

MASTER THESIS

Strangeness – from fear to fascination

or: The sunny side of strangeness

Outous - pelosta ihastukseen,

tai: Outouden aurinkoinen puoli



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<p>Xenophobic tendencies have been observed in Germany, which are mainly directed against immigrants from Muslim countries. Still, many Germans are attracted to countries in the Near and Middle East as travel destinations.</p> <p>How does the perception of strangeness differ in everyday life and on holiday and which situational conditions on holiday can favor a reverse attitude of German tourists towards people from countries of the Near and Middle East? An answer to these questions not only gives conclusions about the social order and reality of Germans but also points out how intercultural sensitivity could be strengthened in their everyday life.</p> <p>To better understand the ambivalent perception of strangeness in the different situations, German tourists were consulted about their intercultural experiences in qualitative in-depth interviews. The interviewees were acquired through a quantitative study conducted in advance and selected according to their answers regarding their travel behavior and political attitudes towards migrants from countries of the Near and Middle East.</p> <p>Encounters play a central role in the perception of strangeness, as they create relationships between strangers. In everyday life, there are hardly any points of contact and therefore interaction between Germans and immigrants. A lack of understanding and insecurity characterize the handling and lead to prejudices, which in turn end in avoidance of encounters with immigrants. Holiday experiences at least enable experiences of foreignness. Therefore, the way in which experiences of strangeness take place on vacation is important. The generated images and experiences with foreigners on vacation can also influence the way strangeness is dealt with in everyday life.</p>			
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1. A journey into the unknown: A borderline experience or a pre-fabricated escape?

The desire for variety and distance means to see and experience something completely different from what everyday life can offer. Humans need changing impressions. It is a need that gives rise to one of the largest industries in the world: tourism. It allows us to satisfy the desire for an escape from daily routines and to experience different worlds within stable conditions (HEUWINKEL, 2019, p. 25). To meet this demand, a variety of forms of tourism have been developed that make it possible for everyone to experience the alien in a controlled way (MÖRTH, 2003).

Traveling to different continents, getting to know foreign cultures - the more exotic, the more fascinating. Increased mobility puts distances into perspective, so that today, as never before, travelers have the opportunity to get to know other spaces and continents, as well as the people and cultures living there. Thus, experiences with foreignness are becoming more frequent and more diverse. But do they create unfamiliarity, or do they make it fade away? One could say both!

German tourists who travel to distant places for tourism purposes do not necessarily welcome foreigners from other countries in Germany. Thus, encounters with strangers are completely different perceived in different situations. While tourists look for foreign and different cultures in the destinations, they demand from foreigners at home to integrate and adapt to their culture and order of everyday life. The xenophobic attitudes in Germany tend to target immigrants from Muslim areas of the Near and Middle East (BRÄHLER et al., 2020).

At the same time, more and more Germans decide to go on long-distance trips to countries of the Near and Middle East (IfD Allensbach, 2020). The special time of the holiday seems to be able to compensate for the rejection and fear towards immigrants of those countries. Tour operators pave the way for German tourists to long-distance destinations in the Near and Middle East and promise tourists encounters with foreign worlds as well as a return ticket home.

From this perspective, the encounter with strangeness in tourism is a tamed borderline experience, a prefabricated escape including a brief contact with the stranger. In other

words, everything that contrasts with everyday life (URRY, 1990). So, with who do travelers actually interact within their experiences of strangeness? With strangers, or with themselves?

To better understand the ambivalent perception of strangers, it is important to examine how the perception of strangeness differs in everyday life and on holiday and which situational conditions on vacation may influence these reverse attitudes. Answering these questions not only concludes the social order and reality of Germans but also points out how intercultural sensitivity could be strengthened in everyday life so that coexistence in a multicultural society could be made possible.

In the first step, the topic of strangeness is going to be gained through theoretical approaches, using the concepts of phenomenology and liminality. Reality and everyday life as social constructs are examined from a phenomenological perspective. The period of holidays is recognized as a special phase from a sociological perspective in which an escape from everyday life takes place under certain framework conditions.

Based on a mixed-methods approach, hypotheses were formulated to generate a questionnaire that targets to find suitable interview partners and to help answering the research question. First, the theoretical assumptions are operationalized in a quantitative questionnaire to find German tourists, who tend to reject migrants from the Near and Middle East but have already traveled to a country in that region out of curiosity towards foreign cultures. In case of agreement, selected participants are asked about insights of their ambivalent attitudes in qualitative interviews. At last, the results are presented by applying the relevant theoretical concepts to better understand the ambivalent perceptions of tourists to foreign cultures on holiday and in everyday life.

2. What's behind the phenomenon? Social Reality!

There is not one valid social reality but many social constructed realities. So how can such a reality be grasped and understood scientifically? Phenomenology offers a tool for this purpose. It enables a social-scientific approach to reality. In turn, sociology can use phenomenology studies to better understand social action. Phenomenology aims to uncover the structures of subjective realities of people's lives, to better understand how

they make sense of them, interpret them, and understand them. The subjectivity of a worldview and its formation into a social order are in that way often first presented to human consciousness (RAAB et al., 2008, p. 11).

Phenomenological sociology investigates how people experience the world and deal with it. Phenomena do not have a meaning in themselves, but they are given meaning by the ways in that people think and act on them. A socially constructed reality is thus defined by how people put things around them into a certain order. By defining phenomena again and again within the framework of that order, they become reality for a society. Reality in this sense is therefore what an individual considers to be real and is the result of a collective but individual production. In this respect there is not one valid social reality, but many formed ones (ABELS & KÖNIG, 2016, p. 151).

2.3 To each their own reality

The phenomenological concept of "lifeworld" goes back to Edmund Husserl (HUSSERL, 1986) and refers to a world that is given to the consciousness of an individual, based on which all human experiences are interpreted. It is assigned to an individual as its unique reality. The sociologist SCHÜTZ (1971) also ties in with the phenomenological concept of lifeworld coined by HUSSERL (1986). He analyses everyday life as a socio-spatial sphere of experience. SCHÜTZ (1971) posits that there is already a shared social reality in a collective before an individual enters life and starts interpreting its environment. This reality is a world regulated by everyday life's rules. All members of a society inevitably and regularly participate in everyday life, and thus constitute "a common communicative environment" in it (SCHÜTZ & LUCKMANN, 1975, p. 23). This jointly experienced lifeworld is assumed to be understood by everyone within a community. Each individual understands it in the same way under the "reciprocity of perspectives", i. e. under the mutual adoption of the viewpoint of others (SCHÜTZ, 1972). The lifeworld becomes unquestioned reality. This social reality of everyday life is internalized by individuals, whether they want to or not. It sets the social framework for producing subjective reality (ABELS & KÖNIG, 2016, p. 152).

Berger and Luckmann follow the paradigm of social constructivism. In their work "The Social Construction of Reality" they describe, as the title says, reality as a social construct. Since both scientists were students of Alfred Schütz their arguments are influenced by Schütz's phenomenological way of thinking. In their opinion Sociology of knowledge aims to uncover social processes through which reality is socially constructed (BERGER & LUCKMANN, 1966). They recognize socialization as a decisive process through which social reality is constructed. In that course a society builds up a typical, common knowledge. It is knowledge about how members think and act within a society, that is expressed through a common language. By learning the language of a society, an individual incorporates the social relevant knowledge and the common objectively perceived reality. In this way the individuals get socialized. By communicating a common language, the members of society mutually confirm the relevance of this knowledge and thereby socialize each other (BERGER & LUCKMANN, 1966).

Everyday-life, as sphere of socialization is decisive for the formation of orientations that help individuals to better understand the complex world they're living in. Most actions in everyday life are constantly repeated so that they form *common sense* that appears comprehensible to everyone in the associated collective. Everyday life becomes a direct space for action, planning, and experience and therefore takes on a primary position as a reality for the people living in it. The character of everyday life is thus primarily determined by familiarity. However, it is also intersubjective, i. e. it can be recognized and understood by individuals within a society's lifeworld, but not by other persons and groups which do not belong to it (HÄUßLING, 2018, p. 7).

According to Schütz, the familiarity that characterizes everyday life is constructed via a dichotomy of familiar/unfamiliar (SCHÜTZ, 1972). The moments of familiarity are about a feeling of self-evidence and security that accompanies humans in communicating within the known collective and understanding what others are saying and meaning. Schütz describes this feeling as "thinking-as-usual" (SCHÜTZ, 1972, p. 58) within a "world out of question" (SCHÜTZ et al., 1982, p. 186). Phenomena and encounters within a society are so routine that the ontology of familiar/unfamiliar is perceived as a natural given and is therefore not questioned (DELUGAN & NAEF, 2018).

SCHÜTZ (1971) explains the basic structures of lifeworlds and recognizes them as socio-historically predetermined. In that perspective each person lives, in a strict sense, in his

or her own, unique lifeworld (SCHÜTZ & LUCKMANN, 1975). Nevertheless, the individual lifeworlds seem to be only relatively different. The further one moves away from a lifeworld in time, space, or social terms, described in simple words, the more the specific lifeworlds of people differ from each other (HITZLER, 2008, p. 131).

In encounters with a stranger within one's habitualized lifeworld, the expectations to understand each other are disappointed. A situation arises in which one does not understand the stranger and remains misunderstood oneself. Schütz speaks of a „discrepancy between my stock of knowledge and the current experience" (SCHÜTZ & LUCKMANN, 1975, p. 39). A routinized reaction to the failure of understanding is no longer sufficient and the course of the situation becomes unpredictable (HAHN, 1994, p. 149). The experience of strangeness becomes a problem or even a crisis that triggers insecurity among those involved.

Everyday life has yet another relevance for experiences of strangeness. It represents the blind spot, the motor of social change in a society. Dealing with the unfamiliar not only has a productive form but above all a reproductive one. It must therefore be considered that the response of a society's member does not merely reproduce an already existing meaning, but that meaning is created in the response itself. For a lifeworld to emerge that is perceived as objective, the actors must construct it through their routinized social actions. The value system of a society is (re)produced above all in everyday life. Everyday assumptions should therefore rather be questioned instead of being adopted (MEYER, 2019).

Through encounters with the unknown, such familiar social structures are brought to light: "Those who want to understand the unfamiliar as unfamiliar must ask for the conditions under which social structures and processes are considered as familiar" (NASSEHI, 1995, p. 449). The phenomenological approaches of Husserl and Schütz aim to reflect the subjectivity of everyday life to bring to light its socially constructed nature (RUGGERONE, 2013). In particular, analyzing experiences with strangers, as a crisis-ridden intrusion into one's own everyday life is considered by Schütz as crucial (SCHÜTZ et al., 1982, 166f). During encounters with different cultures, different lifeworlds confront each other. This may lead to a crisis in everyday life, as daily routines may not present themselves anymore as natural.

2.1 The stranger – is it me or is it you? Scientific perspectives on strangeness

What do people mean when they call someone or something strange and what are they doing by applying such a label? The English language already emphasizes the many facets of strangeness through the range of words it offers to describe the phenomenon. With expressions such as foreign, strange, alien, unfamiliar, or weird, the unknown is already considered in a differentiated way, depending on the viewer's perspective. It provides information not only about the object of observation itself but also about the observer. In this way, two central insights into strangeness are discovered: 1. Strangeness is relative, depending on the degree of access. 2. Strangeness is relational and describes a relationship (ANTWEILER, 2019, p. 5).

A look at the science of humanities confirms the abstraction of the term, saying that it is not a concept of the scientific sciences as it cannot be perceived or constructed from an objective perspective but rather is at the level of everyday life. Studying a stranger is a paradox in itself since it aims to comprehend something incomprehensible (MÜNKLER & LADWIG, 1996, p. 12). The paradox in definition and science is that strangeness is something inaccessible. This means, in turn, that one first needs access to the inaccessible to know it at all. The unknown is not simply someone else or somewhere else, it is *elsewhere*. Knowledge of its existence implies that there is access to it, that one has entered a relationship with the unknown. In the first instance, a stranger is therefore defined through a relationship (WALDENFELS, 1995, p. 613).

This characteristic of strangeness was already recognized as central by Simmel. As the founder of formal sociology, he established strangers as a sociological category at the beginning of the 20th century. Simmel also describes strangeness through a relationship, which consists of a unity of closeness and distance. That means that on the one hand, a stranger must be close due to being a stranger, but the relationship to the stranger is characterized by distance so that the person nearby remains emotional distant (SIMMEL, 1908, p. 509).

The sociologist STICHWEH (1997) recognizes in Simmel's stranger, first of all, a non-member of a system made up of members, whereby a first binary reduction is made in the sense of belonging/non-belonging. However, STICHWEH (1997) attributes a certain ambivalence to strangers by not knowing whether he or she is a friend or enemy, whereby

there is also the case of neither nor. This latest attitude towards strangers is characterized by indifference (GROBNER, 2019, p. 24).

Nevertheless, travelers have a special role in social structures. By not belonging to any social group, they are detached from social orders, which allows them to behave out of the ordinary. In this perspective, Simmel's figure of a tourist would be a neutral one, endowed with a high degree of mobility, a "wanderer who arrives today and leaves tomorrow" (SIMMEL, 1908, p. 509). Although Simmel's approaches to strangers provide some conclusions about interactions and relationships in tourism, Simmel's understanding of a stranger cannot serve as the sole foundation for an investigation of tourist phenomena, as he ostensibly relates his reflections on strangers to a "potential wanderer" who comes today and stays tomorrow (HEUWINKEL, 2019, p. 28).

2.2 Strangeness is plural

The absolutely unknown is already not strange to us, because we cannot state anything definite about it at all. Not even that we are not able to define it more precisely (MÜNKLER & LADWIG, 1996, p. 14). This is why the philosopher Waldenfels defines strangeness not as an object, but as a relationship (WALDENFELS, 1995, p. 613). He concludes that strangeness thus emerges in events in which a person is confronted with a prospectively new reality. According to Waldenfels, social reality is divided into one's "own world" and the "world of strangers". A binary coding that results from a constant process of inclusion and exclusion (WALDENFELS, 1995, p. 612).

The process of defining borders at least explains the mentioned problematic nature in the scientific context. Which aspects are confined to one's world and which are excluded from it cannot be universally defined. The inside is the sphere of one's own world in contrast to the outside that is the sphere of strangers. The borders of these spheres can only be determined on an occasional basis, from case to case, and always need to be understood in the context of the speaker. It resists a unique classification (WALDENFELS, 1995, p. 612). The more homogeneous and closed this 'own' is supposed to be, the more it needs the other as its counter-image. And the less it tolerates other's appearances in their in-group (MÖRTH, 2003, p. 5).

In the field of tourism research, BERESWILLAND EHLERT (1994, p. 241) highlight the fascination that tourists feel towards strangers. By studying travel reports they notice a high frequency of some statements about otherness that are mentioned by tourists more often than others. This otherness is then mainly determined by the following three factors: the others are 1. more "original," 2. have more time and calmness, and 3. are open and friendly. All these characteristics attributed to the locals stand in contrast to the travelers own culture in the perception of the questioned tourists. Ultimately, in the sense of ENZENSBERGER (1958), these characteristics are also perceived as a lack of the tourist's own society in everyday life at home. From this perspective, tourists experience foreignness primarily as a confrontation with their own social order (MÖRTH, 2003, p. 5). The strangeness that opposes to the own lifeworld goes back to a process of inclusion and exclusion. This process of differentiation only proceeds from one side, namely from the perspective of what is one's very own. Therefore, the relationship to the foreign is asymmetrical. The own mindset is closer and more familiar to one's own internalized lifeworld than to an external and unfamiliar one. This inside and outside are separated by a threshold. Whereby similar working lifeworlds are grouped around themselves and thus appear as a bodily, ethically, or culturally shaped self (WALDENFELS, 2016a, p. 113). This fact is also underlined by the following three aspects which mark the stranger as alien and thus distinguish it from what is one's own: place, possession, and type. Alien is, firstly, what occurs outside one's sphere. Secondly, what belongs to someone else and, thirdly, what is unknown. The aspect of the place is considered to be the most important criterion (WALDENFELS, 1995, p. 612).

Social orders are no temporary features, rather strangeness and mannerism take on permanent forms. This leads to the pluralization of strangeness in the opinion of Waldenfels: "So viele Ordnungen, so viele Fremdheiten" (WALDENFELS, 2016b, p. 33) meaning that there are as many different realities as there are strangers. These orders vary according to the historical and geographical conditions of the living worlds, which is why Waldenfels also speaks of "cultural worlds" (WALDENFELS, 2016b, p. 34). 'Order' in the sense of individually valid reality and 'strangeness' are closely linked in this concept.

Waldenfels distinguishes between different typologies of strangeness which differ according to the degree of accessibility. There is the everyday or relative strangeness that is included in one's own world. An example would be an unknown person passing by on

the street. The second form is called structural or functional strangeness. This refers to everything outside a certain order, such as a foreign language, unfamiliar milieus, or unknown rituals. Finally, there is radical strangeness, which refers to everything that is no longer relatable, that is outside of any order. The radical form of strangeness belongs to phenomena that touch the roots of objects or experiences itself, like for example intoxication or death (WALDENFELS, 1995, 615f).

What Waldenfels calls structural strangeness is also defined as cultural strangeness by other authors (MÜNKLER & LADWIG, 1996, p. 30). What is meant by both is that individuals experience the limits of their own culturally shaped lifeworld. The characteristics and the behavior of strangers originate from a different social reality than the known and self-experienced one. Consequently, interactions with a person from a different culture are characterized by fundamental misunderstandings (MÜNKLER & LADWIG, 1996, 25ff). Such situations in which one does not understand a stranger and remains misunderstood oneself are characterized by unfamiliarity. In this way, the contingency of one's own expectations is brought to the surface, and one's own limited stock of knowledge is no longer sufficient to keep the feeling of uncertainty latent. As a result, well-established certainties are then called into question (MÜNKLER & LADWIG, 1996, p. 26).

