The Swedish Model of Detention

A case study of Åstorp Detention Centre

Author: Elin Örtman
Tutor: Lennart Wohlgemuth
Examiner: Manuela Nilsson
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Abstract

Detention centres are a rather new phenomena in the Swedish institutional setup. However, due to the migration inflow of 2015 it is now rapidly expanding all over Sweden. So far, it has been only scarcely monitored and researched and mostly with a focus on the perspective of the detainee’s health or the employee’s experiences at the detention centres. Little is known about the role of the NGOs and how they collaborate with the Migration Agency to secure the rights for those who are detained. This study is a qualitative case study on one of the five detention centres in Sweden, namely Åstorp detention centre which is located in Skåne 20km from Helsingborg. Four interviews have been made with the Migration Agency and with the NGOs that are continuously visiting the detainees in Åstorp. By using data triangulation, the validity of the study has increased and principles from the rights-based approach have been used to highlight important aspects of the collaboration. One significant finding in this research is that the Migration Agency is willingly increasing the transparency by inviting an unlimited number of NGOs to monitor and secure the rights for the detainees, which in turn has led to Sweden's detention centres being referred to as a successful model for the rest of the world. This study has also showed a successful and mutual collaboration between the Migration Agency and the NGOs and even if their roles at the detention centres are different, all participants are working towards a common goal, to improve the conditions for those who are detained.

Notwithstanding the relatively limited sample by including one out of five detention centres, this study contributes also, in a small way, to new insights of the situation in Sweden's detention centres and the importance of a successful collaboration between the Migration Agency and NGOs for the detainee’s rights.

Key words: Sweden's detention centres, Non-governmental organizations, the Migration Agency, collaboration, Rights-based approach
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List of Abbreviations

CPT - European Committee for the Prevention of Torture
EAPN - European Anti-Poverty Network
IDPs - Internally Displaced People
NGOs - Non-governmental organizations
QOL - Quality of life
RBA - Right-based approach
SMR - Swedish Muslim Council

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Figure 1: The rights-based approach; Mikkelsen 2005.
1 Introduction

1.1 Research Problem

Terrible violence and conflicts in different regions around the world have led to the displacement of millions of people. More than 65 million people are displaced in the world today, which is more people than ever since the Second World War. Most of these displaced people stay within their own country, so called Internally Displaced People (IDPs). However almost 20 million people have had to leave their country of origin. Due to this, they became refugees, and these refugees are not like other migrants (Betts and Collier, 2017:1). They are not like the people who migrate to escape poverty or environmental degradation, or for an opportunity to get a better life (Castles, De Haas and Miller, 2014:5). They migrate because they have no other choice and are fleeing from fragile states such as Syria, Afghanistan and Somalia. Moreover, 90% of the refugees stay in the often poorly developed neighboring countries and the rich world only contributes with money and is avoiding the plight of refugees, that is, until recently (Betts and Collier, 2017:1). In April 2015, the world had to act and became involved. The consequences of the Syrian war and the unstable situation in e.g. Iraq, Afghanistan and many Sub-Saharan African countries were the reason why approximately 1 million refugees came to Europe during 2015. Chaos across Europe broke out, with countries acting differently, e.g. Hungary built fences to keep the refugees out while Germany, at least initially, opened the borders to everyone (Betts and Collier, 2017:2-3). Like Germany, Sweden opened the borders and the refugees who were fortunate enough reached Sweden before the borders closed at the end of 2015 (Betts and Collier, 2017:89).

In a system that includes some kind of regulated migration, there is also a system for the deportation of people, which for some reasons have been rejected permanent asylum in the country. For that reason, detention centres open. These have different shapes and purpose around the world and in e.g. Australia, refugees that arrive by boat are since 2010 directly placed in detention centres on some Pacific Island such as Nauru or Manus Island, where they stay until their asylum application is assessed. These detention centres have been highly criticized and the people who are detained are suffering, with their rights constantly being abused (Nethery and Holman, 2016). Instead of associating diversity with something positive and beneficial. The consequences of events such as 9/11 and several attacks by Islamic radicals in Spain 2004 and the UK in 2005 and 2007 among others, has made international migration directly and indirectly associated with terrorism and threats to the security of states. This is also
linked with the rise of anti-islam and anti-immigration parties in Europe whose main aim is to present immigration as an issue of not only security but also cultural threat (Castles, De Haas and Miller, 2014:6). The effect of these events has generated a more xenophobic discourse, and the criminalization of immigrants and the use of detention centres has rapidly increased.

