, this is his choice to you. If something bad happen to you, that ment to be. Because this is his choice to you, so you have to accept it. Any one still satisfied, because this is the best that could be happen to you. We believe this way.

Thank you, and the last last think I will ask you, if you can tell me in few words, just like the main points in your life. For me, I'd like to have a picture about when you came here, when you left Syria, just few points...

I wouldn't tell you when is my date of birth, this is really bad for a women (smích), I wouldn't tell you that my daughter is eighteen, so... I was born in Syria and I spent the whole of my life in Syria and I went to the University there and than I got married during my studies and I had my first child during my studies, than I got lazy and my mother helped me a lot to graduate then I went on and than I find out that I should raising my knowledge, not loosing my knowledge and this birth in the US was really horrible.. (smích) and than I had six years between my first child and second to continue my stusies than I start to have

children more (smích), actually I wanted a boy, but it never happen, than my purse trial was for a boy, so i had something medical to be a boy, but! But it should be like 99% a boy, but it is a girl again!!(smích), this is what I am telling you, this is really really nice, I kept silence for the whooole of my pregnancy.))) than I was thinking, this is the choice of a Lord for me. It means this is the best. And you would never imagine, I had really three noisy noty girls and the fourth is a real angel... she is an angel. She is not beautiful, they are more beautiful than her, but you believe that she should be a prophet or she should be like.. hole Mary or something. She never cries and I was asking my mum, why she is not crying, is that normal? Is that mean that just because she has really high ethics, since she is very..and upril now, she would like me to be happy, she want my satisfaction all the time. I am telling you, when a Lord wants something, it is the best for you. Than since I never wanted a boy, I am really really satisfied with my girls.)

.)) and how old is she?

She is six, she was born in Czech, even before these things. I mean I just came here to give her birth and go back... two in Syria, one in the USA, fourth in Prague.))

so, you had your fourth child in Syria..

no, here.

Yes, here, but than you came back, so you were living there.

Yes, for two years we were there and we came here for the problems that happen.

So and the decision came after something happend?

It is not a decision, I am telling you, they kept telling us, come on, come here, just spend few months everything will go back and you go back... And I came here, it wasn't like a decision to be made. I thought ok, I will come for few months, lets, because it was February, I thought we can continue to the end of the school year and maybe the summer and we can go to the next start for the school. I mean the next September, the September which is following this. It went worse and worse, thats why I am telling you I am not a typical migrant.))

Ok, maybe the last think, if you can tell me what you miss the most abou Syria?

The position, and being respected, this is the most important. And also I told you all this picknicks we had each... we don't have time here, I don't know, we keep working, we don't have time to enjoy enything.

Ok, so thank you very much. Great!!

BIBLIOGRAFICKÉ ÚDAJE

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**Posudek vedoucí bakalářské práce
na Pražské vysoké škole psychosociálních studií**

Jméno a příjmení studentky: Markéta Profeldová

Obor studia: Psychologie

Název práce: Narativní analýza rozhovorů s migranty, přicházejícími do České republiky.

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Výběr tématu

Závažnost tématu

	X			
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Oborová příslušnost tématu

	X			
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Formální zpracování

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Práce s odbornou literaturou a prameny (citace, parafráze, odkazy, dodržení norem pro citace, cizojazyčná literatura)

	X	X		
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Formální zpracování (jasnost tématu, rozčlenění textu, průvodní aparát, poznámky, přílohy, grafická úprava)

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Vhodnost a úroveň použitých metod

	X			
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Využití výzkumných empirických metod

	X	X		
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Využití praktických zkušeností

	X			
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Obsahová kritéria a přínos práce

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	X			
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	X			
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Vyváženost teoretické a praktické části v daném tématu

	X	X		
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** 0 – nehodnoceno; 1 – výborně; 2 – velmi dobře; 3 – dobře; 4 – neprospěl/a

Návaznost kapitol a subkapitol	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dosažené výsledky, odborný vklad, použitelnost výsledků v praxi	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vhodnost prezentace závěrů práce (publikace, referáty, apod.)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Otázky a náměty k diskusi při obhajobě:

Jaké intervence by autorka navrhovala – vzhledem k jejímu studijnímu oboru –pro cílovou skupinu participantů, aby se jim v České republice žilo lépe?

Celkové hodnocení práce (klady, nedostatky):

Autorka se v textu bakalářské práce zabývá tématem migrace lidí prchajících před tísnivou realitou (současné Sýrie) do České republiky. Možností, jak téma uchopit a zpracovat, je vzhledem ke komplexnosti a složitosti dané problematiky nepřehledné množství. Autorka se, dle mého názoru velmi vhodně, zaměřila zejména na třetí fázi migrace, tzv. post-migraci. V teoretické části práce stručně, leč výstižně, nastiňuje pozadí současné obrovské migrační vlny a zabývá se akulturací s ní spojeným stresem. V empirické části bakalářské práce je předložena výzkumná sonda, založená na analýze tří narativních rozhovorů s migranty ze Sýrie. Autorka se pokusila popsat důvody jejich odchodu z rodné země, představy o životě v azylové zemi a plány do budoucnosti. Hlavním cílem výzkumné sondy bylo vysledovat v narativních rozhovorech jednotlivé post-migrační stresory.