However, encounters with strangers do not always end in the disappointment of expectations. Perhaps the otherness of people of a different culture has become a familiar aspect of an individual's reality. In other situations, such an experience is explicitly expected, as for example on journeys to distant countries (MÜNKLER & LADWIG, 1996, p. 30). In a study of tourism typologies the researcher MCKERCHER AND DU CROS (2003) find out that cultural distance influences participation in international cultural tourism. Cultural distance means the extent to which the culture of the originating region differs from that of the host region (GOELDNER et al., 2003). People from more culturally distant areas were highly motivated to travel for cultural reasons while tourists from culturally closer areas of a destination were less interested in cultural tourism, like visiting museums or monuments (MCKERCHER & DU CROS, 2003, p. 49). It can be seen that tourists are attracted to distant countries and cultures out of curiosity towards strangeness (MCKERCHER & DU CROS, 2003, p. 56).

There are disparities in the development of the different realities, which make it impossible that all life moves at the same level in a given time. In this context, Waldenfels

rejects the idea of uniform development of humanity within which all individualities would pass through the same stages. The idea itself already belongs to the order schemes that contribute to reducing strangeness and eliminating strangers from one's reality. He completes the argument with the example of indigenous people, who are often labeled as "primitives" by developed societies and are considered to be at a preliminary stage of civilization (WALDENFELS, 2016b, p. 35).

In his differentiations, however, Waldenfels allows for overlaps between the various zones and typologies of strangeness. Thus, the same person can be perceived as native and foreign and as familiar and alien at the same time, and all the more, the more heterogeneous societies become and the more access we gain to strangers. That is why there is not "the stranger", but always only a "certain stranger". This person appears to be strange in comparison to something else, which then functions as the standard of strangeness (WALDENFELS, 1995, p. 615). He supports this argument with the example of xenophobia and the assignment of foreigners according to characteristics that are not transparent, in this sense not fair: one stranger is called a foreigner, another is not. A quote from the fictional Gaul Methusalix from the comics of Asterix and Obelix sums up this approach in series 21 called *Le Cadeau de César*, as he states his attitude about foreigners: "You know me, I don't have anything against strangers. Some of my best friends are strangers. But those strangers aren't from around here!" (GOSCINNY & UDERZO, 1974, p. 16). According to Waldenfels, xenophobia arises based on certain characteristics of foreignness, which are heightened to foreignness par excellence. As a side outcome, this thesis then confirms 'real foreigners' who correspond to the cliché and exceptional foreigners who are not intended by it. Accordingly, the processes of typification and normalization are not entirely fair, as if there were qualifications but no disqualifications (WALDENFELS, 1995, p. 615).

People's knowledge of and about strangers is only slightly structured and hardly differentiated. At a first glance, perception is dominated by rough lines rather than internal diversity of culture. Thereupon an image of strangers as a stereotype is created. In subsequent encounters with strangers, people tend to constantly reassure this vague foreknowledge. Cultural strangeness leads to a refusal to learn. Instead of approaching strangers with the intention of understanding, it is easier to reduce contact with them to a minimum or even to exclude them (MÜNKLER & LADWIG, 1996, p. 25).

If uncertainty caused by strangeness exceeds a critical threshold, this can result in defensive reactions. However, if the desire to expand the own stock of knowledge is greater than the need for security, then curiosity towards strangeness wins (MÜNKLER & LADWIG, 1996, p. 26). Strangeness has an ambivalent effect. It can trigger fear in an individual, but also fascination. In any case, the world beyond one's order of reality always poses a challenge to oneself. Either the unfamiliarity of the foreign has a frightening or liberating reaction. In its mysterious nature, it is both inspiring and stressful at the same time (WALDENFELS, 2013, 31ff). In this way, not only is a stranger defined by the person that makes that label, but the person acting is defined by the way he or she deals with others (WALDENFELS, 1995, p. 620).

The phenomenological reflections about everyday life and its importance in encounters with cultural strangeness lead to the first assumption:

H1: In everyday life, cultural differences of foreigners tend to be perceived negatively.

3. Liminal rose-colored glasses called holidays

3.1 A world beyond the threshold of everyday life

The concept of liminality was first proposed by van Gennep in 1908, about rites of transition. Such rites are characterized by three phases: separation, transition, and inclusion. The first phase refers to the separation from the person's role in society, while the last phase refers to the reintegration after the return to everyday life (NELSON, 2020, 300f). TURNER (1987) took up the concept of liminality many years later and expanded it to include the phase between separation and return from everyday life, calling it the liminal phase. Liminal comes from Latin and means 'threshold' (NELSON, 2020, p. 300). A liminal phase means a phase of transition thus, "a state or process which is betwixt-and-between the normal, day-to-day cultural and social states and processes" (TURNER, 1979, p. 465). Individuals who are in a liminal phase are detached from their home society and at the same time do not belong to the visited group. In this way they remain without status and are not subject to any valid norms. This is why an individual's mind changes in such a liminal phase (HEUWINKEL, 2019, p. 137). Within that state of threshold, individ-

uals or groups question the existing social order that they usually belong to. By not belonging to a group, a crisis occurs, as SCHÜTZ (1972, p. 60) describes it, in which the construction of such lifeworlds emerges. Such a crisis can dissolve in different directions. Through the process of exclusion, the individual marginalizes him/herself from the other group or is excluded by the in-group. Alternatively, the individual changes the previously existing order so that membership in the new group is made possible. In the phase of liminality, time seems to be suspended, so that the boundaries between fiction and reality become unclear for those affected (KLIMKE et al., 2020, p. 463).

The concept of liminality can be applied to tourism as the holiday phase is regarded as a liminal phase. A person escapes from everyday life not only by traveling to other places but also by leaving behind the usual routines of everyday life. Holiday becomes a marginal period in the life of individuals and is therefore of special significance. Staying in an unfamiliar place corresponds to the separation from everyday life and its social duties and norms. Tourists are detached from the society of their home country and do not (yet) belong to the visited group. They are therefore not subject to any valid social rules and norms at all. After tourists return, they reintegrate into their society of origin (HEUWINKEL, 2019, p. 138).

3.2 I am packing my bag and I am taking with me: My mindset

Interestingly, in the context of tourism, travelers are looking for encounters and experiences with strangeness. The uncertainty associated with experiences of foreignness and the resulting change from everyday life is a central motive to travel for some tourists (HEUWINKEL, 2019). While in everyday-life strangers are predominantly perceived as threatening, on holiday it seems that encounters with strangers are mainly perceived as fascinating, or to say in John Urry's words: "When we 'go away' we look at the environment with interest and curiosity" (URRY, 1990, p. 1). In his opinion, tourism is all about the consumption of unnecessary goods and services, which are produced to generate pleasurable experiences that differ from everyday life (URRY, 1990).

Urry describes a Tourist Gaze that is not only socially organized but also varies by social group and historical period. The Tourist Gaze is thus constructed as the opposite of everyday life. Therefore, it depends above all on the everyday life to which it is contrasted.

Urry (1990) speaks of a parallel to the theory of deviance. It is the study of abnormal social practices that may be defined as deviant in one society but not in another. Through the study of deviant behavior, aspects of the everyday order of a society can be discovered. According to Urry, the extent to which activities are perceived as deviant from the norm shows how society functions in different ways: "Opening up the workings of the social world often requires the use of counter-intuitive and surprising methodologies, such as in this case the investigation of the 'departures' involved in the Tourist Gaze" (URRY, 1990, p. 2). Such deviant practices involve the notion of a break with established routines and practices of everyday life. One could say that the consumption of unnecessary pleasures is justified by the liminal phase of holidays. Here, tourists can allow themselves to engage with stimuli and attractions that differ from their ordinary everyday life.

Although a Tourist Gaze varies historically and socially, Urry recognizes some characteristics as being typical for tourism in general. Tourism is a leisure activity that presupposes its opposite, namely regulated and organized work. Acting as a tourist is one of the most significant features that defines the modern era, which is associated with the transfer of large monetary sums. Tourists travel to foreign places. These trips take place at regular intervals and the stay in the foreign place is temporary, with a clear intention to return home (URRY, 1990).

Furthermore, holiday destinations are linked to expectations that are constructed through marketing. Unnecessary pleasures are developed by tourism industry in the form of offers and services specifically targeted at the Tourist Gaze. Urry's view of tourism, which for him is about the consumption of familiar images and signs, also suggests influences of the Tourist Gaze on experiences with strangers. This is why the second hypothesis states:

H2: On holiday, images and expectations about foreign countries tend to affect the perception of strangeness positively.

Cohen also sees the holiday phase as a break from everyday life. From his perspective, tourism would then be a mere escape from the boredom and meaninglessness of routines and everyday life into the fleetingness and pleasure of holidays, which "acts as a

healing balm for the routine mind" (COHEN, 2005, 96f). He also agrees with the explanation for curiosity in tourism with the concept of the *Tourist Bubble*, which is quite close to the Urrys Tourist Gaze. The Tourist Bubble insulates and protects tourists from the unfamiliar environment, thus balancing uncertainty and unfamiliarity. The term is based on Cohen's term environmental bubble, which in turn is derived from Knebel's formulation of "touristische Eigenwelt", meaning a tourist's world, and refers primarily to the modern world considering the mass tourism that has emerged in it (COHEN, 1972). Tourists travel in a bubble and view foreign cultures and places through the protective walls of their well-known bubble. The protective walls have a physical dimension on the one hand and a psychological dimension on the other. The physical dimension of the Tourist Bubble is formed by institutional and other arrangements of the travel industry that are explicitly created for tourists, such as hotels or tourist offers which target to be booked by tour groups and are organized by tour operators. The other protective wall of the Tourist Bubble is at the psychological level and refers to the attitudes and beliefs about reality that tourists arrive with (JAAKSON, 2004, 44f). VOGEL (2002, 84f) defines the physical dimension of the Tourist Bubble, be it in the form of tour groups or hotel facilities, as a "short-lived, little community that separates travelers from an unsettling environment. The purpose of the Tourist Bubble is to separate travellers from an unfamiliar and insecure environment. The travel group shields itself from the strange locals and their everyday life by sharing a common holiday experience and the same social status (as a Western tourist). Excursions are organized and accompanied by a tour guide. In this way, the local culture can be explored by the tourists from a safe distance, in both physical and psychological terms (MÖRTH, 2003, p. 18). Experiences of strange cultures are perceived from a protected area and experienced based on what is known, i. e. the tourists' ingrained beliefs. This allows travelers to manage uncertainty abroad and to consume exotic cultures from a safe distance (VOGEL, 2002, p. 86).

The described framework conditions that the Tourist Bubble builds up on holiday influence tourists' experiences with strangeness. This leads to the following assumption:

H3: On holiday, organized travel settings tend to affect the perception of strangeness positively.

Critically thinking tourism researchers such as MACCANNELL (1976), URRY (1990), and COHEN (2004) define tourism in terms of contrast to everyday life saying that tourism is: “a no-work, no-care, no-thrift situation” (COHEN, 1979, p. 181). Accordingly, tourism and everyday life belong to ontological worlds. The former is the world of the extraordinary, the latter that of the ordinary. Holidays, as a counter-image to everyday life, take place in periods and places created for the purpose to consume exotic goods or services. As a result, the tourism industry produces fixed binaries between tourism and everyday life: The extraordinary and the ordinary, pleasure and boredom, liminality and rules, and much more (LARSEN, 2008, p. 21).

The combination of liminality and exoticism on holiday makes strangeness seem attractive. Exoticism means a kind of engagement with the unfamiliar, especially foreign cultures, as it is experienced while traveling. Here again, the reference to the speaking person is significant. Foreign cultures are not only perceived as distant but above all as different from one's own culture. On the one hand, this implies the distinction of one's own culture from a supposedly foreign culture; at the same time, the perception of the foreign culture is only thinkable in the context of one's own culture. The ideas of exotic foreign worlds always reflect one's reality, the individual's wishes and dreams, but also all the shortcomings that the respective society demands of its members (KUSKE & CZERNY, 1999, 616ff).

These assumptions allow for a completely new perspective on the process of inclusion and exclusion regarding experiences of foreignness. Holidays as liminal phases coupled with exoticism influence experiences of foreignness in a completely different way than it is the case in everyday life. Accordingly, the followed assumption is supplemented:

H4: On holiday, cultural differences of foreigners tend to be perceived positively.

3.3 The Near and Middle East through the eyes of Western countries

Similar convictions to exotism are reached by Edward Said's concept of Orientalism. He describes the phenomenon as “othering” which contains a process of inclusion and exclusion between oneself and others. In this way, a dichotomy is created and maintained,

which is characterized by a certain (Western) identity, from which perspective oneself and others are defined (BRESNER, 2010, p. 11). This relationship is embedded in a structure of power that is shaped by the West's tendency to isolate and a thinking of being superior. Thus, constructing a European identity that ultimately also serves to legitimize colonization efforts. The American literary scholar characterizes Orientalism as "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (SAID, 1979, p. 3). The concept of Orientalism serves the Western world as a system of knowledge that creates and propagates subjective representations of otherness.

In addition to this representation, however, Said also holds the definition of the Orient itself to be problematic. The Orient as such does not originate from territorial borders but is above all a construct. According to Said, the Orient does not exist at all but merely exists as a construction that is reproduced and maintained by hierarchical structures set up by the Western world. Said calls this construct an "imaginative geography" (SAID, 1979, p. 49), whose function is to create completely contrary worlds, which in turn result in the exclusion of each other as a potential threat and/or the possibility of appropriating it in the sense of a civilizational project, such as colonialization (RICHTER, 2015, p. 315).

The concept of Orientalism is not a static one but depends on various paradigmatic and social developments. Kerboua describes the current discourse of Orientalism, which he calls Neo-Orientalism, as an "us versus them" (KERBOUA, 2016, p. 27) scheme that not only emphasizes the differences between the various identities, civilizations, and religions but also presents them as incompatible. Such a discourse intensifies the split between the West and the Near and Middle East in the sense that reality and diversity of Arab cultures remain hidden and are instead understood only from the West's system of knowledge and values (KERBOUA, 2016).

Since traveling to that region was not possible for most people for a long time, most people used to know it, as well as other foreign regions, only from travel reports, stories, and descriptions by traders, missionaries, or military soldiers (KUSKE & CZERNY, 1999, p. 618). In the past, tourist travel was reserved exclusively for upper social classes, who had the financial means and transport options associated with traveling. With increased mobility, long-haul destinations such as the Near and Middle East finally became accessible to almost all Europeans. While England and France, as pioneers of travel, shipped

to 'their' Orient, i. e. Egypt, Algeria, or Morocco, in the form of colonial ambitions, Austrians focused on the Holy Land. In the 16th and 17th centuries, an Oriental fashion, the "Tur-queries", spread in Austria. Elements of architecture, décor, clothing or art from the Arab world became trendy and with as a consequence the number of trips to the Near and Middle East increased. According to the first eye-witness and travel reports of upper classes, popular pilgrimages emerged, which were decisive in opening up the possibilities to travel to the Orient to a broader section of the population (HESSE, 2008, 6f). The popularity of the Orient as a travel destination, based on a romanticized view of Europe's more privileged social classes, could not overturn a centuries-old hostility towards the Ottoman lands. Threats by populations from the East - which repeatedly took the form of violent confrontations between European countries and the Ottoman Empire - manifested a certain image of Turks as enemies (HESSE, 2008, p. 7).

The ambivalent image of the Arab world in Europe seems to continue into the present. Through mass media coverage, new patterns of representation of the Near and Middle East have emerged, such as that of the oil supplier or the terrorist. Of course, there is a connection to concrete socio-political developments, such as the oil crisis of the 1970s, the Islamic Revolution, or the attacks of 9/11, but the underlying circumstances of these events are usually not made visible. What remains for the imagination of the broad masses are predominantly stereotypical images that show Muslims and Arabs less as individuals, but more as acting collectively irrationally and as barbarians stuck in the Middle Ages (GÖCKEDE & KARENTZOS, 2006, 9ff).

Media reports from the Near and Middle East in the last decade have shaped the public perception of Germans, above all through reports of violent conflicts and cross-border terrorism. The Arab world, associated with the religion of Islam, is therefore predominantly perceived as threatening. Although the region is currently increasingly seen as a danger zone and less as a tourist destination, countries of the Near and Middle East continue to hold a certain attraction and fascination for European tourists (HESSE, 2008, 7f).

"The Orient - A holiday like in a fairy tale from 1001 nights" (DER Touristik Deutschland GmbH, 2021); with slogans like these, long-distance tours to the Near and Middle East are advertised by tour operators like DERTours. Popular Orient tours go to countries such as Morocco, Iran, Tunisia, Israel, and other oriental oases (SKR Reisen GmbH, 2021).

Mosques and temples can be visited, and exotic fruits and spices can be tasted. Countries full of colorful cultures are to be experienced authentically. In the context of tourism, countries of the Near and Middle East are becoming increasingly popular as long-distance destinations among Germans. While 420,000 Germans traveled to the Middle East in 2016, the number rose to 560,000 travelers by 2020 (IfD Allensbach, 2020).

Travelers often only perceive elements of foreign culture, such as palm trees, sandy beaches, bazaars overflowed by humans, women wearing headscarves, or bearded fanatics (KUSKE & CZERNY, 1999, p. 617). Selective ideas that travelers have about a destination and their stereotypes have a similar character: they are already in their mind before the journey starts and they are difficult to overcome. The desire for one's ideas to be fulfilled and one's images to be reflected in reality become the central theme of their touristic stay. The confirmation of these preconceived images becomes a component of travel satisfaction for tourists and a branding strategy for the tourism industry (GARAEVA, 2012, p. 215). What remains significant for images and the perception of strangeness, just like countries in the Near and Middle East is the substance of the construction, designed from a Western standpoint of observation, whereby they say much more about the mindset and projections of the viewers and their society than about reality.

4. When distance becomes close

4.1 Strangers in my home

In everyday life, experiences with strangers tend to be perceived as threatening. The alien is then very close, namely directly in one's order of reality. It may first uncover this never questioned reality of values and norms as a construct and possibly call it into question. A distinction from the stranger as well as embedding different cultures and realities in a hierarchical order, therefore, seems even more necessary for an individual in his or her own home (GOETHE, 2002).

As a long-term study by the University of Leipzig shows, xenophobic attitudes among Germans remain, albeit they are slightly declining, they are remaining at the same time

alarmingly high. The devaluation of individual religious or cultural groups is even increasing on a long-term average. More than a quarter of respondents agree with the statement that foreigners in Germany exploit the welfare system. The same proportion agrees with the statement that the republic of Germany is dangerously over-foreignized. The Germans' attitude of dominance towards other people is also remarkable. One in five-person thinks that Germans are naturally superior to other people. The demand for an immigration ban is supported by about a quarter of the respondents (BRÄHLER et al., 2020).