In recent decades, the privatization of detention centres has also increased around the world and created a powerful opportunity for private corporations to profit from irregular immigrants (Ackerman and Furman, 2013). However, Sweden has been heading in a different direction and not towards privatization of the detention centres. As a result of a widespread criticism of the performance of the detention centres, the responsibility for the centres was moved away from the police to the Swedish Migration Agency in 1997 (Andersson et al, 2016:18). An awareness spread in Sweden that the detainees of these centres were not in custody due to a criminal act, and therefore these people required a different treatment (Flynn and Cannon, 2009). However, after the “refugee crisis” in 2015 when approximately 160 000 people sought asylum in Sweden, several different measures were introduced to control the number of applications for asylum with e.g. closing the borders and adopting a law which restricted the rights for family reunification. Even the political environment has headed towards a more hostile climate (Global Detention Project, 2018). One example was after the terrorist act on Drottninggatan in Stockholm at the 7th of April in 2017, Anders Ygeman, Minister of the Interior, declared that Sweden needs to develop more detention centres as well as a stricter asylum control (Öbrink, 2017). This clearly shows a shift towards a more xenophobic discourse even in Sweden, a country that used to be praised for its human treatment of asylum seekers and for the treatment of undocumented migrants (Global Detention Project, 2018).

The Refugee Council of Australia conducted a study in 2000 to examine the alternative to detention centre and one country, which was highlighted, was Sweden. In the study, the council cited “The Swedish Model of detention” as a successful alternative. Since Sweden had implemented a more humane practice, by allowing non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to ensure that the rights of the detainees are met. Moreover, even though Sweden appears to be a “role model” as regards to detention centres in Europe and the world, the Swedish detention centres have been increasingly criticised. A number of NGOs and also, e.g. the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture (CPT), have criticized the conditions in the Swedish detention centres (Global Detention Project, 2018). To develop the detention centres and
increase the transparency, the Migration Agency have therefore recently invited NGOs to conduct visits at the detention centres (Migrationsverket, 2018a). However, to what extent does the NGOs have power to increase the rights for the detainees in Sweden's detention centre? And, how far is the Migration Agency committed to go to increase the transparency in their organization? The Migration Agency is a state institution that has been widely criticized from the civil society. Moreover, studies focusing on the NGOs contribution to the detention centres in Sweden and in the world seems to be limited, and therefore one could argue that a research gap has been identified. This research will be conducted through a case study at Åstorp detention centre with the aim to gain greater knowledge of the NGOs work and to examine the amount of collaboration they have with the Swedish Migration Agency, but also how, and if, the NGOs are part of developing the institutions and assure that the detainees rights are met.

1.2 Research Objective and Research Questions
With this background in mind, the overall aim of this study is to contribute to a greater understanding of Sweden's detention centres and the Migration Agency’s collaboration with the NGOs. In order to make the underlying mechanisms visible to reveal how, and if, the presence of the NGOs increases the rights of the detainees. This will be executed through four semi-structured interviews with the Swedish Migration Agency and with three NGOs, namely the Red Cross, the Swedish Church and Amnesty International, which has a formal collaboration with the Migration Agency at Åstorp detention centre. Further on in this study, these three organizations will be referred to “the NGOs”.

The main research questions to guide the study is therefore:

- How does the Swedish Migration Agency in Åstorp detention centre collaborate with the NGOs?
- What is the outcome of the collaboration between the NGOs and the Migration Agency?
- In how far does the NGOs influence improve the conditions for the detainees in the detention centres?

1.3 Previous Research
The use of detention centres and the consequences of being detained is one of the most sensitive debates when it comes to the reception of asylum seekers. There are obvious problems, both
legal and humanitarian, when keeping a human detained (Hailbronner, 2007). A great amount of the literature today focuses on the detention centres effect on the detained people's well-being and how they experience being deprived of liberty, without having committed a crime. Several studies have been made to evaluate the effect on the people who are detained, and the results have shown that being detained is significantly harmful to the detainees’ mental health (Robjant et al, 2009 and Steel et al, 2011).