Práce je psána velmi kultivovaným jazykem, autorka disponuje schopností poměrně stručně, leč nereduktivně, nastínit složitou problematiku. Každé jednotlivé téma, o kterém autorka píše, by se jistě dalo rozvést do samostatné bakalářské či diplomové práce, domnívám se však, že se v rámci tohoto textu podařilo přesně naplnit format práce bakalářské. Oceňuji výběr tématu práce a autorčinu angažovanost (v rámci tématu). Jako vedoucí práce též oceňuji tu skutečnost, že její příprava splnila "edukativní účel" – autorka narazila během zpracovávání textu na mnoho překážek, ať již v podobě chybějící literatury či "nemluvicích" participantů – tyto těžkosti se jí podařilo překonat a poučit se z nich "do budoucna" (autorka například reflektuje způsob kladení dotazů či výběru participant atp.). Je nutné též ocenit, že autorka vedla všechny rozhovory v anglickém jazyce a vycházela primárně ze zahraničních zdrojů. I když se v rozhovorech místy vyskytují například návodné otázky (což autorka kriticky reflektuje), představují tyto dle mého názoru poměrně cennou sondu do života lidí, kteří přicházejí do České republiky ze Sýrie. Je pravdou, že se v textu vyskytují jisté nesrovnalosti ve formátování či poznámkách pod čarou a práci by prospělo více času na zpracování, celkově však bakalářskou práci hodnotím pozitivně.

Doporučení k obhajobě: doporučuji

Navrhovaná klasifikace: v závislosti na obhajobě 1-2

Datum, podpis: 10.5. 2016

Mgr. Magdalena Koťová, Ph.D.



**Posudek oponenta bakalářské práce
na Pražské vysoké škole psychosociálních studií**

Jméno a příjmení studentky: Markéta Profeldová

Obor studia: Psychologie

Název práce: Narativní analýza rozhovorů s migranty přicházejícími do České republiky

Oponent práce: Mgr. Johana Růžičková

Technické parametry práce:

Počet stránek textu (bez příloh): 52

Počet stránek příloh: 50

Počet titulů v seznamu literatury: 25

0**	1	2	3	4
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Výběr tématu

Závažnost tématu

	1			
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Oborová příléhavost tématu

	1			
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Originalita tématu a jeho zpracování

	1			
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Formální zpracování

Jazykové vyjádření (respektování pravopisné normy, stylistické vyjadřování, zvládnutí odborné terminologie)

	1			
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Práce s odbornou literaturou a prameny (citace, parafráze, odkazy, dodržení norem pro citace, cizojazyčná literatura)

	1			
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Formální zpracování (jasnost tématu, rozčlenění textu, průvodní aparát, poznámky, přílohy, grafická úprava)

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Metody práce

Vhodnost a úroveň použitých metod

	1			
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Využití výzkumných empirických metod

	1			
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Využití praktických zkušeností

	0			
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Obsahová kritéria a přínos práce

Přístup autora k řešené problematice (samostatnost, iniciativa, spolupráce s vedoucím práce)

	0			
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Naplnění cílů práce

	1			
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Vyváženost teoretické a praktické části v daném tématu

			3	
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Návaznost kapitol a subkapitol

	1			
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Dosažené výsledky, odborný vklad, použitelnost

výsledků v praxi

		2		
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Vhodnost prezentace závěrů práce
(publikace, referáty, apod.)

		2		
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Otázky a náměty k diskusi při obhajobě:

1. V příloze předkládáte dotazník. Vyhodnotila jste tento dotazník? Pokud ano, došla jste k nějakým závěrům? Pokud ne, v čem se Vám jevil jako nevhodný, nedostatečný?
2. Model post-migarčních stresorů jste převzala z výzkumu asijských a latinsko-amerických uprchlíků v USA. Vidíte na základě svého výzkumu nějaké rozdíly mezi nimi a uprchlíky ze Sýrie přicházejícími do Evropy?

Celkové hodnocení práce (klady, nedostatky):

Autorka zvolila téma navýsost aktuální, stojící na pomezí psychologie, kulturní antropologie, sociologie a politiky.

Slabší částí práce je část teoretická. Její slabinou je především přílišná stručnost – tato část čítá pouhých 12 stran. Možnou námitkou by byl nedostatek, především českojazyčné, literatury přímo k tématu, je ovšem škodou textu, že autorka neprojevila více invence a nezabývala se tématy souvisejícími, především pak fenoménem domova/bezdomoví.

Podstatně příznivěji hodnotím část empirickou. Prostřednictvím 3 rozhovorů autorka sledovala životní příběhy migrantů ze Sýrie. Oceňuji především velmi vhodně zvolenou metodu narativní analýzy, ve které dostává nejvíce prostoru fascinující příběhy samotných migrantů v neredukované a nereduktivní formě, a která umožňuje zachytit jedinečnost každého z participantů a jejich rozdílné vyrovnávání s emigrací.

Je evidentní, že si autorka s výzkumem dala práci, samotnému výzkumu předcházela poměrně rozsáhlý předvýzkum. Je chvályhodné, že autorka neváhala opustit původní metodu ve chvíli, kdy se ukázala jako méně vhodná.

Po formální stránce nemám k textu připomínek. Autorka prokázala schopnost pracovat s odbornou literaturou, její styl je čtivý, přitom nezjednodušující, prost pravopisných i stylistických chyb.

Vzhledem k nedostatečně rozpracované teoretické části navrhuji hodnotit jako velmi dobré, chtěla bych nicméně autorku povzbudit k dalšímu rozpracování tématu v diplomové práci.

Doporučení k obhajobě: doporučuji

Navrhovaná klasifikace: velmi dobře