Hostile tensions can also be noted about specific groups. For example, 47% of respondents sometimes feel like a stranger in their own country because of Muslims living there as well. More than a quarter also think that Muslims should not be allowed to immigrate to Germany. More than half of the respondents also agree with the statement that Sinti and Roma are more prone to criminality. The position on Anti-Semitism is a similarly rejected one. Thus, 10% of the respondents showed sympathy for the fact that some people have something against Jews (BRÄHLER et al., 2020).

Stichweh, Simmel, and Schütz also declare strangers in their theories primarily as an intruder in a mostly closed, social collective. In the same way, migration research also sees a stranger as standing outside a German in-group. In both views, the position of a stranger to the in-group is problematic and in the end he must be eliminated or integrated (HOLZER, 2004, p. 4445).

4.2 Strangers in numbers and origin

According to the projection of the Microcensus from 2018 by the German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF), around 20.8 million people live in German private households, that have a migration background (Figure 1). They make up a share of approximately 25% of the total German population. The report specifically looks at people from Muslim-dominated countries, including the following countries from the Near and Middle East in its projections:

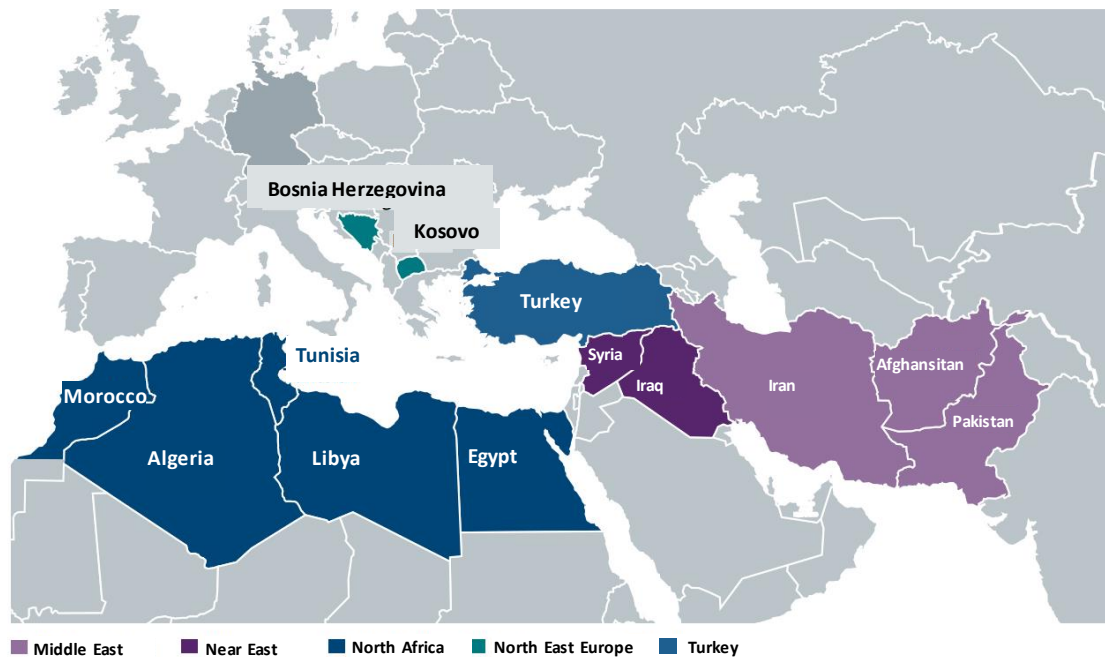


Figure 1: Summarising the considered Muslim-dominated countries into country clusters (German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, 2020).

5.8 million of the people with a migration background living in Germany come from various Muslim-dominated countries considered in Figure 1. They make up about a quarter of all people with a migration background living in Germany. Their share of the total German population is 7.1% (German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, 2020, p. 16).

Most immigrants in Germany from Muslim-majority countries come from Turkey. They make up about half of all immigrants from the corresponding region. The Middle East population group from Syria and Iraq has recorded the largest increase in the past 15 years and now represents the second-largest group of immigrants from Muslim-majority countries in Germany (German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, 2020, p. 4).

Country of birth (own or parents)	number in thousands	Share of total population in %
Middle East	619	0.8
Afghanistan	267	0.3
Iran	237	0.3
Pakistan	115	0.1
Near East	1104	1.4
Iraq	291	0.4
Syria	813	1.0
North Africa	442	0.5
Egypt, Algeria, Lybia, Tunisia	202	0.2
Morocco	240	0.3
Southeast Europe	878	1.1
Bosnia-Herzegowina	415	0.5
Kosovo	463	0.6
Turkey	2769	3.4
Total from Muslim-majority countries	5812	7.1
Total with migration background	20799	25.5
Total population	81613	100.0

Table 1: Number of persons from the respective countries and percentage share of the total population in Germany (German Federal Office of Statistics, 2019).

Germany and Turkey are already linked by a long history of migration. Most of the Turkish pioneers came as guest workers under bilateral agreements concluded between Germany and Turkey in 1961 (LUFT, 2014). Among this proportion of migrants, later generations without an own migration experience now make up more than half of the group of Turkish migrants (German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, 2020, p. 4).

People with a migration background from Muslim countries migrate to Germany significantly more frequently for reasons of political escape, asylum, and international pro-

tection than other groups of people with a migration background in general. For migrants from Turkey, family reunification plays the biggest role in their motives of migration (German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, 2020, p. 4).

The analysis by the BAMF also looks at the role of the German language among migrants from the considered countries. In almost half of the households in which at least one person with a migrant background from a Muslim-majority country lives, the predominant language spoken is German. Specifically, this is most common among households with people of North African origin (61%). German is spoken most rarely in households with people who come from the Middle East (21%) (German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, 2020, p. 5).

As stated before, people from Turkey are by far the largest group coming from Muslim-majority countries in Germany. However, the size of this group has remained almost constant since 2005 and has not grown much. For other groups considered, however, there have been steady changes in recent years. While the group of people from Syria and Iraq was the smallest group of people from Muslim countries until 2015, with about 317,000 persons, the number of migrants from these countries has increased almost four times within three years. In 2018, this group of people is thus represented in Germany by almost 1.1 million persons. Migrants from the Middle East have been the second-largest group of Immigrants in Germany since 2016. The recent increase in the Syrian population in Germany is caused by the war in Syria that broke out in 2015, due to which a large number of people decided to flee (German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, 2020, p. 22).

4.3 Host and guest: An exhausting relationship

The term hospitality classifies the relationship to another person and holds a variety of connotations. On the one hand, it refers to generosity, commitment, and mutual exchange. At the same time, however, it can also be associated with hostility, rejection, mistrust, and separation. The act of welcoming a guest in a hospitable way is thus an exploration of risk and uncertainty (FRIESE, 2010, p. 324). Tourists and migrants both take on a guest role. However, the roles are linked to completely different expectations, rights, and obligations.

Concerning migration, hospitality deals primarily with fundamental social, political, and ethical questions and their respective spaces (FRIESE, 2010). Western countries explicitly select their guests using residence and visa criteria. This not only reduces risks but also places obligations on the guests. The people living in the host countries generally do not follow their code of hospitality, as they do not want to take any risks in welcoming immigrants, but expect the immigrants to take all the risks of the exchange (OSCHERWITZ, 2004, p. 162). Since the state takes on the role of the host towards immigrants and prescribes the conditions of hospitality, there can be no possibility of hospitality for an individual citizen of the receiving country. A host as a native individual does not have the full right to decide when and to whom to grant hospitality and to whom not, which is why an individual act of trust and generosity is often absent among the citizens of countries of immigration (OSCHERWITZ, 2004, p. 163).

As a tourist, on the other hand, you take on the role of a guest, in which you aren't anywhere a stranger. This role is structurally fixed to wandering. In most countries around the world, the tourist is highly welcome because he comes with the motive to consume goods and services for a limited time. He can only remain a stranger in Simmel's interpretation as a wanderer who leaves, if not tomorrow, then at least after his visa has expired (HOLZER, 2004, p. 4445).

Also KADT (1979) studied on encounters between hosts and guests in the context of tourism. He notices that hosts and guests meet mainly in two ways: 1. in places and situations where tourists are purchasing goods and/or services from the host or 2.) places and situations that tourists and hosts are using or occupying at the same time. The described scenes already indicate an inequality between the two roles, in the way that the needs of tourists and industry are put before those of the local population. The distribution of claims of interest often results in a question of power. Frequently one's benefit is another's loss. As for example in the case, when local values and traditions are being commercialized as tourist attractions by presenting them as exotic, original and more primitive related to the non-local value system of tourists (SAARINEN & MANWA, 2008, p. 45).

While immigrants must bear the full risk in terms of travel, stay, and the requirements of the host, the role of the tourist remains unencumbered. A tourist is not bound by any social norms of the home country or the host country and does not have to meet any

requirements. On the contrary: tourist situations and places are designed to meet the needs of short-term visitors. The status of being a stranger thus does not entail any insecurities, neither for the tourist nor for the area they are visiting. Guest and host know what to expect from their relationship - this includes the total freedom of the guest as well as the promise of an early end of their visit (HOLZER, 2004, p. 4445).

5. Methodology

5.1 Problem statement

While tourists escape from their everyday life towards south, people from the Global South migrate to the Global North hoping for a better life. Most of the countries of emigration are countries with poor populations without perspectives, which are marked by permanent political and economic crises (LENZ, 2010, 94ff). The migration movements of the last decades to middle Europe have led to encounters with foreigners that take place in a completely different way than in tourism. People admire different cultures as tourists in a holiday destination, but demand from migrants at home to integrate and adapt to 'their' culture. Despite a declining trend, right-wing extremist political attitudes remain at a permanently high level in Germany (BRÄHLER et al., 2020). While travelers encounter foreignness on holiday with a cosmopolitan curiosity, the fear towards foreign people and cultures seems to prevail in their everyday life.

5.2 Justification

The ambivalent attitude towards strangers in the two different situations seems to be scientifically understandable from a phenomenological perspective. Following SCHÜTZ (1972) and URRY (1990), everyday life, or rather its disruption, must be considered, as crises and disturbances bring the structures and norms of a society to light.

Thus, it seems that there is only one way out of the ambivalent dilemma of experiences with strangeness. By creating access to foreigners, they are becoming more familiar, which in turn has the potential to change our understanding of the world (DELUGAN & NAEF, 2018). Bauman notices that curiosity about foreignness in tourism would be a very good springboard for approaching it for other purposes as well, such as encounters

in everyday life. Instead, he mentions that curiosity is wasted exclusively on “commercialized pseudo-multiculturalism” (FRANKLIN, 2003, p. 215).

Tourism and holidays as a liminal phase of people could thus be used as a lens for constructed representations of foreignness, precisely because there is little awareness of social constructions in everyday life and the dimensions strange/familiar are perceived as given (DELUGAN & NAEF, 2018).

5.3 Research question and hypotheses

Sceptical attitudes towards foreigners in everyday life are seemingly be turned into curiosity and fascination during tourist stays. Therefore, this paper focuses on experiences of strangeness in tourism to find out how encounters with foreign cultures in tourism differ from those in everyday life. In what ways do inclusion and exclusion of foreign cultures take place in everyday life and on holiday? And to what extent do situational conditions during holidays influence the experiences of foreignness?

Answers to these questions not only give conclusions about the social order and reality of German society but could shed light on what conditions are necessary to channel people's curiosity so that intercultural sensitivity could be strengthened and thus a co-existence of a multicultural society may be enabled.

The following hypotheses were formulated to operationalize the theoretical approaches according to which the superior and subordinate research questions are to be answered:

H1: In everyday life, cultural differences of foreigners tend to be perceived negatively.

H2: On holiday, images and expectations about foreign countries tend to affect the perception of strangeness positively.

H3: On holiday, organized travel settings tend to affect the perception of strangeness positively.

H4: On holiday, cultural differences of foreigners tend to be perceived positively.

5.4 Sample

To investigate the ambivalent, situation-related attitudes of tourists towards foreigners, German tourists that have already traveled to a country in the Near and Middle East are surveyed about their attitudes of foreign cultures on holidays and in their everyday life, to better understand their common sense about foreigners.

The sample of this research project includes only German travelers, who are identified through the characteristic of German citizenship, have already traveled to a country in the Near and Middle East.

The questionnaire was distributed several times via social media (Facebook, Instagram, Whatsapp) to recruit as many participants as possible. To reach a wider audience, the survey was also distributed using a snowball sampling method. This is a method of sampling from a population where standard sampling is either impossible or too expensive. Since the overall population of this project is unknown, a standardized sampling is not realizable (HANDCOCK & GILE, 2011, 368f). In snowball sampling, the first participants are recruited from the researcher's close social environment. These respondents then send the link to the online survey to other people in their environment. The advantage of such a method is that the sample increases exponentially. The disadvantage of the method, however, is that the researchers themselves, as well as participants in the survey, suggest such further participants who have similar sociodemographic characteristics to themselves, which results in a bias in the sample (ETIKAN, 2016). Since the study has an unknown population, and the methodological procedure cannot be based on random principles, it is not possible to generalize the results.

In addition to a homogeneous sample in the quantitative survey, a further limitation is recognized regarding potential interview participants. While the participation in the quantitative survey is still anonymous, the qualitative in-depth interviews will no longer be anonymous. Due to the controversial topic of xenophobia, it could be the case that only those participants will be willing to take part in a qualitative interview, who are very open to foreigners and do not have sceptical attitudes towards immigrants. But those people wouldn't correspond to the searched criteria.

Furthermore, it is expected that the willingness to participate in a qualitative interview after completing the quantitative questionnaire will not be as high, as this would increase the amount of time spent by the respondents. To increase the willingness to participate in a qualitative interview, a shopping voucher of 50 Euros will be raffled among all participants who are available for a qualitative interview. This incentive also creates bias, as some people may only agree to an interview to get the incentive. However, the bias is relativized by other filter functions in the participants' responses regarding their travel behavior and attitudes towards migrants from countries of the Near and Middle East.

5.5 Research design

The research design is a form of mixed methods, namely a “sequential-explanatory design” (SCHREIER & ODAČ, 2020, p. 170). The concept is divided into two phases. In the first research phase, a quantitative study is undertaken, whose results are then used as a foundation for the subsequent qualitative interviews. The results of the quantitative phase are used to find individuals for qualitative interviews. The quantitative research itself as well as its results thus only serve as an aid to the qualitative research (Hussy et al., 2010, p. 291). The structure and process of the research design is visualised in the followed figure:

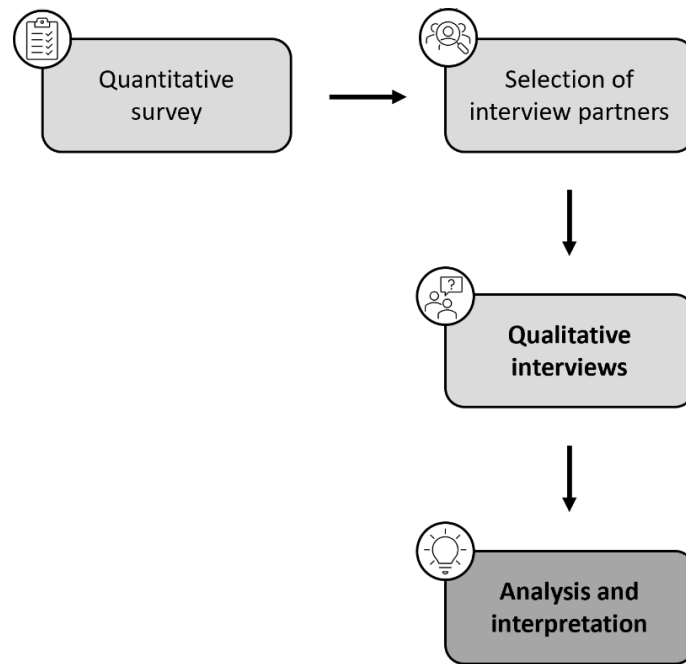


Figure 2: Structure and process of the research design (Own illustration, 2021).

First, the respondents are asked about their attitudes towards cultures from the Near and Middle East in an anonymous, quantitative survey, with only a few open questions. Since the respondents are confronted with the controversial topic of xenophobia, the anonymous quantitative survey has two advantages: Due to the short time needed to participate in the survey (ten minutes), more people will be willing to fill out the questionnaire than to be interviewed. At the same time, more honest answers are expected from the respondents in an anonymous survey than in a personal interview. But above all, the quantitative survey aims to find suitable people for qualitative interviews. The selected people for the qualitative interviews have both a fascinating and at the same time threatening attitude towards foreign cultures from the Near and Middle East. Those persons are selected based on the following sets of responses:

- a) Participants that have at least travelled once to the Near and Middle East for tourism purposes in their life
- b) Their travel motives to go there were reasons of exoticism and curiosity of foreign cultures
- c) They tend to reject foreign cultures in everyday life

Qualitative interviews are therefore conducted with participants who have appropriate attitudes towards foreign cultures and who consent to a subsequent personal interview.

The results of the survey flow directly into the design of the interview guide for qualitative interviews. The aim of the qualitative interviews is not to find out additional answers, but to fill in the explanatory gaps left by the quantitative study (KUCKARTZ, 2014, p. 78). Therefore, the qualitative interviews are weighted more heavily than the quantitative data obtained from the questionnaires within the framework of the applied method since they are more suitable for answering the research question.

One of the strengths of this design is the clarity of the two-phase structure: the first quantitative study can be conducted relatively independently towards the subsequent qualitative study. A disadvantage of the design, however, is the relatively time-consuming implementation. Furthermore, it is questionable whether and in what way the samples from the two study phases are related to each other (Hussy et al., 2010, p. 292).

5.5.1 Quantitative data collection

In the quantitative survey, German tourists are first asked about their experiences with the people and cultures from the Near and Middle East on holiday and in everyday life. The survey was created online using the tool google platform and ran from the 7th of August until the 10th of September 2021. It comprises 24 questions and takes about ten minutes to answer. The questionnaire can be inspected in the appendix (appendix 1). Before the survey began, the participants were informed that their participation in the survey would be completely anonymous and that the data would not allow any conclusions to be drawn about them.