There is also quite lot of research on detention centres in specific countries in the world, such as the comparison research between detention centres in UK and USA (Welch & Schuster, 2005). The experience of detention centres in Canada (Kronik et al, 2015 and Pratt, 2004) and the highly debated issue, as mentioned above, of the Australian mandatory policy of the strategy to place asylum seekers in detention on islands like Nauru, Manus Island or Papua New Guinea, which are all Australian-run camps (Sanggaran & Zion, 2016). Although, much of the previous research tend to focus on the conditions in the centres and the experience of the people who are detained and not e.g. how, and if, the Migration Agency and the NGOs is collaborating and developing these detention centres.

There are quite limited researches made on Sweden's detention centres, although one study has been made as an ethnographic fieldwork with several interviews with police officers, detainees and staff at detention centres in Sweden. The focus of the study was to examine the impact of Sweden's more strict migration policy since the beginning of 2000, and the main findings of this research were that the view of asylum seekers as criminals has increased and that migration has turned into criminalization (Khosravi, 2009). Moreover, the researchers Puthoopparambil et al (2015b) has contributed to the debate of Sweden's detention centres by examining the quality of life (QOL) the detainees experience by a cross-sectional questionnaire study in all five detention centres existing in 2014 (Puthoopparambil et al, 2015b). The researchers also contributed with a study on the relationship between staff and the detainees, and how the staff contributed to the well-being of the detainees. They used semi-structured interviews in three detention centres in Sweden and one finding from the research was that the staff experienced positive contribution from the visits of the NGOs. The staff expressed a wish to increase the cooperation with volunteers from the NGOs to gain more knowledge about the well-being and the experiences from the detainees. Due to the fact that many of the detainees experienced it
easier to talk to a person that is not an employee at the Migration Agency (Puthoopparambil et al, 2015a). Moreover, the authors point out that this research only capture the role of the detainees and the staff, and to be able to capture the full understanding of the Swedish detention centres more actors need to be considered (Puthoopparambil et al, 2015a).

Also, “Förvaret” is a Swedish documentary film from 2015 that exposes life from the inside of a Swedish detention centre (Persson and Shakraborty, 2015). The film shows what daily life looks like and how the staff struggle in their role towards the detainees. The documentary captures the exposed and pressured situation of being detained and the feeling of hopelessness and insecurity for the detainees. Furthermore, the film also shows a visit from an NGO, namely a volunteer from the Swedish Church, and the importance of the NGOs presence is noticeable. However, the aim of the film is to highlight the life in these detention centres for the detainees and the film generates many questions. One of the questions is; the role of the NGOs and what impact they have in the detention centre but also how different NGOs collaborate with the Migration Agency to protect and ensure that the rights of the detainees are fulfilled.

1.4 Relevance
First of all, previous research on detention centres in Sweden has been outlining the perspective of the people who are detained and the perspective of the staff, but not included the angle of the NGOs and what impact their visits has on increasing the transparency and to protect the detainee’s rights. Moreover, to capture and understand the cooperation between the NGOs and the Swedish Migration Agency it is important to fully understand the Swedish detention centres. Secondly, this research will highlight the Swedish detention centres, a state institution that many people are not familiar with. Thirdly, this topic is relevant since the demand for detention centres are increasing and even though, in comparison to other detention centres in Europe and the world, the Swedish detention centres are stated as humane and “good”. Still, the conditions for the detainees in Sweden are highly criticized by a number of NGOs, European Committee for the Prevention of Torture (CPT) and the civil society (Global Detention Project, 2018).
1.5 Analytical Framework

As noticed, the previous research about detention centres is focusing largely, on the wellbeing of the detainees, but lacks the aspects of how the NGOs are working together with the Migration Agency to secure the detainees rights. Therefore, the chosen conceptual framework for this study is the rights-based approach (RBA), outlined by Mikkelsen (2005) and in a handbook on the RBA, developed by European Anti-Poverty Network (EAPN) Ireland, to achieve social inclusion and equality. The principles from the RBA chosen for this study are, *Accountability and Transparency, Equality and Empowerment, Participation and Inclusion*. The next chapter, *Analytical Framework*, will further outline these principles.