Before the real survey started online, three pre-tests were undertaken by three independent participants. The pre-tests enabled the researcher to identify and modify problems in questions or formulations and tested the comprehensibility of the questions in terms of content and wording.

At the beginning of the questionnaire, a crucial filter was included to ask whether the person has already traveled to a country in the Middle East. To define which countries are included in this region, a map is shown at the beginning of the questionnaire, in which the countries meant are marked as can be seen in figure three. To double-check the filter question, the participants are then asked which countries of that region they have traveled to.

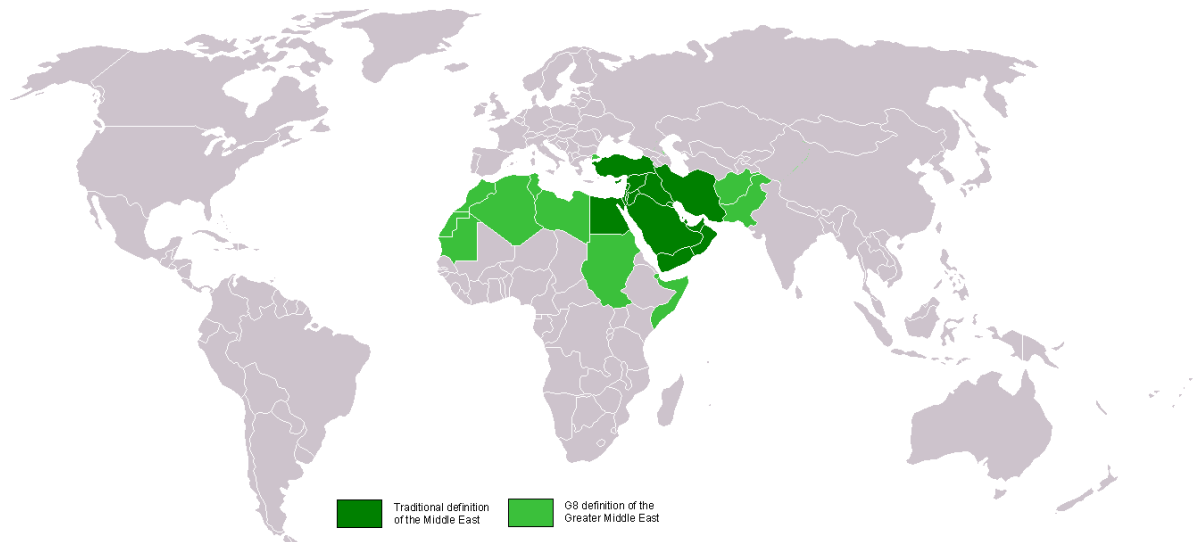


Figure 3: Map of Near and Middle East (Virgil Interactive GmbH, 2021).

In the section on general travel behavior, respondents are asked to indicate the frequency of long-distance travel to the respective region, and their corresponding travel motives for going there.

All the specific questions in the following two parts are designed to measure the factors that, according to the theoretical approaches described, may influence the perception of strangeness in everyday life and on holiday. These are images and expectations, organized travel settings, and differences in cultures.

The conceptual framework shown in figure four visualizes the examined factors and their influence on the perception of strangeness on holiday and in everyday life. The interpreted results afterward may provide information in what ways the perception of strangeness differs according to those components as well as information about the social order of German tourists in their everyday life.

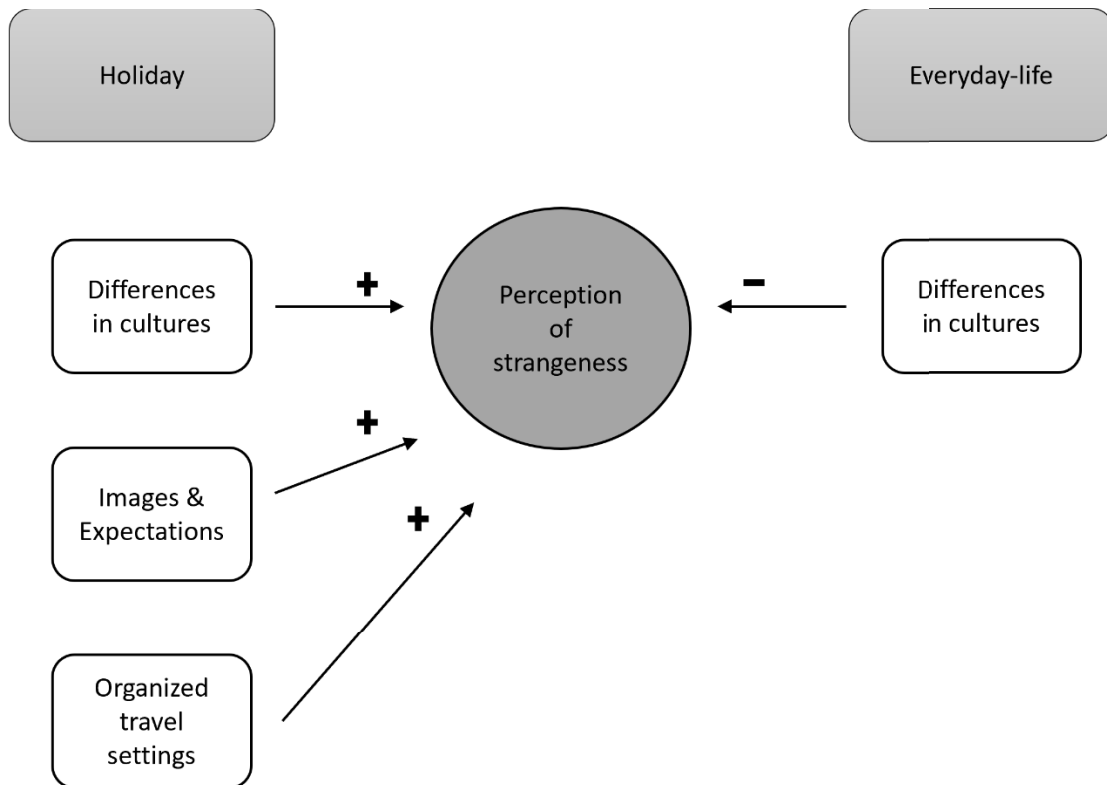


Figure 4: Conceptual framework (Own illustration, 2021).

First, respondents are asked about their travel experiences in the Near and Middle East. Questions on the expectations, perceptions, and organizational framework conditions of their trips to the region point out how the respondents deal with unfamiliar cultures and to what extent travel settings and expectations and images play a role in the perception of strangeness on holidays.

The following section is devoted to experiences with the Near and Middle East in everyday life. The questions regarding relationships and political positions towards cultures and migrants from the Near and Middle East are intended to provide information about attitudes towards foreigners in everyday life.

Questions that are designed to measure subjective statements are measured on a 6-point scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). A middle number in the scale is omitted to avoid indicating neutral values but rather to obtain a tendency of agreement or disagreement in the answers.

In the end, respondents are asked about socio-demographic characteristics such as gender, education, and employment status to conclude the sample and possible links or correlations to content issues. The last question asks for a personal interview to have deeper qualitative insights into the attitudes mentioned.

5.5.2 Interviews

The qualitative interviews aim to create a comfortable atmosphere and to not give the interviewee the feeling that he or she is in an interview situation in which certain answers must be provided or the interviewee even feels exploited. Otherwise, there is a danger of misrepresenting social reality instead of illuminating it (GIRTLE, 2009, p. 155). Girtler also calls such a conversation an "ero-epic conversation" (GIRTLE, 2009, p. 149). Both, the interviewer, and the interviewee are actively involved. It is a process of exchanging perspectives through narratives and stories, and of engaging with each other. In contrast to the classical interview, in which the researcher questions and the interviewee provides information, in the ero-epic conversation the two persons meet at an eye level. They do not take on opposing roles, but complementary ones, so that each can learn from the other.

To create such an atmosphere, it was tried to talk to the interviewees at face-to-face meetings. The personality of the interviewees plays an important role for this research in several respects. On the one hand, the interview is about personal experiences of the interviewees, especially in the context of xenophobia, which is a sensitive issue. Secondly, some of the interviewees were previously unknown to the researcher, which makes it even more difficult to create an ero-epic conversation on confidential topics. Therefore, attempts were made to conduct all conversations with the interviewees in face-to-face meetings. Based on the quantitative survey, ten interview partners were selected and interviewed. Eight conversations were held in face-to-face meetings, two participants preferred to do the interview digitally via video call.

The interviews are not accompanied by a classical interview guide. The respondents are instead asked before the interview to bring holiday pictures of their trip(s) to the Near and Middle East. These not only show what fascinates the interviewee most and what he or she would particularly like to remember from the holiday spent there. On this basis, a conversation can finally be started about the interviewee's expectations, experiences, and impressions of the Near and Middle East. The use of the interviewee's images should also create an atmosphere in which the narrator's reality is at the center of the conversation.

However, to be prepared for a stagnation of the conversation, a few central guiding questions are available, which are oriented towards the background of perceptions of foreign cultures on holiday and in everyday life.

To simplify the subsequent analysis, the interviews are recorded with the consent of the interviewees. Furthermore, to facilitate the analysis, the recorded interviews are then transcribed into a written text.

The following case overview in table two provides a rough portrait of the ten interviewees through their respective quotations. Due to the relatively small sample of ten interviews, the statements can be compared about those characteristics that are considered particularly relevant to the research question:

- Perception of different cultures (extraordinary experiences) in everyday-life
- Perception of different cultures (extraordinary experiences) on holiday
- Images and expectations about the visited destination in the Near and Middle East
- Impressions and feelings of organized travel settings when booking a trip to the Near and Middle East via a tour operator

Such a table-based case overview serves as a first rough summary and impression of the interviewees' perceptions of people from the Near and Middle East, which at the same time represents a starting point for a deeper analysis of the interviews based on the codes.

	Extraordinary experience in everyday-life	Extraordinary experience on holiday	Images and expectations	Booking through a tour operator
Person 1	They are basically just X years behind us (pos. 98)	Ramadan was quite strange, especially because you could notice that it didn't feel good for the people at all due to the heat and the lack of water. I think many of the Moroccans are heavy smokers and are not allowed to	Because [...] you naturally also get the message through media that it can also be dangerous as a European who [...] has more money than the locals there (pos. 27)	It felt like marching through the zoo, actually (pos. 38)

		smoke during the day. [...] I just don't understand what that has to do with religion, to torture oneself like that (pos. 33)		
Person 2	When you go to a shisha bar, there were a few times when very few people spoke German. [...] that was a bit weird (pos. 62)	We also had a conversation with a hotel employee. He worked until midnight and then had to wait for the bus until 4 in the morning [...]. He had to walk for half an hour to the bus stop and then he went home to his city and had to get up early in the morning so that he could go back to work. [...] You gained an insight into the lives and day-to-day routines of ordinary people there, and I found that extreme (pos. 30)		After I tried to plan a holiday myself once and it went pretty badly, we decided to use a travel agency for a longer holiday (pos. 26)
Person 3	Then it may well be that the parents will then attack the police when we have to say: Your daughter or your son has to come with us. [...] And above all this language barrier. Because they often don't speak German here in Germany. [...] That makes it even more difficult that	So when you were sitting on the bus [...], all the rabbis were sitting there with their hats. They have all these beards and stuff. And once the whole bus was full of them. And then me and my dad, quite normally, I'd say, we were already being stared at (pos. 95)	[...] my grandmother is also an Israelite [...]. So I was quite relaxed. It made me more curious (pos. 28)	

	one cannot talk to each other. And then it is quite difficult to deal with [...] (pos. 30)			
Person 4		So if you're in a hotel and they're having a wedding there, then they say: you can come in and eat with us, drink with us. [...] We saw a wedding there once, so it's amazing how they celebrate. They celebrate over three days, which I find fascinating (pos. 185)	So when we were in Morocco I thought to myself: Oh, I hope I can sleep there. [...] I need a clean bed. And when I go to countries like that, I always think: well... But I was proved wrong. So everything was top quality (pos. 207)	So if you do it in an organized way, the tour guide will tell you anyway: You have to take a headscarf with you tomorrow, otherwise you won't get into the mosque. Of course, that gives you certain security. Because if you do it on your own, you have to inform yourself very well in advance (pos. 132)
Person 5	I don't like it when I'm at the gynecologist's, for example, and a woman is sitting there, veiled, and the man is sitting next to her as a chaperone (pos. 146)	When we were walking through the city as a group [of girls]. Then we really had to make sure that we got away from them because they were a group of rowdy boys and some of them thought it was funny to grab her bottom and her boobs. That was very awkward. You were gawked at. But mainly the blondes, the dark-haired ones, they	One has also adjusted to the smell. [...] You don't have the comfort unless you go to a super hotel (pos. 51)	

		know them already. (pos. 49)		
Person 6	I had one in my class. In the sixth grade, everything was still normal and then in the seventh grade, she suddenly wore a headscarf and everything was secret and she always wore very long loose clothes. And that was already, well, you knew that it came from home (pos. 76)	I even experienced one positive thing there: because my dad had no more money, a man from the bazaar drove us to a bank. [...] But he meant well. [...]. We would never have found a bank on our own (pos. 36)		
Person 7	And then we were back in Germany. We arrived at the main train station in Nuremberg and you go up this escalator, [...] and all these foreigners stare down. That scared me sometimes. Then we both said that it was safer in Mexico than here in Nuremberg. (pos. 134)	And a local got up for me and asked me if I wanted to sit down. I thought that was impressive. Where do you experience that?! You don't even experience something like this in Germany (pos. 41)	Well, Egypt is so well known for recreation and sun (pos. 36)	So you have to be a bit careful. The hotel bookings are always a bit more expensive, but then you know you're only on the trip with Germans (pos. 81).
Person 8	They get food vouchers and flats paid for, heating paid for and they do absolutely nothing. They are only stinking up the place (pos. 199)	They are also disgusting in a certain way, the people [...]. They must pray five times a day. And then you walk through the promenade along the sea. And then they all sit down on the wall [...]. And then they all took out their water	We knew how they were like down there, the people, they have a different culture. They just pray their shit all the time and the mosque starts and sings, but I knew that (pos. 190-191)	So it depends on where we fly to. If we were in the Middle East, then we'd go through a tour operator. Here I want it to be safer, I'm honest. [...] Because they are a bit different (pos. 85)

		bottles and washed their feet and their armpits and their heads. Of course, all the water then flowed everywhere on the promenade. Of course, all of us tourists had to grope our way through it. [...] They have to wash before praying (pos. 87)		
Person 9	Because here, many people try to distinguish themselves through certain status symbols. Where I sometimes have a problem [...] they act like they've got it together, where I always think to myself [...], have you ever got anything together at all? (pos. 139)	The (people) down below (in the Near and Middle East), are satisfied with less in those regions (pos. 145)	So as long as you're in the touristy areas, it's this all-round carefree package and everyone is super friendly (pos. 66)	Yes, the classic all-inclusive holidays or care-free packages are only available through a tour operator (pos. 43)
Person 10	[...] when I heard at the call from the doctor: Syrian family, I thought to myself at first: For God's sake, it must look terrible and it stinks at their home (pos. 98)	In Turkey, I was with a female friend and we went to markets a lot and we always had a bus meeting point and then we somehow took a wrong turn [...]. And then we just asked the people: Where is the bus stop? They tried to explain to us with their hands and feet where it was. They were still friendly, of course,		Well, I can't do it (travel without a tour operator) because it would be too unsafe for me. I would simply be too scared (pos. 48)

		they were re-served, they look at you a bit strangely at first, but it's the same in our country (pos. 69)		
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Table 2: Case overview of the interviews (Own illustration adapted from the interviews, 2021).

5.6 Assessment method

The quantitative data is evaluated in the form of a descriptive analysis. In this way tendencies or correlations in the statements of the total sample can support the interpretation of the qualitative data. The interpretation of the results is always carried out to the prior knowledge of the literature and the defined research question. To be able to better distinguish the results about the total sample of all survey participants from the group of qualitative interview partners, graphics and figures that present results of the survey are shown in blue and those of the interviewees in green. For reasons of presentation, the scale values one to three, which correspond to disagreement with the statements from the quantitative survey, are shown in the figures with a negative value. The evaluation method used is a *qualitative summative content analysis* according to Mayring. In this method, categories are formed based on the applied theories to structure the text and to work out results. In the first step, thematic main categories are defined, which are differentiated into more precise subcategories in a second step. The formation of the main categories and subcategories takes place deductively, based on the theory-guided hypotheses, but are supplemented by inductive codes if necessary (KUCKARTZ, 2014, p. 112). In order not to lose an overview of the results, the MAXQDA software is used to prepare the qualitative results.

6. Destination Near and Middle East: Who? Where? Why?

6.1 Portrait of the survey participants

A total of 56 persons took part in the survey, 25 of them are males and 31 females. The sample is predominantly young, with 70% of respondents being aged between 18 and 34. The remaining 30%, with eight respondents each, are fairly concentrated in the group aged between 35 and 44, as well as in the group aged between 55 and 64.

To which of the following age categories do you belong to?

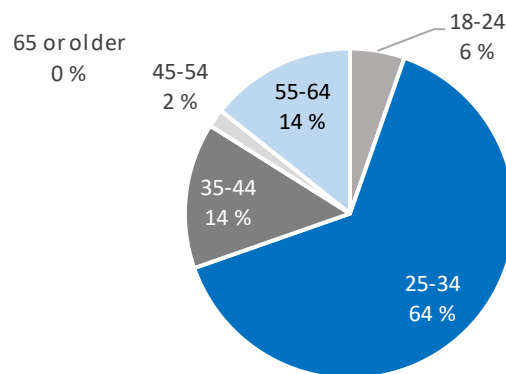


Figure 5: Age structure of the survey participants (Own illustration adapted from the survey, 2021).

The educational level of the sample is quite high. 46% indicate a college degree as their highest educational status and 27% have graduated high school. These two groups of higher education therefore already account for 73%. This is followed by the group with the next lowest level of education, who has a degree from an intermediate school, which makes up 21%. Only one respondent indicates a secondary school degree as his or her highest level of education, and two persons give no indication.

The information on employment status also fits the demographic profile of the young sample. 21% are currently still in education, i. e. at school, in a vocational apprenticeship, or studying. A majority of 60% are employed full-time and 7% are employed part-time. The number of people who are currently not in employment is therefore very small with 5% of this share being on parental leave, but no person indicated to be a pensioner. In the socio-demographic characteristics of the sample, the described disadvantage of snowball sampling, namely the similarity to the researcher, can be seen. For example,

we see that almost 73% of all respondents state that their highest educational qualification is a university qualification or A-level. The same situation arises for the characteristic of age.

The countries in the Near and Middle East, that have been visited by the 56 participants of the survey concentrated on Turkey, Egypt, and Morocco. 41 Persons, which makes a majority of 73%, have been traveled to Turkey. This makes Turkey the most often visited country of the respondents in the Near and Middle East. It is followed by Egypt which is mentioned by 21 persons, which makes a considerable percentage of 38%. 16 and 15 persons, which correspond to ca. 28%, stated that they have traveled to Tunisia or Morocco (figure six).



Figure 6: Countries of the Near and Middle East visited by survey participants (Own illustration adapted from the survey, 2021).

6.2 Portrait of the interviews

The socio-demographic portrait of the ten interviewees also mirrors that of the total survey participants. Four of the interviewees are male and six are female. The interviewees are also relatively young, with seven out of ten respondents aged between 18 and 34. Two of the remaining three interviewees are still in the group aged between 35 – 44 years and only one interviewed person is over 50 years old.

Age distribution of the interview partners

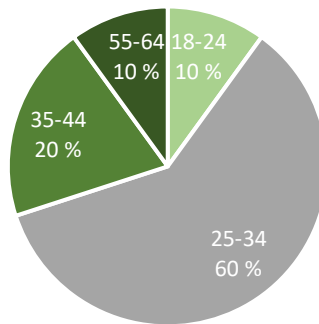


Figure 7: Age structure of the survey participants (Own illustration adapted from the interviews, 2021).

The majority of the interviewees are employed full-time. The remaining four interviewees are employed part-time or are on parental leave or in school education. Most of the interviewees are also well-educated. Fifty percent have university qualifications or A-Levels, three people even have a college degree.

According to the selection criterion for a qualitative interview, the interview partners tend to reject immigrants from the Near and Middle East. The attitudes of the interviewees towards immigrants in everyday life were measured by their tendential agreement with the respective statements in the survey. Their exact distribution of answers to the statements about the perception of immigrants from the Near and Middle East can be seen in figure eight.

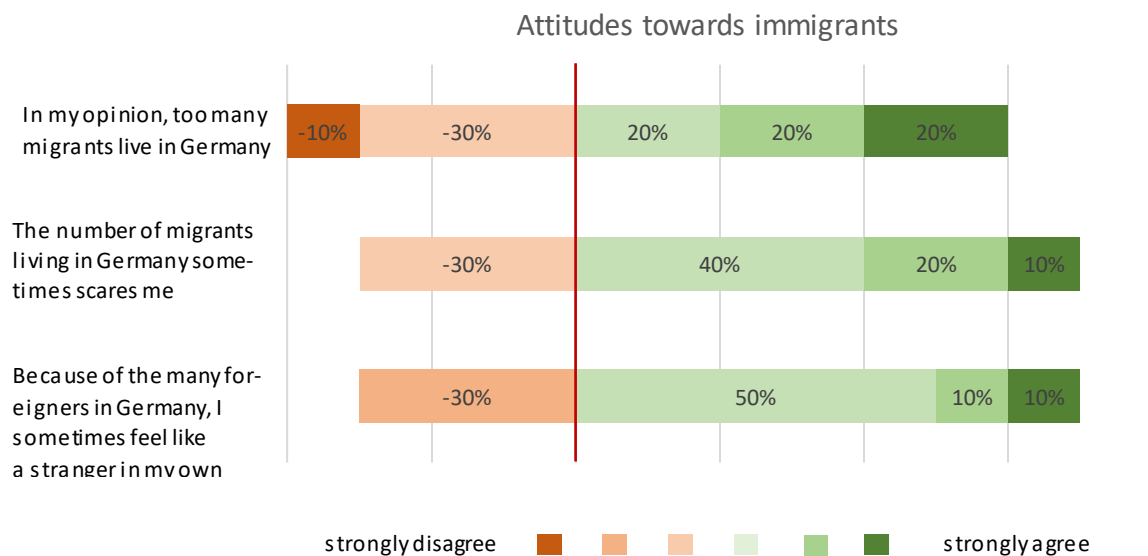


Figure 8: Attitudes towards immigrants in everyday life (Own illustration adapted from the interviews, 2021).

Six out of ten people think that there are too many migrants from the Near and Middle East living in Germany and seven of the ten interviewees are even afraid of the number of immigrants living in Germany. The same number of interviewees also tend to agree with the statement that they sometimes feel like strangers in their own country because of the many foreigners living in Germany. The first, more objective statement about the number of migrants living in Germany receives less agreement than the two followings, more emotional statements. For the statement "The number of migrants living in Germany sometimes scares me", none of the respondents even gave a value of one or two, i. e. strong disagreement. This already indicates that fear plays an important role in dealing with migrants.

The countries that the ten interviewees traveled to in the Near and Middle East focus on the similar countries that the overall survey results show. With seven people who have already traveled to Egypt, it is the most visited country by the interviewees. Turkey, which six people have visited, and Morocco, which five people have visited, follow at a small distance. Four people stated that they had been to Morocco, and three to the United Emirates, more precisely Dubai. Only one person had already been to Oman or Israel (figure nine).

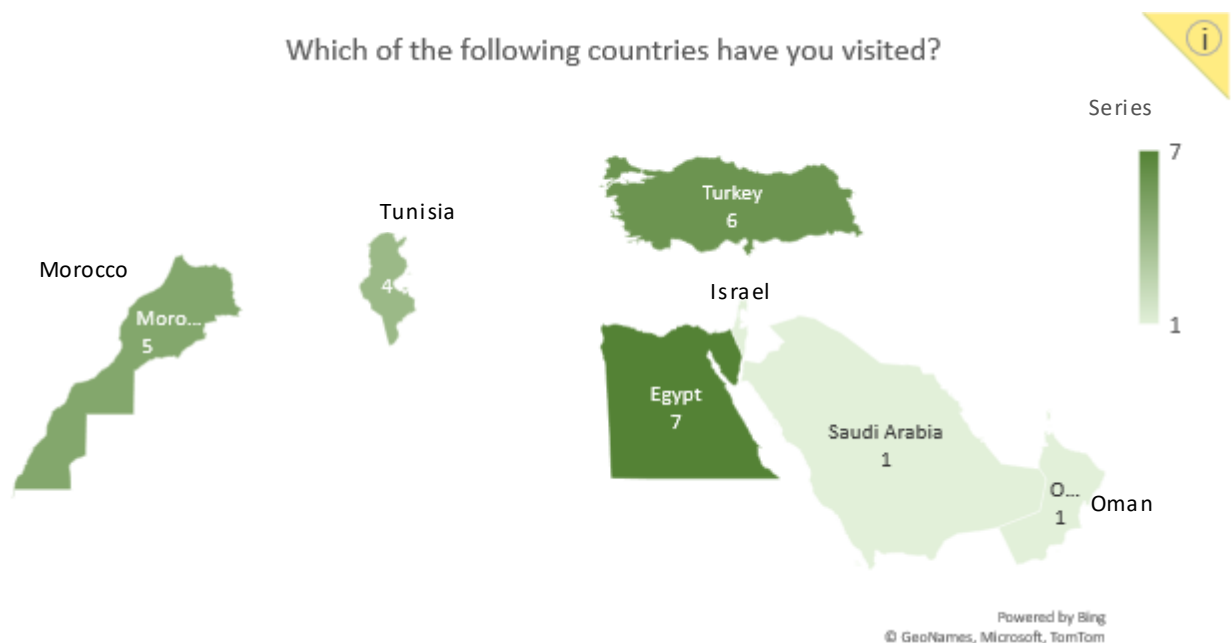


Figure 9: Countries of the Near and Middle East visited by interviewees (Own illustration adapted from the interviews, 2021).

The motives of the interviewees to travel to the respective countries in the Near and Middle East are diverse. The interviewees are most attracted by the climatic and scenic characteristics of the countries, i. e. heat and beaches. However, the third most frequently mentioned reason for traveling to destinations in the Near and Middle East is their curiosity about foreign countries, followed by the motive of getting to know other cultures. Although the respondents reject migrants from the Near and Middle East in their daily life, seven persons still travel to the Near and Middle East because they are curious about these foreign countries and their cultures. Likewise, seven interviewees say that they are not only curious about the countries but also fascinated by the strong differences between the countries of the Near and Middle East and Western countries. Another major motive of the interviewees to book a holiday in the Near and Middle East is the good price-quality ratio: "That you have all-inclusive and have 5-stars and always for little money" (Person 6, Pos. 12). At least half of the interviewees state that this is one motive to travel to destinations in the Near and Middle East (figure ten).

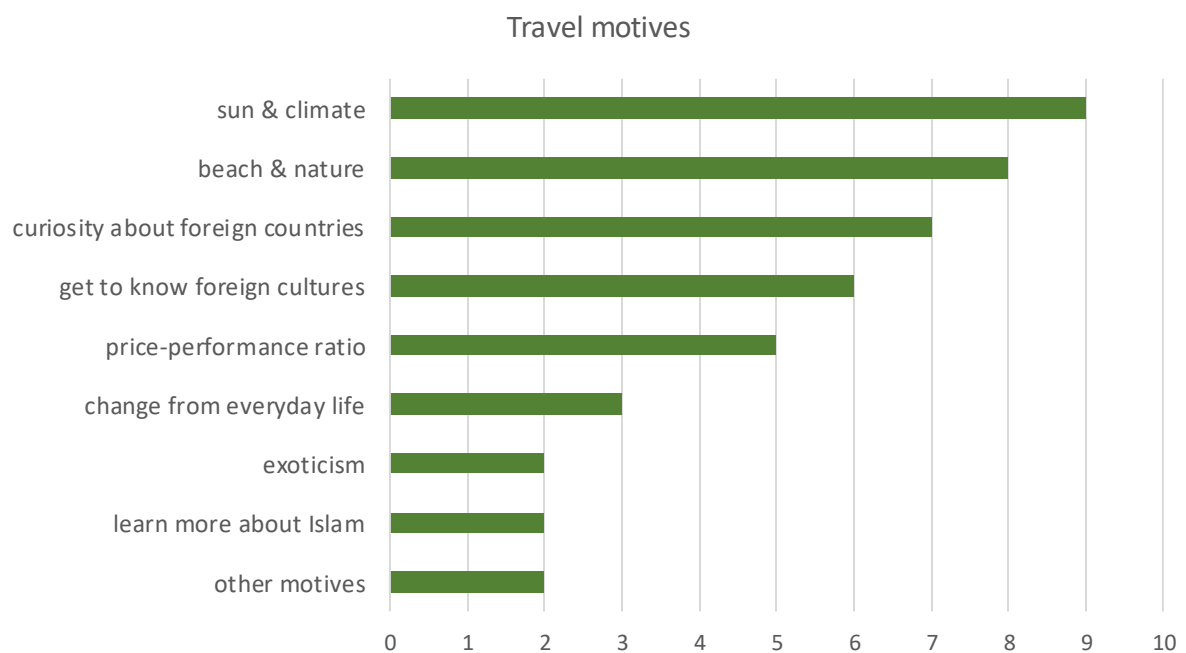


Figure 10: Travel motives of the interviewees (Own illustration adapted from the interviews, 2021).

The interviewees describe trips to paradise, beautiful beaches, and luxurious hotels that offer an all-inclusive "carefree package" (Person 9, Pos. 66) for little money. "Beach holidays and it is cheap. It was important to us that it was cheap. All-inclusive. The hotel we stayed at was a beautiful hotel" (Person 8, Pos. 104). European destinations would

therefore not only be less attractive in terms of climate, but above all, in financial terms. Booking a hotel with high comfort in Egypt, Tunisia, or Turkey is considerably cheaper than in many other countries. The interviews showed that the travel motive of the price-performance ratio is more important to them than other motives mentioned. People who name this reason seem to decide for leisure holidays on Egyptian, Turkish or Tunisian beaches primarily for monetary reasons and then, secondarily, also deal with the local foreign culture, but sometimes not even that "I didn't necessarily have the goal of getting to know the country. I just wanted to go on holiday" (Person 6, pos. 97).

6.3 We get what we expect

Unfortunately, only three of the ten interviewees showed pictures of their trips. The other interviewees either did not have any pictures ready or forgot to bring them to the interview. Therefore, these interviewees could only be asked which pictures and memories of their holiday remained strongest in their minds. Nevertheless, this always resulted in an atmosphere in which the interviewees began to talk about their holiday impressions spontaneously and a classic question-answer situation could be avoided.

Above all, the reasons why the interviewees traveled to the respective destinations in the Near and Middle East in the first place, are reflected in the holiday memories. Paradisiacal beaches (Person 7, 9, 10) and luxurious hotels (Person 2, 7, 8, 6) therefore appear frequently in the stories and convey a feeling of carelessness and high comfort, which was also an important factor in the interviewees' decisions to travel to these destinations.

But also pictures in which the interviewees are riding camels dressed up in veils and Thawb robes appear among the showed pictures (Person 7, 8, 1). The apparent strong differences that were already associated with the Near and Middle East before the holiday, also remain most strongly in the memory even after their holidays. Tourists want to experience an Arabian world from 1001 Nights, as they imagined it before they start their journey: Veils, camels, but also simplicity and backwardness, far away from a modern world, play a role here: "So from the images, the oriental. So shabbily oriental. [...] These typical pictures that you can buy as postcards. That's what I took back with me visually" (Person 5, pos. 20).

These strong differences are not only remembered most strongly but also in a positive way by the respondents. These differences make the faraway Arab world so fascinating for German tourists, and thus correspond to their travel motives. The fulfilled expectations ultimately led to satisfied tourists.

7. The threat of strangeness in everyday life

7.1 Life in parallel societies: Little Istanbul, Germany

Strangeness, as WALDENFELS (1995, p. 614) recognizes, is characterized by the demarcation of one's own from something different. Foreigners are excluded from the German "we-group", whose members share a common social order, a commonly shared lifeworld. Concerning people from the Near and Middle East in Germany, it is the immigrants who do not conform to the incorporated values and norms of Germans and are therefore excluded from the dominating social order. Setting the process of inclusion and exclusion in operation, persons first must enter a relationship with each other. Foreignness, from the bird's eye view perspective describes neither the one nor the other, it describes the relationship between the both of them (WALDENFELS, 1995).

When migrants from the Near and Middle East migrate to Germany, they come very close to the lifeworld of Germans. Encounters and relationships become more likely, sometimes inevitable when it comes to participation in public life, and at the same time there seems to be or from the perspective of some interviewees, even should not be any shared lifeworld for a diverse society. As SIMMEL (1908) describes, it is a relationship marked by proximity and distance. Immigrants become strangers to Germans in the first place because they migrate to Germany and suddenly become physically close to them so that strangers suddenly enter a relationship with each other. However, this relationship is characterized by distance. The foreign immigrants on the German's doorstep remain emotionally distant to them.

"Either they adapt, or they should leave again" (Person 7, Pos. 200) - it is only one side of the relationship, namely that of the Germans, as hosts, who makes demands on the relationship. The relationship between locals and foreigners is thus characterized by asymmetry, as there is an unequal power structure: "It's still okay the way it is now. But

if they gain more power, then it might change" (Person 8, pos. 148). There is a threshold, or rather several thresholds, through which the immigrants are excluded from the familiar in-group of Germans. These thresholds ensure that everyone remains among his or her kind of people. Yet this demarcation appears to the interviewees as quite natural and therefore also as correct: "Well, even if I lived abroad now, I would have contact with Germans who sit with me at the beer table and drink a beer. You also look for your own culture. [...] the desire to intermix is not there on either side" (Person 5, pos. 93). This rejection of cultural mixing is supported by almost all interviewees in so far as most of the interviewees stated in the survey that they absolutely could not imagine living in a district with a high proportion of migrants from the Near and Middle East (Figure eleven). The socio-demographic data show a high level of education and stable professional status of the interviewees, who therefore live in a certain affluence. This "bubble of affluence" (Person 5, pos. 73) in which the interviewees live seem to isolate German citizens from migrants from the Near and Middle East. A high level of education and affluence seem to have little influence on a reflective approach to strangeness. A look at the socio-demographics of the total sample also reflects a group of young, highly educated and working Germans. However, here too, 58% of all survey participants cannot imagine living in a district with many migrants from the Near and Middle East (Figure eleven). This result underlines the existence of parallel societies in Germany and indicates that there is little willingness among young and high educated Germans to meet and interact with migrants from the Near and Middle East in their routinized everyday life.

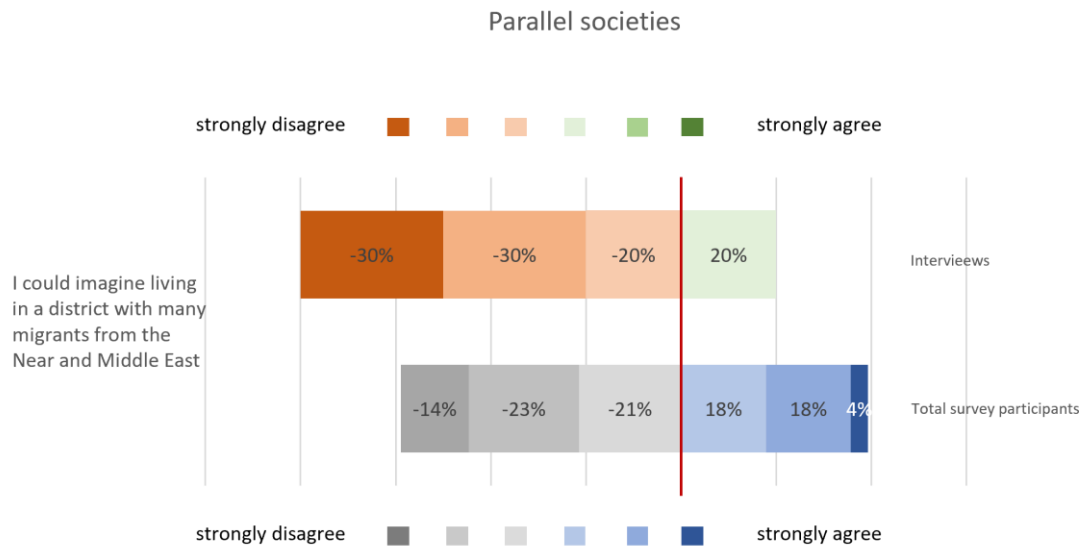


Figure 11: Parallel societies (Own illustration adapted from the interviews, 2021).