1.6 Methodological Framework

Based on the objective of this study and to be able to answer the research questions previously mentioned, the method used for this study was a qualitative case study conducted at Åstorp detention centre. Four semi-structured interviews have been made and the findings from these interviews, together with data collected from the NGOs web pages and documents, have been used to increase the validity of this study. In accordance with Danermark et al (2002), the logic of abduction has been considered and guided the conceptual framework of RBA, and the principles chosen has helped organizing important aspects of the NGOs role and their collaborations with the Migration Agency. The chapter, *Methodological Framework*, is further explaining the choice of case, Åstorp detention centre as well as the collection of the primary sources. Moreover, this chapter also includes the validity of the sources, the main delimitation and limitations of this study as well as ethical considerations and my role as a researcher.

1.7 Disposition

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter, which has been outlined above, is the *Introduction* chapter.

The second chapter, *Analytical Framework*, presents the chosen approach for this study, namely the rights-based approach and the chosen principles that further will guide this study is included.
The third chapter presents the *Methodological framework* in depth, followed by the fourth chapter which is a *Background* chapter about the important principles of the three organizations this study is following, namely the Red Cross, the Swedish Church and Amnesty International.

Chapter five presents the *Findings* of the data that has been collected in the form of interviews and secondary sources.

In the sixth chapter, *Analysis*, the findings in previous chapters are analysed with the use of the rights-based approach.

Finally, in chapter seven, *Conclusion*, the findings of this analysis are shortly presented, and recommendations for further research on Sweden’s detention centres is presented.
2 Analytical Framework

The main concern, constantly mentioned in research about detention centres, is the well-being of the detainees and the possible violation against their human rights (Hailbronner, 2007, Robjant et al, 2009, Steel et al, 2011 and Sanggaran & Zion, 2016). Moreover, the previous research about Sweden's detention centres has mainly focused on the perspective of the detainees or the employees (Khosravi, 2009 and Puthoopparambil et al, 2015b) and not with focus on how the NGOs, together with the Migration Agency, are working to secure the rights for the detainees. As mentioned in the introduction, Sweden has been praised for the human treatment of asylum seekers and undocumented migrants, and other countries have claimed that the ‘Swedish model of detention’ is a successful model to increase the rights for the detainees.

By inviting an unlimited number of NGOs into the detention centres, the Migration Agency increase the transparency in the organisation (Global Detention Project, 2018). The NGOs, that are constantly fighting for human rights and to empower people who are in a vulnerable position in the society, monitor the detainee’s rights in the detention centre. The concepts occurring in the previous research about detention centres and the aim for many NGOs is principles such as transparency, empowerment and inclusion, and therefore the Right-Based Approach (RBA) was chosen and seemed valuable in this research. Furthermore, the logics of abduction which reveals hidden aspects of life in a new way (Danermark et al, 2002) has guided this research.

The choice to use abduction is further explained in the next chapter, Methodological Framework.

The interviews that have been conducted, together with secondary sources, will be analysed with help from the chosen principles of RBA. By doing so, it is possible to get a greater understanding of a state institution that is becoming even bigger. The principles and concepts of RBA will be introduced below, and these concepts will help in highlighting important aspects in the detention centre and the cooperation between the NGOs and the Migration Agency.

2.1 Rights-Based Approach

There are several different perspectives of RBA, or human right based approach as it sometimes is referred to, the RBA is based on the international human rights standards and aim to promote and protect the human rights for all human beings (Mikkelsen, 2005:200). The RBA focuses on ‘rights rather than on needs’ (EAPN, 2007), and the government has responsibility towards the people to ensure that all people that are seeking those rights are able to realize what their rights
are, in other words, the government's duty is to protect and promote these international human rights standards (EAPN, 2007).

According to human rights law, there exists three groups of agents: right-holders, duty-bearers and ‘other actors’. First, the right-holders includes all human beings and all people have human rights and these rights are supposed to be equally and inalienably (Mikkelsen, 2005:202). Second, over 140 states in the world have committed to the human rights and have signed the human rights treaties, Sweden being one of them. Furthermore, the state is the primary duty-bearer and has legal obligations to “respect, protect and fulfil all human rights for all citizens” (Mikkelsen, 2005:202). However, the state could fulfil the human rights by acting as a middleman to other actors, such as civil society, that provides these services. Third, the groups that are included in ‘other actors’, e.g. NGOs, transnational corporations, the UN and individuals, have moral obligation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. These actors should have this declaration in constant focus and strive to protect and promote these rights (Mikkelsen, 2005:200). The core of RBA and the strategy to promote human rights are by “strengthening duty-bearers to fulfil their obligations; and empowering rights-holders to claim their rights.” (Mikkelsen, 2005:205). The dynamic of RBA is illustrated below.