Similar persons build up groups in which they remain among themselves. Thus, Germans cluster around Germans, immigrants cluster around immigrants. In this way, the own lifeworld and the one of a stranger appear as a bodily, ethically, or culturally shaped self, instead of a socially constructed one that is shaped by such social practices. Mosques are built, foreign supermarkets are opened, whole districts of German cities are in the hands of foreign cultures: "So [...] at the Plärrer [public place in Nuremberg] [...]. I would say: that is little Istanbul" (Person 4, pos. 56). The resulting parallel societies can then coexist in a single city. Their lifeworlds are then additionally spatially divided in the form of city districts in which different social orders prevail. The groups "us" and "them" remain emotionally and structurally alien to each other despite their physical proximity. Everyone feels more comfortable and secure within their own lifeworld.

7.2 Adapted immigrants remain structural strangers

The relationship of the respondents to immigrants from the Near and Middle East can be described as structural or cultural strangeness. It is above all characteristics such as language and cultural differences in which the German respondents distinguish themselves from foreigners of that region. If one meets a foreign passer-by on the street, the person is not described as a relative stranger, as in Waldenfels' typologies of strangeness, in which the other person is a stranger to me personally, but remains part of my lifeworld (WALDENFELS, 1995, p. 616). Instead, this typology of foreignness is skipped, and

a stranger who is recognized by the respondents as an immigrant is structurally excluded from their lifeworld by being perceived primarily as belonging to a foreign culture and unfamiliar milieu, speaking a foreign language, and being outside their own "bubble of affluence" (Person 5, Pos. 73).

The fact that immigrants from the Near and Middle East do not speak German is the most frequent and most strongly emphasized characteristic of exclusion of the interview partners. This statement of the qualitative interviews is supported by the brief descriptions of all survey participants to the question of what the biggest challenges for them in encounters with people from other cultures are. 14 of the 56 participants did not answer this question. 26 persons, representing 46% of the total number of participants, state the language barrier of a foreign language as one of the biggest challenges in encounters with people from different cultures (figure twelve).

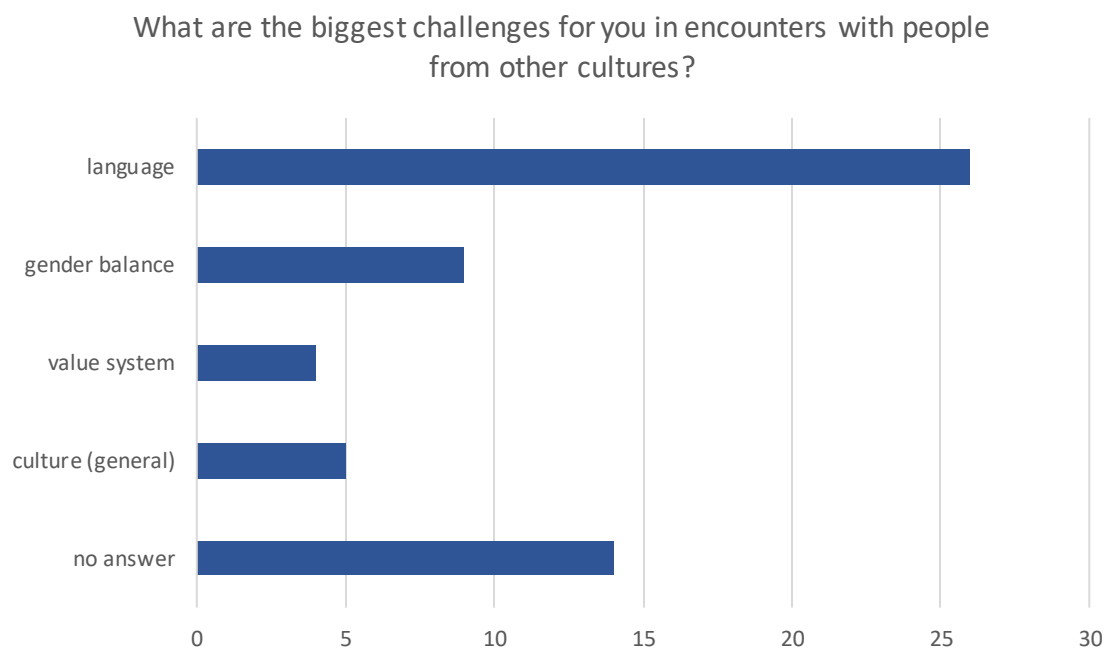


Figure 12: Biggest challenges in encounters with people from different cultures (Own illustration adapted from the survey, 2021).

The acquisition of the German language is valued as a sign of adaptation and is sometimes even used as a synonym for integration (Person 6, 3, 5, 9). Migrants who speak the German language are then included in their social order, at least to a certain extent. However, exclusion then still takes place based on other characteristics, such as social status (Person 5, 3). Nevertheless, it seems that the relationship can be described as

unfamiliar but in a mitigated form. The relationship with an immigrant who speaks German is then more likely to be classified in the level of relative strangeness, just like any apparent German stranger encountered on the street. This change in the typology of strangeness results from the modified degree of access. Through the knowledge that a met immigrant speaks the same language as oneself, a considerable degree of access is gained by the respondent to that stranger. Through this access, it is possible to get to know that unknown person, not only in the form of exchanging information but also through their mode of expression and self-presentation (Person 5). A familiar or shared dialect of a language could make the stranger appearing even more familiar. It further increases access to each other and raises the relationship, in Waldenfels's (1995) sense, to a next level. Speaking a common language increases access to a particularly high degree. Of course, an effort can be made to communicate via a third, commonly spoken language, but even this behavior would not correspond to the Germans' norm of everyday life in the sense of producing a common lifeworld so that immigrants would remain excluded from the lifeworld of Germans. The acquisition of the host country's mother tongue is therefore an important opportunity for migrants to reduce the characteristic "strange" in the relationship.

Foreignness in this context describes the relationship between Germans, and the other non-German immigrants from the Near and Middle East. The region of the Near and Middle East is represented by several countries that differ from each other in many ways, not only in comparison to Germany but also among themselves. For Germans, however, it is the immigrants from the Near and Middle East, who are perceived as one social group. From the perspective of the interviewees, there is hardly any differentiation between immigrants from the various countries of origin. Cultural differences are seen and evaluated in terms of their cultures, as one, and the German, or Western culture, as their own. An exception to this are immigrants from Turkey. Some interviewees view them separately from other immigrants from the Near and Middle East: "The Turks, who are here, they are adapted to a certain extent" (Person 8, pos. 143). Turkish immigrants are not only geographically closer to Germany than most other countries of the Near and Middle East but more Turkish immigrants have been settled in Germany for a much longer time. Germany and Turkey are linked by a long history of migration. Due to the development of the migration process, which for Turkish migrants has already lasted

longer than that of other migrants from the Near and Middle East, who may have migrated to Germany in the context of the refugee crisis in 2015/2016. The relationship between Turkish migrants and Germans is thus more advanced. Over time, they seem to have found more access to each other and appear meanwhile less strangers to each other.

7.3 Positive, negative, relative - in any case, different

The inside as the German sphere of reality in contrast to the outside as the sphere of the immigrants is not defined in the first instance on an occasional basis. Instead, a distinction is made in a generalized sense between foreigners and Germans. In deeper conversations, however, it becomes apparent that different interviewees do evaluate different elements of immigrants as foreign. For example, some of the Germans interviewed differentiate themselves through a different standard for hygiene (Person 7, 4, 5, 10). This perception is also based on various holiday experiences in the Near and Middle East, where interviewees often observed a lot of rubbish on public streets. At the same time, immigrants coming to Germany are assumed to have a lower need for hygiene, without being able to name concrete points of contact in this regard (Person 7, 10). On the contrary, this prejudice was disproved by one interviewee in the context of personal contact with a family from Syria during their everyday working life (Person 10). Hygiene seems to be a very important value for Germans. However, it seems to be directly linked to everyday life. By visiting a Syrian family at home, the interviewee enters the foreign families' everyday life and thus a supposedly different lifeworld. It is anticipated to be negatively different, namely that it will be smelly and unhygienic: "[...] when I heard at the call from the doctor: Syrian family, I thought to myself at first: For God's sake, it must look terrible and it stinks at their home" (Person 9, pos. 98). The interviewees expect that the home visit will deviate from the norm of their own lifeworld and that it will end in a crisis. The interviewee was therefore even more surprised by the actual course of the situation: "The door was opened; I was greeted in German. [...] I really haven't experienced anything so nice during home visits" (Person 9, pos. 98).

Other interviewees see a difference between the two lifeworlds in terms of crime (Person 8, 3, 5). While one interviewee attributes this characteristic to the immigrants because of the media coverage: "And well, of course, what you read, this criminality. What is happening more and more often, any kind of gang rapes or harassment" (Person 5, pos. 77). Another interviewee has made his own experiences through his work as a police officer and attributes the criminality of immigrants to their aggressive cultures: "and then also through what I have experienced [...], because simply these cultures are I don't know why, but more aggressive" (Person 3, pos. 38). The interviewee makes this observation without establishing a direct connection to his work, in which he deals exclusively with criminals. Instead, aggressiveness among criminal migrants, in contrast to German criminals, is attributed to their origin. It can be observed here that the behavior of delinquents is evaluated according to different criteria, depending on their origin. When Germans commit crimes, their actions are not related to their nationality, but the actions of immigrants are.

Another interviewee talks about an alienating experience in everyday life, which she attributes to the unequal gender relations of men and women in Middle Eastern cultures: „I don't like it when I'm at the gynaecologist's, for example, and a woman is sitting there, veiled, and the man is sitting next to her as a chaperone“ (pos. 146). It does not seem to be normal in Germany that a man accompanies a woman to the gynaecologist. The question of whether the interviewee would think of a supposedly German man accompanying a woman as being a chaperone remains open in this context. Nevertheless, the accompaniment service of the foreign man is attributed to his culture. Crises in which the interviewees get into situations in their everyday lives that they do not expect and cannot explain with their thinking-as-usual are justified with prejudices about people of other origins. The behavior of migrants that trigger crises is not evaluated with the same criteria or attempted to be understood in the same way as would be the case with German relational strangers.

According to Waldenfels, the characteristic of strangeness is attributed based on three aspects: place, possession, and type (WALDENFELS, 1995, p. 612). Immigrants are regarded as strangers in Germany due to the aspect of being in a new place, they do not originate from. Many behaviors and values that are of a known nature to migrants are of an unknown nature to Germans. For this purpose, the interviewees were specifically

asked in which cultural characteristics Germans and immigrants from the Near and Middle East differ in their opinion. One of those differences mentioned was religion. This refers not only to the fact that most of the countries of the Near and Middle East are predominantly shaped by Islam, while Germany is shaped by Christianity (Person 5, 7, 9) but also the fact, that religion, as perceived by the interviewees, has a different status among people from this region. For example, through more frequent praying and the more traditional celebration of religious holidays (Person 6, 8, 9). All interviewees stated that they deal relatively little with foreign cultures in everyday life. Accordingly, Islam, as part of the cultures in the Near and Middle East, is a foreign aspect for the German interviewees because it is unknown to them.

Finally, it is perceived that people from the Middle East are “in their genes” (Person 9, pos. 143) more offensive and show a rather ruthless trading behavior. Here it is assumed that such people may have to negotiate more often by buying at bazaars instead of shops (Person 9, pos.143). This behavior also seems to be a point in which thinking-as-usual differs by a discrepancy between the stock of knowledge formed by different experiences in everyday life.

A generalization is made that the countries in the Near and Middle East differ from Germany by being more backward (Person 1, 5, 9). This fact is also related to the local cultures by an interviewee:

“The values in those countries are simply much more backward than in our own country. Especially with regard to women, [...] equality, and such issues, where we are already much, much further and it was a very long way to get there. And now they come here with values that are still in their infancy, I imagine it is very difficult” (Person 1, pos. 96).

Labeling people from the Middle East as ‘primitive’ in this sense, who are in a backward stage of civilization contradicts Waldenfels’ idea of social development. The idea of a uniform development of humanity in which all individualities would pass through the same stages and in which the Middle East would have to catch up with Western countries such as Germany is part of the social order of Germans (WALDENFELS, 2016b, p. 35). Furthermore, the interviewees differentiate themselves from the immigrants in characteristics which, although primarily attributed to foreign cultures, can also apply to all people regardless of their culture in the interviewees opinion. Immigrants from the Near and Middle East are associated with the tendency to use monetary status symbols such

as expensive cars, jewellery, or gold, while Germans are more self-sufficient (Person 9, 10).

Immigrants from these countries are also perceived to have a stronger sense of national pride than Germans (Person 3, 4, 5, 8, 9). As a German in Germany, however, publicly manifesting pride of one's own country is historically rather difficult and therefore cannot be lived in the same way by Germans without fearing social sanctions.

Finally, laziness is recognized as a primarily cultural difference in comparison to Germans but at the same time it is also extended to some Germans. Immigrants from the Near and Middle East don't want to go to work, don't want to take on unpopular jobs, and end up using social benefits from the German welfare system to which they don't contribute themselves (Person 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10). It is recognized that this description also applies to Germans, who are also banned for it, but it is stressed that German workers, unlike foreigners, do "German value work" (Person 1, pos. 116). Being a guest requires immigrants to comply particularly closely with the values of the host country. Some of the cultural differences mentioned, as some of the interviewees admit, can be extended to all members of society, such as lack of respect for fellow citizens or the state, laziness, or taking advantage of the social system. However, a guest is expected to comply more than a native (Person 3, 5, 8, 9). In terms of migration, the status of guests means increased mistrust and demarcation. There is the Germans fear, that their own values could be overthrown by the influence of migrants (Person 1, 9) or that the German welfare state and thus also its citizens could be financially exploited by migrants (Person 5, 7). The migrants are expected to take on all the risk and insecurity that comes with their role as guests, both for the guests themselves and for the German hosts: "it can't always be [...] that we have to constantly provide some kind of template, but rather that the other side first has to perform: Look, I'm learning the language; I want to work; I'm not doing anything wrong" (Person 9, pos. 104).

Germans differ from immigrants in all respects in that they regard themselves as better at it. Respondents perceive the different manifestations of these characteristics among immigrants as strange, disturbing, or even frightening, no longer only in terms of a situation but also about foreigners from the Near and Middle East in general. Thus, they differ mainly in those qualities that they perceive as positive in themselves and exclude strangers from their in-group to protect their positive values, so that they remain intact

and do not begin to fade away under the influence of other cultures (Person 1). In everyday life, cultural differences lead to exclusion as they tend to be perceived as incompatible with German values or even as threatening.

Immigrants are perceived particularly positively when they are or become like Germans, which is particularly noticeable in the younger generations of immigrants in Germany. They are credited with being more tolerant (Person 1, 4, 5), but the younger ones just grow up in Germany or are themselves, German. Another person, on the other hand, surmises that the adapted immigrants may not be so open and nice because they are already too adapted to Germany, and that's not what Germans are like (Person 4).

Even if cultural differences contribute to a positive perception of foreign people on holiday and a negative perception in everyday life, one common intersection is recognizable in any case: the emphasis on difference. Cultural differences seem to play an important role in perception, not only to exclude strangers from a society but also in identifying oneself as being part of certain groups.

7.4 Foreign acquaintances are not the intended strangers

Depending on the level of access, the degree of a relationship's character as being strange changes and therefore the associated strangeness typologies as well. Different zones and typologies of strangeness may also overlap. While Muslim immigrants, who are distinguished by wearing veils, for example, are perceived as particularly strange, whereas friendly Turkish colleagues are perceived as adapted (Person 5). Or a Turkish classmate, who was still perceived as a 'normal' classmate in the lower classes, increases in her strangeness as soon as she comes to school with a headscarf in progressing classes (Person 6). Thus, the same person can be perceived as native and foreign and as familiar and alien. Such differentiated perceptions can be observed above all in more differentiated experiences with Turkish immigrants. The more access there is to foreign immigrants, the less foreign they appear. What in conclusion would mean: the more heterogeneous societies become, the more typologies and levels of strangeness there are in it and the more access we gain to strangers. Especially in encounters with Turkish immigrants, it can be observed that these are not generally referred to as strangers, but rather refer to a certain stranger (Person 5, 6, 9).

In everyday life, there are hardly any encounters between the interviewees and people from the Near and Middle East. Xenophobic images tend to be based on media coverage (Person 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10). In personal points of contact, however, they are always perceived positively, as nice, polite, and open (Person 1, 3, 5, 10). And this is not only situationally in the appropriate taken role of the immigrants as a salesperson, teammate, work colleague, or patient, but as a nice person in general.

Xenophobia against immigrants arises based on certain characteristics, such as the wearing of veils, gender equality, values like respect for the state or national pride, and supposedly culturally attributed laziness. Although, for example, one's Turkish colleagues meet some of these characteristics, other immigrants who meet the same characteristics are heightened to foreigners par excellence. Those who fit the cliché then become the 'real foreigners', while there are other exceptions, such as colleagues or team members from the soccer team, which are not meant by this label. Accordingly, the qualification of an immigrant to a stranger in the perception of respondents is not entirely fair. The attribution of foreignness is not based on transparent, comprehensible criteria:

"These are colleagues who work in the same company, who are well paid, who are educated, they do certainly not reflect society. They're not the ones. That doesn't reflect the picture I get when I'm walking downtown [...]. This is not representative" (Person 5, pos. 103).

In contrast to unknown migrants, the Turkish colleagues who the interviewee know are not reduced to their origin, religion, or a different value system. Instead, they are increasingly assessed based on their educational level and their social status. Strange and known migrants are thus assessed on different criteria.

During the interview, one interviewee also realizes that in the course of his work he deals primarily with criminal immigrants, but that is why not all immigrants are criminals. The members of his soccer team, for example, would not be criminal, aggressive, or particularly proud of their country (Person 3).