Figure 1: Rights-based Approach

Furthermore, the RBA include six key principles from the international human rights system, namely: Accountability and Transparency, Equality and Empowerment, Participation and Inclusion, Indivisibility and Interdependence of rights and Rule of Law (Mikkelsen, 2005:206 and EAPN, 2007). The key principles from RBA that I find the most relevant for this research
aiming at examining how, and if, the NGOs are collaborating with Migration Agency for protecting the detainee’s rights are Accountability and Transparency, Equality and Empowerment and Participation and Inclusion. These key principles will be further presented below and later used to analyze the findings of this research. The choice to not use the principles in RBA such as Rule of Law or Indivisibility and interdependence of rights is that this research does not intend to examine Sweden's laws or go deeper in civic, political, economic, social and cultural rights.

2.1.1 Accountability and Transparency
This is one of the most important principles of the RBA and by demanding accountability and transparency from actors, whereof their actions have affected people's human rights, contributes to development and makes the actions easier to monitor. Furthermore, due to the fact that the government is the primary duty-bearer, accountability and transparency required that they, firstly, act responsible for the human beings that they are responsible for, secondly, involves being perceptive of the people’s opinions and provides information to be transparent. Third, take the people’s views seriously and act appropriate (Mikkelsen, 2005:209). In other words, for the government to be transparent, it needs to take responsible and be transparent of its actions, which gives the people a chance to understand if the state has discharged, or failed, their duties (EAPN, 2007).

2.1.2 Equality and Empowerment
A fundamental issue in the principles of equality and non-discrimination is that all people within the society have equal access to fulfil their basic human needs. This principle includes all of the state’s policies and practices, including healthcare and immigration. Development should be ensured especially for the most excluded groups in the society that for some reasons may have inadequate access to these social services (Mikkelsen, 2005:207 and EAPN, 2007). Moreover, according to RBA it is important to empower the people and the communities’ knowledge about their human rights and that these human beings are protecting and defending their rights. The focus has shifted towards that people have rights rather than needs and this approach requires going to the bottom with, and addressing, the root causes of development (EAPN, 2007).
2.1.3 Participation and Inclusion

The principle of participation and inclusion also means that all human beings in a society are justified to be participating in society with their potential (Mikkelsen, 2005:209). Moreover, this principle also involves maximizing the inclusion of the community with the state to be required to create a sustainable context and for all stakeholders to be able to participate (EAPN, 2007). The participation for the exposed people in the society should be aiming for a free, active and a meaningful existence with participation that is not forced (Mikkelsen, 2005:209).
3 Methodological Framework

This research will be using a qualitative case study, abductively guided by the chosen concepts of RBA, that were outlined in previous chapter. Moreover, the main methodological approach will be using semi-structured interviews with the NGOs and the Swedish Migration Agency at Åstorp detention centre. In this chapter, the methodological framework for this qualitative case study, with the aim to analyse the underlying mechanisms in the collaboration between the different NGOs and the Swedish Migration Agency in Åstorp detention centre, will be explained and justified. This chapter begins with an explanation of the chosen method, followed by an explanation of the sampling and how the primary data were collected. This is followed by a description of the execution of the semi-structured interviews and the sources and their validity. Furthermore, a subchapter discusses the delimitation and limitation of the case and e.g. justifies the number of interviews that have been conducted as well as the ethical considerations. Finally, this chapter concludes with explaining my own preconceptions and explain my role as a researcher.

3.1 Method of Analysis

Creswell and Creswell (2018) argue that using a qualitative method is a useful approach when the aim is to explore and to understand a concept where little research has been done, or where there is need to use a different and new angle on the concept (Creswell and Creswell 2018:19). Moreover, there was also one practical issue considered in the decision to use a qualitative method instead of a quantitative method (Creswell and Creswell, 2018:36), since previous research on the presence of NGOs at Sweden's detention centres was limited. Therefore, a qualitative method is suitable in this study since the aim is to reach a deeper understanding of the collaboration between the NGOs and the Swedish Migration Agency at Åstorp detention centre and examine how, and if, the presence of the NGOs increases the rights for the detainees, which is the objective in this study. Furthermore, according to Bryman (2016:60-61) the use of a case study is to provide an in-depth understanding of the case of interests and is a common method to use in a qualitative research. Since the research about Sweden's detention centres and the role of NGOs at these detention centres are limited, and since there is not much written material and research made regarding the subject, the method to use a qualitative case study with interviews was considered most appropriate. This is in line with the choice to present the previous research in a subchapter in the Introduction, to support the research problem that a gap
has been identified in the research about Sweden's detention centres and the NGOs role to protect the detainee’s rights together with the Migration Agency.

All four interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed, and the data collected from the primary sources, as well as the secondary sources, were organized to observe patterns and similarities. The analytical framework that has been chosen for this research is the Rights-based approach and concepts from the framework has helped organizing important aspects for this research, abductively guided by the conceptual framework of RBA. The choice to use the logic of abduction, and not an inductive or deductive reasoning are since abduction allows to understand a certain area in a new way and to use the theory or concepts as a tool to understand hidden aspect of life (Danermark et al, 2002). Induction and deduction seemed to be inadequate for the study since, according to Danermark et al (2002:86), an inductive approach is used to make generalizations about a whole population from a number of observations. Therefore, the sample size used needs to be of a certain size, to be able to ensure that the observation is representative for the population (Danermark et al, 2002:86). Since the sample size in this research ‘only’ consists of one detention centre out of five with four interviews conducted, there is not possible to make general assumptions. Neither is the aim to test a theory or a hypothesis, as the case would be using a deductive approach (Danermark et al, 2002:82). Moreover, the findings from the primary sources, together with secondary sources, are presented in the chapter findings and thereafter abductively guided by the chosen concept from the RBA and analysed in the chapter analysis.

3.2 The Choice of Case and Respondents
When choosing a case for this study the limitation of the thesis was considered, as well as the limitation of time, and therefore only one detention centre is included in this thesis. The first intention was to use Märsta detention centre as a case in this study, since Märsta is the largest detention centre in Sweden (Migrationsverket, 2018b). However, as the result of several conversations with the Migration Agency in Märsta I decided not to choose Märsta detention centre, mainly because the person that is responsible for the NGOs activities was only available for an interview at the very start of this thesis and not available for a potential complementation questions after the interview, which could lead to that the result of the interview could have ended up less significant. But also, since the Swedish Church that is conducting regularly visits at Märsta detention centre, was not able to find an opportunity or time to execute an interview.
The result of not including all NGOs that is present would limit the significance of this research. In Åstorp detention centre all three NGOs that are present agreed on conducting an interview, as well as the person that is responsible for the NGOs visits, therefore, the choice of case in this study is Åstorp detention centre. Furthermore, due to the geographical position of Åstorp detention centre I was able to conduct two interviews in person, which may have been a positive advantage for the results.

Since the aim in this thesis is to examine the collaboration between the NGOs and the Migration Agency and whereas the case is Åstorp detention centre, where the Red Cross, the Swedish Church and Amnesty International are present, the focus is exclusively on these three NGOs. Overall, four semi-structured interviews were conducted. The first interview was with the ‘OS-responsible’ (organized employment) at the Migration Agency, henceforth referred as “the OS-responsible” in this thesis, which is responsible for the NGOs contacts at the detention centre in Åstorp, in the office at Åstorp detention centre. The second interview was conducted with a deacon, that visit the detention centre regularly, at the Swedish Church office in Åstorp. Both these interviews were made in persons. The third interview was conducted with an employee at the Red Cross who is responsible for coordinating all Red Cross visits at Sweden's detention centres. The final interview was made with an employee at the secretariat at Amnesty International that has the overall responsible for all the volunteers visits at detention centres in Sweden. Both these interviews were conducted over telephone and the main reason was due to time constraints and economic constraints, since these persons’ offices are in Gothenburg, respectively in Stockholm. Moreover, in the chapter Findings, the informants are not mentioned by name, but based on the name of the organisation and is referred in following way, The Migration Agency: (MA), The Red Cross: (RC), The Swedish Church: (SC) and Amnesty International: (AI).