As the interviewees' encounters with strangers in everyday life show, the inclusion of commonalities or similarities leads to a process of reworking the of relationships with strangers. Processes of inclusion then lead to more understanding and a changed perception of strangers, as the interviewed person 1 and person 3 show through their en-

counters with immigrants within their soccer teams. Through encounters based on commonalities, culture-independent groups emerge. In the context of this shared lifeworld of soccer, which takes up at least part of the everyday life of the interviewees as well as of migrants, differences in origin and cultures do not play a role there. Rather are these encounters based on a common interest in soccer.

7.5 Germany's alienating future

Regarding the future, some of the respondents express fears that Germany might be over-alienated. For example, German values, such as the importance of work, or the equal rights of women could get lost by the many migrants in Germany through the emergence of multicultural families or when foreigners in Germany gain too much power through political influence or high positions in companies. "What you read in media sometimes, these are all developments that I don't like and with which I can't identify" (Person 5, pos. 75).

In concrete terms, this could lead to scenarios such as higher rape rates, unrest, and increased attacks in the future (Person 1, 5, 7, 8). "To be honest, I have a bad feeling for myself and also for my daughters about the next few years and also about future in general. Because I don't think that's going to change, but that the number of such news is going to increase" (Person 5, pos. 77). To avoid worse-case scenarios, respondents rely on the tolerance of younger generations of immigrants, who would be more open-minded and more adapted to German values (Person 1, 3).

Apart from that, some interviewees ask for harsher penalties for criminal offenses, which could have a deterrent effect. The support of women with equal rights also plays a role here. The judiciary could push for a shift in the cultural status of immigrants so that they catch up with the German level of values. What the respondents agree on is the acquisition of the German language as a symbol of adaptation and the will for integration. This should even be introduced as a condition, so that a common living environment, which then distinguishes itself as a multicultural society, can be made possible in the first place (Person 3, 9, 10).

Employment integration programs are mentioned not only to provide access to work but also to be able to match standards of qualifications so that there is less unemployment among immigrants. The underlying conditions regarding labor law and residence permit are not considered. However, laziness and unwillingness to work are seen to some extent as a cultural characteristic and therefore as a feature of exclusion rather than as a consequence of individual conditions.

However, some interviews do not see any opportunities for positive developments in integration issues or for Germany as a country of immigration in general. Different cultures are simply incompatible with each other, as can already be seen in the existence of parallel societies and political rumors within Germany. “In fact, for me, that would not be the goal of building a multicultural, totally colorful society” (Person 5, pos. 95). Instead, it would be better if foreigners would leave Germany and return to their country of origin (Person 8, pos. 193).

8. The fascination of strangeness on vacation

8.1 Exotic experience exclusively on vacation

While fear and rejection of immigrants from the Near and Middle East dominate in everyday life at home in Germany, the following figure shows, that the Arab countries and their cultures seem to fascinate and attract the interviewees for a journey, precisely because the Arab world is so different from the Western world in so many aspects.

However, this fascination seems to be strongly linked to the time aspect of the liminal period of holidays. As can be seen in figure 13, eight out of the ten interviewees tended to negate the question about whether they would like to encounter cultural elements from the Arab world more often in their everyday life.

Ambivalent perception of strangeness on holiday and in everyday life

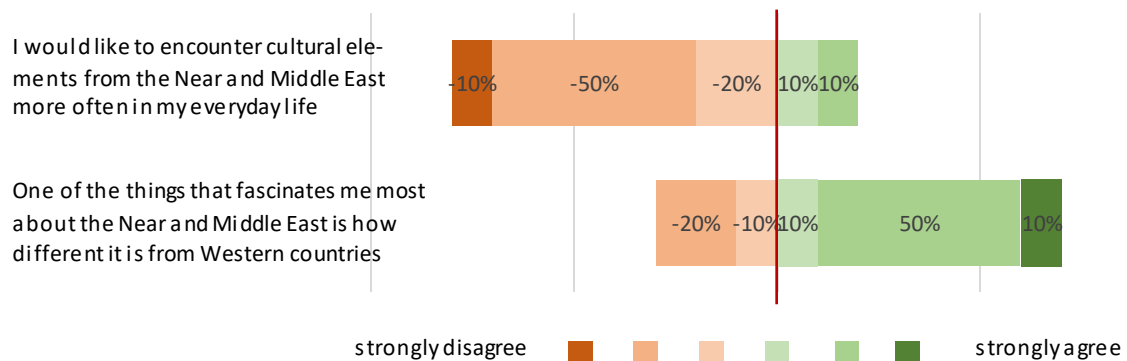


Figure 13: Ambivalent perception of strangeness (Own illustration adapted from the interviews, 2021).

Within the liminal phase of holidays, tourists want to engage with the stimuli of the unfamiliar Arabic world and attractions. A holiday in a foreign country not only holds numerous fascinating differences to one's own everyday life but also, and above all, an escape from it: "it is a different world...that's just the fascinating thing. You get out of your bubble once in a while" (Person 5, pos. 30). The hustle and bustle in the bazaars with the open and pushy traders (Person 5, 6), or the "backward life, far from any modern world" (Person 5, pos. 24) that is so different from their everyday life and the ordinary in Germany. While penetrating men of Arab origin are perceived as threatening in everyday life in Germany (Person 3, 5, 7, 8), they seem to be part of the holiday experience and are perceived as acceptable in the hustle and bustle of bazaars (Person 4, 5, 6). The backward way of life, which was described by a lack of hygiene and environmental pollution such as rubbish, does not seem to fit into the 'modern', Western world, but in Morocco or Egypt it bothers the interviewees less: "Also the dirt level on the street. Everything is a little dirtier. I don't find that negative at all, it's just different. You already feel quite different when you're there" (Person 5, pos. 32). The backward life in the Near and Middle East, which the interviewees do not wish for in their own everyday life, is evaluated positively in the context of their holiday experiences. The people there seem to the respondents "[...] happier, simply because they have less" (Person 9, pos. 129). Another interviewee makes a similar observation about the world of work, stating that, in contrast to Germany, people there seem to be happy at work. Although the standards and comforts of work are lower there, people seem to enjoy working: "They work in a

bazaar in the middle of the night [...]. But I think they like to do it. When you go there you see that they are laughing and happy” (Person 4, pos. 195). Another interviewee reflects a conversation with a hotel employee who described his long working day and way to get to work and he concludes: "You got a peek into the life and the everyday life of the normal people there and I found that really impressive“ (Person 2, pos. 30). The interviewees also noticed the strong hospitality of the local people as a cultural difference to Germans. One interviewee recounts a holiday experience when she and her family were invited to a wedding party in a hotel that was just getting on there: "When you see them dancing there, for example. That is something completely different to us. How they celebrate their parties, weddings, for example. So, if you're in a hotel and they're having a wedding there, then they say: you can come in and eat with us, drink with us. [...] We saw a wedding there once, so it's amazing how they celebrate. They celebrate over three days, what I find fascinating” (Person 4, pos. 185). Inviting a stranger, even if the unknown person is from a foreign country, to a wedding celebration seems to be different from German standards or even unthinkable. Person 7 also reports about unexpected hospitality when a local offers her a seat on the subway: „And a local got up for me and asked me if I wanted to sit down. I thought that was impressive. Where do you experience that?! You don't even experience something like this in Germany“ (Person 7, pos. 41). This experience not only reflects the negative attitudes of the interviewee towards people from the Near and Middle East in general, as the person would not expect this nice behavior from these people, but also the fact that in Germany such a selfless gesture does not correspond to the norm.

The interviewees not only emphasize the strong differences to the German working world, hygiene level, or wealth but also compare them to their own everyday life in Germany. This observation is also consistent with the responses of all participants in the quantitative survey. Memories that emphasize differences to Germany are mentioned relatively often in the survey. They deal with foreign cultures by contrasting them with their own culture. Therefore, the participants remember, for example, a certain degree of poverty (approx. 18%) which contrasts their living conditions in Germany. Above all, the participants also indicate cultural differences as the strongest memories, which are perceived as positive in the foreign culture and as a lack in Germany, such as open-mindedness and hospitality (approx. 10%).

Through encounters with strangers on holiday they reflect their own lifeworld and become aware of what seems natural and self-evident in their everyday lives. This includes more employee-friendly working conditions and a given infrastructure as institutional framework conditions as well as the social nature of their lifeworld. They notice all the shortcomings and desires that are suppressed in their social order in Germany. The 'modern world' in which their everyday life takes place, which is characterized by a high degree of digitalization, globalization, and ever faster-progressing changes, also seems to be burdensome for the interviewees in some respects. At least they perceive the 'backward' and simple life of the places they visited in the Near and Middle East as more worth living, in which people seem to be happier.

Furthermore, the interviewees either refer to the pressure of the German high-performance society, in which success is measured by the number of hours worked and monetary wealth, which presents a system, through which people may gain more money and wealth, but not satisfaction, as it seems. The interviewees are also confronted with the German order and strictness, in which cleanliness and waste separation are often demanded and expected not only from the government but also from the German society – any time and in any (public) place. The interviewees describe their stay in this other, backward world as a break with these norms at home, which can even have the effect of constraints. A break from the rush, from a frustrating working system, and targeting sustainability and perfection.

Cultural differences that the interviewees notice in the foreign people during their holiday experiences describe foreign cultures predominantly positive. The mentality of the people there appears to Germans to be more modest, cheerful, relaxed, open, and hospitable compared to their own. On vacation, cultural differences, therefore, tend to have a positive influence on the perception of strangeness. The differences described are mainly those characteristics that they miss in German culture and even perceive as a lack. One interviewee summarises the differences to German culture in a romanticized way: "They have a different mentality of life: they live more. We work more, they live more" (Person 4, pos. 191). But cultural differences that are perceived positively on holidays, such as frugality and openness, cannot function as evaluation criteria in the same way in Germany. Contentment in financial poverty and an open-minded approach to

strangers do not correspond to the norms and values of German society. Cultural differences, therefore, seem incompatible in everyday life. Above all it is the assessment of people based on different criteria that can only result in incompatible perceptions: “Well, I have to say that you can't compare the Turks down there with the Turks here in Germany. They are all very nice there. They are very polite and offer you tea everywhere” (Person 4, pos. 231).

The distribution of roles in encounters with strangers is also opposite on holiday and in everyday life. Unlike a tourist, Immigrants have not come to spend money through consumption and pleasure, but because of persecution and prospects. The encounters take therefore place within completely different frameworks. “You can't compare the people there with the people here because they are there, hm, that sounds stupid now. You only have contact with them in the service sector and here when you run into them... It's difficult” (Person 9 pos. 139). Above all, the encounters lose their organizational character in everyday life. There is no longer a tour operator who explains the local rules, so that all participants can overcome their insecurity. Situations become unpredictable because the distribution of roles, although still characterized by an unequal balance of power, is unclear. Deviations in thinking, behaving, and acting are no longer fascinating but lead to crises because they do not correspond to expectations.

8.2 From the affluence-bubble into the Tourist Bubble

Information about a destination not only forms images and expectations in the tourists' imaginations but is first of all necessary to consider traveling there in the first place. Nine interviewees state that they inform themselves more intensively about the destination before traveling to the Near and Middle East than when traveling within Europe, for example. The reverse conclusion, namely whether the interviewees would also travel to a country in the Near and Middle East that is unknown to them, is also rejected by seven interviewees.

Images & Expectations

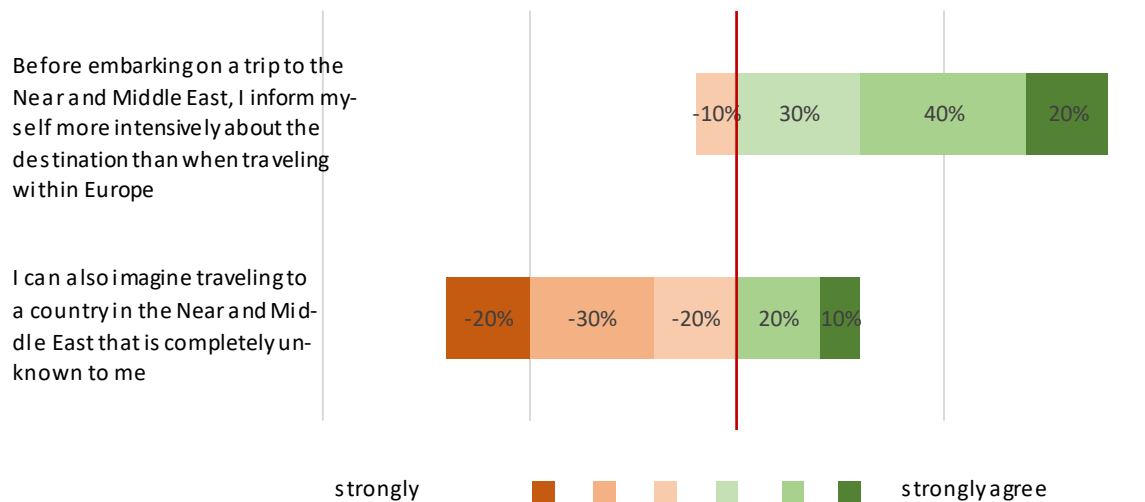


Figure 14: Significance of images and expectations of destinations (Own illustration adapted from the interviews, 2021).

Since the region of the Near and Middle East is not only geographically far away as a long-distance destination, but also has great differences to Germany in its institutional and cultural aspects. Therefore, it is particularly strange for German tourists in many ways. As figure 14 shows, most respondents tend to refuse to travel to an unknown country. Traveling to an unknown country seems to be threatening for them. To reduce this fearful uncertainty, the interviewees inform themselves intensively about the foreign country to enter a relationship with it in the first place, even before they start their journey. This information leads to preformed images and expectations, which eventually end up in travel motives.

While experiences with people from the Near and Middle East in everyday life lead to rejection among the interviewees, they seem to be able to shed these attitudes, at least in the liminal period of holidays. In that time, they want to experience the opposite of everyday life. As long as their expectations, created by travel brochures, are fulfilled, the rejection towards the local people can be ignored: "Yes, because it's a completely different situation. [...] I do it consciously and I have a certain cautious attitude and just look a little. But then I know what I'm getting myself into" (Person 5, pos. 127).

Even the strange gender relations in the countries of the Near and Middle East which are criticized by almost all interviewees, become part of the extraordinary experience during the tourist stay:

“But when I'm on holiday, I know that it's like that, then I accept it. Because I know that it is like that in Arab countries, that women have to subordinate and I know that. [...] So when I go somewhere [...] down there to a mosque, I know that I can only get in if I put on a headscarf, so I do that” (Person 4, pos. 120).

Through information and encounters with different cultures on holiday, the German tourists' understanding and access to the different cultures increases. What seems so alienating in one's own everyday life is not only understood on holiday, but also put into practice, and adapted by tourists. The images and expectations created about destinations in the Near and Middle East thus have a positive influence on the respondents' perception of the country and the people living there.

Important is that the way how access to foreign people is gained. The described way makes it impossible to get to know and build a relationship with foreigners. The interviewees do not want to get to know the unknown, but only confirm what they already know of it. Their knowledge, however, again results from the Western perspective on the strange people and thus does not allow direct, but only indirect access, as it is a Western-influenced access: "Yet we have already owned Morocco. That has also been Germany before" (Person 8, pos. 111). Thus, even the motive and goal of the long-distance trip to the Near and Middle East, namely, to get to know a foreign culture can be questioned. The created images and expectations work as a protection on a psychological level.

Through the act of traveling, tourists also expose a high monetary standard. One consciously decides to enter into a relationship with strangers, primarily for reasons of consumption and pleasure, and in this way creates a power relationship that is expressed in monetary terms: "Well, that's how it went for me, I tried to support the people, that's why I gave a lot of tips. The question is whether it's right to do so because then you also somehow attract them. They act extra friendly" (Person 10, pos. 132). The relationship that the interviewees enter as tourists with the people they visit in the Near and Middle East is above all a relationship marked by asymmetrical power in which Western tourists use Arabic foreigners only for their own purposes. Comparing the poverty of the locals there makes them feel better because they realize how well off they are in their reality.

By observing alien cultures for a certain period and occasionally also adapting them, tourists paradoxically perform an act of inclusion and exclusion in which they feel superior by showing the other culture that they can adapt and become part of their society, in contrast to the immigrants in Germany, which remain outside the in-group over there. Adaptation mainly means wearing a headscarf when entering a mosque (Person 4, 7, 10): "I think, for example, that you are not allowed to enter a mosque, which is expected of them so that you have a headscarf on [...]. And I must adapt to that. Therefore, I sometimes think they also should adapt a bit" (Person 4, pos. 124).

Despite this adaptation, the European identity should remain isolated and distinct from the Arab world: "Sure, you stand out as a tourist. You dress differently, you present yourself differently. When I go to other countries, I don't feel quite so much like a tourist. When I'm in France, for example, or in Spain, I'm not as much of a tourist as I am in Morocco" (Person 5, pos. 44). Tourists encounter strange locals only within the framework of the psychological dimension of the Tourist Bubble, which corresponds to a Western understanding that is believed to be more advanced than that of the people in the Near and Middle East.

This superior mindset is also reinforced by the physical dimension of the Tourist Bubble within tourists stay during their holidays in the Near and Middle East. The interviewees talk about the strong contrasts between the life of the locals and the luxurious "tourist castles" (Person 9, pos. 32) where they are residing, isolated and secured from the locals: "So first you drive through the desert and it's all littered, and when you get to the hotel everything's fixed up nicely. Just like a little fake world" (Person 6, pos. 91). To meet the demands of Western tourists, small fake worlds are created that are only accessible to the rich tourists and are closed off to the uncivilized locals, so that German tourists can feel comfortable in the country of destination: "Yes, the fact that you are in a secure hotel was good. [...] But it was a good feeling of security, so they secure it properly and make sure that no one gets in. That was good to know, I must say" (Person 6, pos. 46). In the role of a guest as a tourist, one feels superior and more powerful vis-à-vis the locals. Who visits who is then above all a question of power. "When 'they' come 'here', we educate them; when 'we' go 'there', they service us" (BISHOP & ROBINSON, 1998, p. 61).