3.3 Primary Data Collection

Since the aim of the study is to do research on the collaboration between the Migration Agency and the NGOs that are present at Åstorp detention centre, the sample of informants were not chosen randomly. Bryman (2016:408) explains purposive sampling as a non-probability form and that the informants are carefully and strategically chosen on the basis of the relevance of the research questions (Bryman, 2016:408). Moreover, I sought to interview people in the NGOs as well as at the Migration Agency in Åstorp that have the overall responsibility for the
visits and together form some kind of collaboration. Also, since these people has the widest and deepest knowledge of my problem area. Furthermore, the informants in this study were not chosen on a random basis, but based on the assumption that these people would be best suitable to answer my research questions.

The choice to use semi-structured interviews in this thesis is due to this type of interview involves using pre-written questions as a guide; see the interview guide in Appendix. However, the intention was also to give the informants space to talk more freely (Bryman, 2016:201). The aim of using this form of interviews gives the informants a chance to steer towards areas and subjects that they find important to discuss, since they are experts in the field this information became highly valuable and interesting for this research. As mentioned, four semi-structured interviews were conducted and to increase the validity of the study, other tools were considered and included, as explained in the next sub-chapter Sources and their validity.

All informants were informed about the purpose of this study and were offered to be anonymous by name, therefore the informants in the chapter about Findings are referred based on the organizations name. Furthermore, all four informants approved to audio-recorded interviews. Choosing to audio-record the interviews could both be an advantage but also a disadvantage for my research, the advantage is that I had the possibility to largely concentrate on the interview, rather than taking notes. However, one disadvantage by recording the interview could be that the informants became more careful what they forwarded, and the results could be less interesting and valuable for the research (Bryman, 2016:480). Although, none of the informants opposed to be audio-record and answered all my questions without any problems. Furthermore, all four interviews were transcribed and even though transcribing interviews is a very time-consuming process, the advantages are several e.g. it allows a more thorough examination on not just what the informants says but also in what kind of way they say it (Bryman, 2016:479).

3.4 Sources and their Validity
This study includes the process of data triangulation where several sources of data is included to strengthen the validity of the study (Creswell and Creswell, 2018:200), but also to increase the understanding of Sweden's detention centre and the presence of NGOs. Since both the Swedish Migration Agency, the Red Cross and the Swedish Church has started to develop national guidelines of their presence/activities in the detention centres there is limited access of primary sources. Therefore, this study includes results from the interviews as well as secondary
sources. Moreover, secondary sources were collected in form of books, articles, the NGOs homepages and documents sent from the NGOs in order to gain background information about the case and area of study. Furthermore, peer-reviewed articles were found by using One Search databank at Linnaeus University library online.

3.5 Delimitation and Limitations

This research is delimited to only one detention centre out of five, therefore, the findings in this study should not be seen as representative for all detention centres in Sweden and further studies in this subject should be done before making generalized conclusions. However, the findings enable an understanding of the chosen case, Åstorp detention centre, which can contribute to increasing the overall knowledge in studies on the presence of NGOs at other detention centres in Sweden. Moreover, since only three NGOs, namely the Red Cross, The Swedish Church and Amnesty International, has regular presence at Åstorp detention centre and formally have a collaboration with the Migration Agency, this study will only include these three NGOs and the sample size is limited to these participants. Therefore, since the aim of this research is not to compare different detention centres, the data collected in forms of interviews has been restricted to four interviews. Moreover, the interviews conducted are with people that are responsible for the visits from the different NGOs and the Migration Agency, and therefore these people are most likely the ones with the most relevant information and knowledge about this subject. However, to increase the validity of the result, as mentioned in previous subchapter, several other tools have been used. In addition, another possible limitation to keep in mind is the fact that the results of the interviews with the different NGOs most likely will be controlled from their agenda and are going to tell their version of the “right” story. Moreover, since the overall debate concerning detention centres is a sensitive issue, the Migration Agency in Åstorp might be careful on which information they forward.

Another key fact to consider is that this research does not aim to compare Åstorp detention centre with other detention centres in Sweden, or the world. Moreover, this research will not consider and include other angels in the cooperation and highlight the story of the people that are detained or to include and examine the debate of deportation. As a matter of fact, this research only claims to study the process of the collaboration between these four partners to get a greater understanding on a public agency that is expanding in Sweden. However, hopefully
this thesis can contribute to create and spread knowledge about the situation and increase the interest to examine this topic further.