8.3 A trip to the Near and Middle East? Only together with a zookeeper

Besides the psychological aspects, organizational settings also play an important role in the booking of a long-distance trip to the Near and Middle East for the interviewees. Eight out of ten interviewees prefer to travel to destinations in the Near and Middle East in an organized way through a tour operator. Eight interviewees say in the personal interviews that they had traveled to the respective countries in an organized way and the majority would also book a holiday in the Near and Middle East through a tour operator again in the future. In contrast, only 60% say that they prefer to book hotels and trips when traveling in the Near and Middle East with European rather than local providers (figure 15).

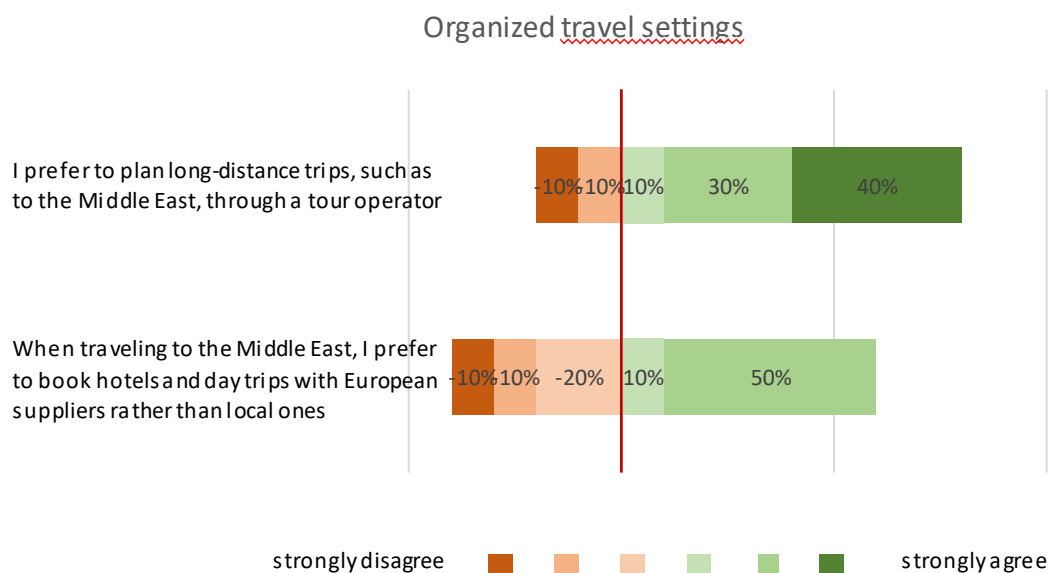


Figure 15: Significance of organized travel setting (Own illustration adapted from the interviews, 2021).

However, a few people indicate that they would book all their holidays through a tour operator, regardless of the destination, which for the respondents is mainly related to the complexity of a long-distance trip. The complex organization and planning associated with a long-distance trip is, however, only mentioned by half of the agreeing persons as a primary reason (Person 1, 2, 6, 9). The other half mentioned the aspect of security as the main reason for booking a trip to the Near and Middle East at a tour operator (Person 4, 7, 8, 10): "Well, it depends on where we fly to. If we were in the Near and Middle East, then it would be through a tour operator. I want it to be safer there, I'm honest. Security

plays an important role for me there. Because they are a bit in a different mood" (Person 8, pos. 85). Due to the fear and rejection the interviewees feel towards immigrants from the Near and the Middle East in everyday-life and due to the impressions gained from the media, the interviewed tourists seem to travel to the destinations with a portion of fear: "Yes, you should already have respect, or you should already have a portion of fear with you" (Person 4, pos. 72). In general, breaking out of the routines of one's own everyday life, in which the incorporated thinking-as-usual no longer applies, seems to be primarily associated with uncertainty. The more distant the destination, the more alien the country, cultures, and people seem and the higher the uncertainty of the interviewed tourists so that in some cases uncertainty outweighs curiosity and an unorganized trip without a tour operator is absolutely out of question: "I wouldn't necessarily have the courage. [...] I can't do it because it would be too unsafe to me. I would simply be too scared" (Person 10, pos. 48).

This tendency is also reflected in the statements of all survey participants. Of the 54 people who answered this question, 61% prefer to book a long-distance trip to a country in the Near and Middle East via a tour operator, 15 participants (28%) even give a value of six here meaning they strongly agree with this statement (figure 16).

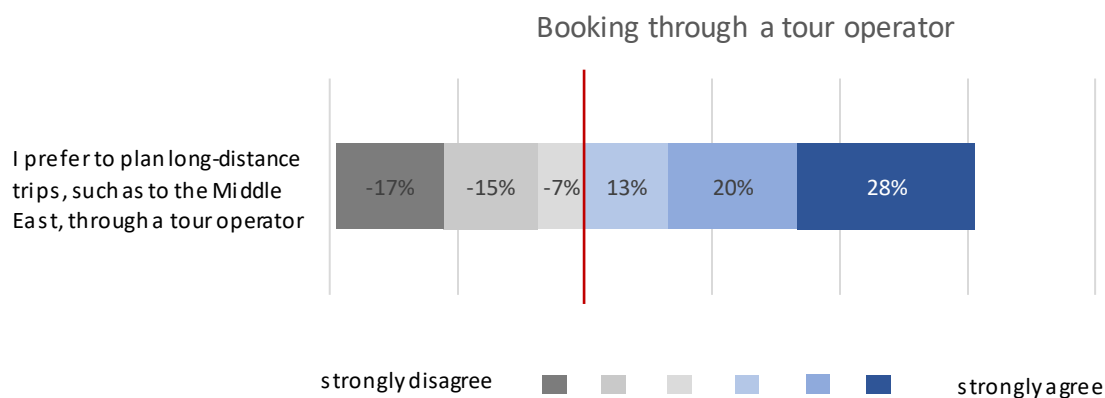


Figure 16: Frequency of booking through a tour operator (Own illustration adapted from the interviews, 2021).

About the second statement on organized travel settings in figure 15, only slightly more than half of the interviewed participants, namely six interviewees, say that they prefer to book hotels and trips when traveling in the Near and the Middle East with European rather than local providers. On the one hand, this lower value is because some of the respondents do not undertake any excursions at all during their stay but spend their time in Egypt or Tunisia exclusively in luxurious hotel resorts (Person 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10).

On the other hand, uncertainty associated with complexity also plays a role. Two interviews, who book excursions before they start their trip in the form of a package tour or on-site with an employed guide of the well-known tour operator in the destination, explain the advantages as follows: "The ones in the hotel, the bookings, are always a bit more expensive but then you know you are only traveling with Germans" (Person 7, pos. 81). The criterion that an excursion in a long-distance destination should be geared towards Germans, corresponds to the thinking-as-usual of the interviewed tourists. By booking with a European tour operator, uncertainties and unexpected situations on holiday can be reduced, as it can be assumed that the representatives of the European tour operators think with the same stock-of-knowledge as the tourists themselves and planned experiences are organized according to commonly shared expectations. Since the organizational complexity is handed over to tour operators or guides who share the same stock of knowledge and the same lifeworld, German tourists can assume that the excursions will meet their expectations.

Those who do not travel in an organized way have to inform themselves very well to avoid unexpected situations:

"If you do it in an organized way, the tour guide will tell you anyway: You must take a headscarf with you tomorrow, otherwise you won't get into the mosque. Of course, that gives you a certain security. In case you travel on your own, you have to inform yourself very well in advance" (Person 4, pos. 132).

Otherwise, situations could arise in which the tourists come directly into touch with strangeness, which would trigger insecurity and must be avoided. Traveling with a tour operator reduces this insecurity, that is associated with an unfamiliar situation such as a visit to a mosque. Organized framework conditions of a trip that is designed based on a Western thinking-as-usual thus ensure a positive influence on the perception of strangeness. Traveling in an organized way gives tourists the security of knowing that nothing unexpected will occur. In a sense, they are provided access via a third actor, the tour operator or guide. However, the extent to which this kind of organized access, designed and prepared for the Tourist Gaze enables the establishment of a relationship with strangers remains questionable. An actual confrontation with foreigners is in those situations absent. It is more what Cohen and Urry would call a tamed borderline experience, in which tourists view foreign cultures and places through the protective walls of

their familiar bubble. Or as one respondent compares: "It was like walking through the zoo, actually" (Person 1, pos. 38).

9. The more encounters with foreigners, the less xenophobia

Whenever personal encounters and relationships occur, immigrants are transformed from structural to relational strangers. Through the mixing of two lifeworlds, new meaning and new realities emerge, which include both lifeworlds and in this way produce and multiply new meaning and new realities (WALDENFELS, 1995, p. 620). Through encounters, strangers can become part of a common lifeworld and in conclusion will appear less alien to each other. Through personal points of contact, access to each other can be found, strangeness can be reduced and fear can be overcome. This assumption can also be supported by the results of an empirical study on hate crimes conducted by the University of Marburg in Germany. In cooperation with the German Federal Criminal Police Office, they investigated the connection between the proportion of foreigners and the incidence of hate crimes in different regions of Germany. The results show that the more foreigners live in a region, the less xenophobic crimes occur (WAGNER et al., 2020).

Other interviewees tell of positive situations in which encounters with strangers are characterized by clear framework conditions, such as a visit to the hairdresser in Morocco (Person 1), among Turkish work colleagues in everyday life (Person 5) or members of a soccer team (Person 1, 3). Similar to an organized journey, different lifeworlds meet in a kind of organized everyday life. There is a regulated distribution of roles, such as hairdresser and customer, patient and therapist, soccer team members, or work colleagues, in which strangers are each included in a common lifeworld. Schütz also recognizes that the more diverse a society is, the more standardized its patterns of action must be. The chance that strangers will interact with each other in common sense and agreement is increased the more standardized the situational pattern of action is (SCHÜTZ, 1971, p. 38). The more diverse and plural society is in its stock of knowledge and the expectations of action based on it, the more standardized patterns of action guarantee a social order that is comprehensible to all members of a society and includes everyone. Within organized frameworks, everyday situations are determined by standardized thinking-as-usual, so that the risk of unexpected behavior or crises is reduced to

a minimum (MEYER, 2019, p. 8). By breaking up parallel societies, more encounters can be embedded in routinized day-to-day activities. So that people of different origins encounter each other more frequently in common lifeworlds. As by becoming neighbors, attending the same schools, and pursuing common interests like for example in sports clubs.

As some crisis-ridden encounters with migrants in the everyday life of the interviewees show, the unexpected behavior of relational and structural strangers, i. e. Germans and migrants, is evaluated according to different criteria, whereby migrants are reduced to their origin and German citizens are not. While relational strangers are measured based on criteria such as education and social status and are thus included in one's lifeworld, people of other origins, as being structural strangers are measured based on cultural differences such as religion and gender ratio and thus stand outside any relation to the Germans' lifeworld. Even if the chaperone at the gynaecologist's or the clean flat of the Syrian family could not reinforce these prejudices, they nevertheless reproduce a thinking-as-usual to which the everyday pattern of thinking and behavior of German society is oriented. Something similar can be seen in the effect of media coverage on the interviewees. Here, too, unfair assessment criteria are created, for example in the reporting of criminal offenses, by emphasizing the foreign origin, which influences the thinking-as-usual of Germans. One assumption that can be drawn from this regarding the way German society deals with foreigners is that such images and expectations, which end in prejudice, can have a negative influence on the perception of strangeness in everyday life. This assumption, in turn, could also partly explain why encounters with strangers are perceived as a threat and avoided in everyday life. How the identified variables of images and expectations, as well as personal encounters, influence the perception of foreignness in everyday life is shown in figure 17, as complement to the conceptual framework in the beginning of the paper.

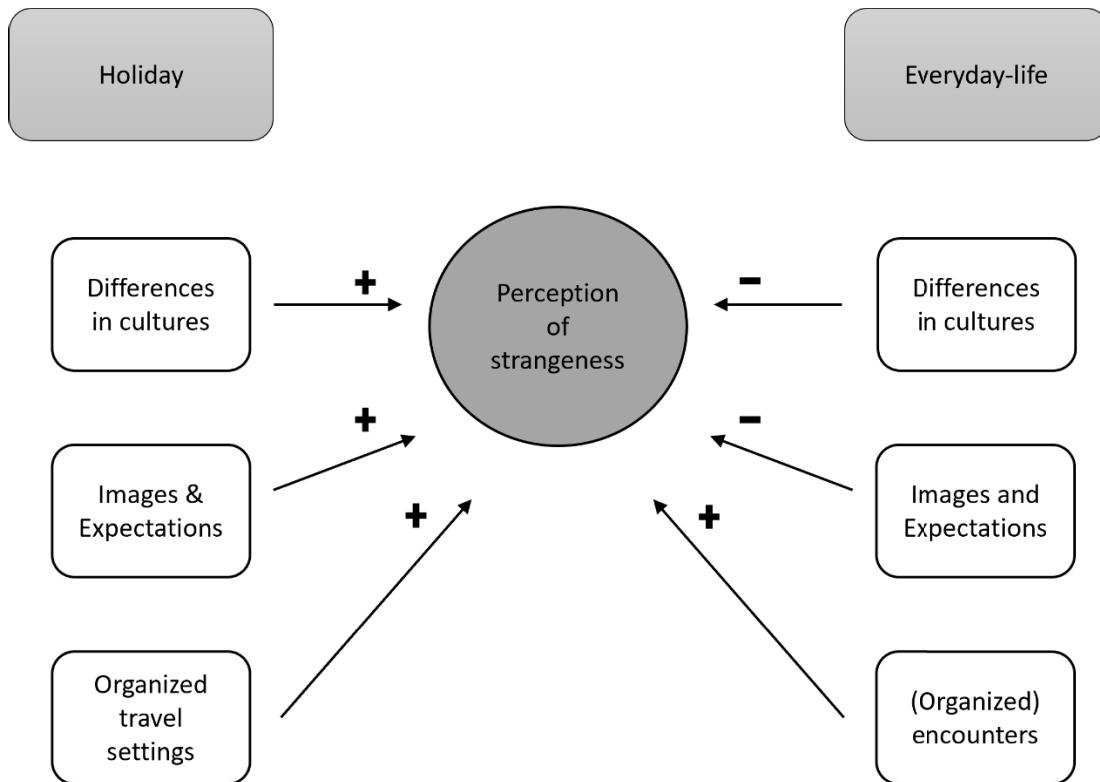


Figure 17: Conceptual framework with added factors (Own illustration, 2021).

10. Ways out of the dilemma

Waldenfels sees a way out of the dilemma of experiences of strangeness only in a change of attitude towards strangers (WALDENFELS, 1995, p. 619). Through events such as holidays, experiences of foreignness, which are avoided in everyday life, are made possible at all. Therefore, how cultural encounters take place in tourism is important. Instead of emphasizing differences, a stronger focus on commonalities could lead to new forms of engagement with strangers (DELUGAN & NAEF, 2018). Traveling thus creates encounters with strangers. In the experience of foreignness on vacation, tourists change themselves (BAUSINGER, 1991, p. 350). In confrontation and processing strangeness, their own values and norms are reflected. Only by becoming aware of their socially constructed nature these norms and values can be questioned and social change set in motion.

Fear, which dominates everyday life, closes people off to unfamiliarity. While fear tends to exclude strangers, curiosity tends to include. The curiosity generated on holiday thus opens people up towards strangeness (HELLMANN, 1998, p. 432). Encounters in tourism

can thus provide clues within which framework conditions people perceive something or someone unfamiliar as fascinating rather than threatening. This curiosity could also be used for other purposes, such as everyday life. The curiosity that the interviewees showed towards strangeness on holiday would be a very good springboard for approaching strangers in everyday life as well (FRANKLIN, 2003, p. 215).

The unknown is incomparable, as WALDENFELS (1995, p. 619) states. Therefore, it makes no sense to compare strangeness with the own way of thinking and acting. However, strangeness can become more understandable by finding access to each other (WALDENFELS, 1995, p. 613). Perceiving foreigners in everyday life as individuals gets them the status of relational strangers instead of structurally ones and includes them in one's lifeworld. Experiences with strangers set boundaries between the self and strangeness in motion, and all the more so the closer strangers get (WALDENFELS, 1995, p. 618).

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

Questions and statements of the questionnaire	
Screening questions	
Have you ever traveled to a country in the Near and Middle East for tourism purposes?	Yes/No
Which of the following countries have you visited? (Multiple responses possible)	Turkey/Egypt/Morocco/Saudi Arabia/Tunisia/Israel/United Emirates (Dubai)/Iran/Oman/ Azerbaijan/Jordan/Lebanon/Uzbekistan/Afghanistan/Georgia/ Libya/Palestine/Syria/Algeria/Iraq/other country
Travel related questions	
How often did you travel to countries of the Near and Middle East in total?	Open answer
What were your motives for traveling there?	Sun and climate/beach and nature/price-performance ratio/exoticism/change from everyday life/curiosity about foreign countries/get to know foreign cultures/learn more about Islam/other motives
Travel experiences in the Near and Middle East	
What expectations did you have of the country before you started your journey?	Brief description
What do you remember most about the country?	Brief description
One of the things that fascinate me most about the Near and Middle East is how different it is from Western countries.	Scale 1-6
I prefer to plan long-distance trips, such as to the Near and Middle East, through a tour operator.	Scale 1-6
When traveling to the Near and Middle East, I prefer to book hotels and day trips at European suppliers rather than at local ones.	Scale 1-6
Before embarking on a trip to the Near and Middle East, I inform myself more intensively about the destination than when traveling within Europe.	Scale 1-6
I can also imagine traveling to a country in the Near and Middle East that is completely unknown to me.	Scale 1-6

Experiences with the Near and Middle East in everyday life	
I would like to encounter cultural elements from the Near and Middle East more often in my everyday life.	Scale 1-6
I could imagine living in a district with many migrants from the Near and Middle East.	Scale 1-6
Cultures from the Near and Middle East do not fit into the Western world.	Scale 1-6
In my opinion, too many migrants live in Germany.	Scale 1-6
The number of migrants from the Near and Middle East living in Germany sometimes scares me.	Scale 1-6
Because of the many foreigners in Germany, I sometimes feel like a stranger in my own country.	Scale 1-6
What are the biggest challenges for you in encounters with people from other cultures?	Brief description
Socio-Demographic Questions	
Which gender do you belong to?	
To which of the following age categories do you belong to?	
Do you have German citizenship?	
Which of the following categories best describes your employment status?	
What is your highest educational qualification?	
Consent to an interview	
Would you be willing to be interviewed about your experiences with foreign cultures? → if yes: contact data	

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