3.6 Ethical Consideration
The informants in this thesis were informed that their participation was voluntary and after an agreement with the informants, none of them are referred to by name, only based on their position and the name of the organization. Due to the agreement, the informants should therefore not be in a specific vulnerable position. As explained previously, all interviews have been audio-recorded with permission from the informants, and also transcribed. Moreover, before the interviews the informants were informed about the purpose of this study. The interview with the Migration Agency and The Swedish Church were made in person at respective workplace and the interview with The Red Cross and Amnesty International were made over telephone.

3.7 The Role and Reflexivity of the Researcher
Creswell and Creswell (2018:183-184) mention the role and reflexivity of the researcher and argue that two important issues are valuable to mention. How the researcher is affected by: firstly, the researcher’s past experiences and what special connection the researcher has with the participants or setting. These experiences are valuable to understand the connection between the researcher and the topic. Second, it is also valuable to explain how past experiences may shape the interpretation and e.g. how past experiences affect the researcher to lean towards a certain direction to support their own preconceptions (Creswell and Creswell, 2018:183-184). The main reason that I was interested in conducting research about the detention centre and to understand the relationship between NGOs and the Swedish Migration Agency is related to past work experience with both different NGOs and the Migration Agency. For several years I have been active and working with asylum seekers and unaccompanied minors, and with the Migration Agency constantly present. My previous experience has shaped my interpretation but also how media (and social media) is constantly portraying the Migration Agency as inhumane (Andersson et al, 2016) and that NGOs seems to struggle to collaborate and influence the Migration Agency. However, the result of this research and the findings from the interviews, with the Red Cross, the Swedish Church, Amnesty International and with the Swedish
Migration Agency in Åstorp, has changed my critical view and my preconceptions has not been confirmed. These findings will be further presented in the chapter about *Findings*.
4 Background

4.1 The Red Cross
The Red Cross, in some countries called the Red Crescent Movement, is the world's largest humanitarian organization with national organizations in 191 countries. The Red Cross has approximately 17 million volunteers, who all share the same goal: to help people in war and in conflict (Röda Korset, 2018c). All of the work within the Red Cross organizations in Sweden and in the world are based on seven basic principles; *Humanity*: to prevent humans from suffering and with the goal to respect the lives of all people in the world. *Impartiality*: The Red Cross makes no discrimination as to race, sex, nationality, religious, or political opinions. *Neutrality*: The work of the Red Cross is neutral and to maintain the confidence the Red Cross do not choose side or take part in any political, ethnical, religious or ideological controversy. *Independence*: The Red Cross is independent but supports the government at the national level in the humanitarian work, however, the seven basic principles are constantly present. *Voluntary service*: The Red Cross provides a voluntary service without any desire and purpose for profit-making. *Unity*: In every country there is only one national Red Cross organization, which is open for everyone in the whole country. *Universality*: The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement share the responsibility worldwide to support and assist each other (Röda Korset, 2018c)

In Sweden, the Red Cross was founded in 1865 and is today Sweden's largest humanitarian organization with over 30 000 volunteers spread around the country. At local level, the Red Cross is divided into 1000 so called Red Cross “Kretser” that are responsible for different geographical areas (Röda Korset, 2018c).

4.2 The Swedish Church
The Swedish Church is the largest religious body in Sweden. The first Christian message came to Sweden in the ninth century and Sweden became a Christian country. However, at the millennium 1999/2000 the Swedish Church was separated from the state (Svenska Kyrkan, 2018a). Despite this, the Swedish Church still has 6 million members, approximately 25 000 employees and around 48 000 volunteers in 2017 (Svenska Kyrkan, 2018d). The mission of the Swedish Church is to make sure that all people have the chance to live a dignified life and when a person’s dignity is violated, so is God. The mission is sent by God and the people who works
for the church are God's tools. Therefore, the Swedish Church is working to prevent that people are violated and to give support to those who have been. The Swedish Church is also working towards peace and justice in the world, for sustainable development and to prevent climate change (Svenska Kyrkan, 2018b). All the work in The Swedish Church, both in Sweden and internationally, is based on six basic principles: Human Rights: All people have the right to a worthy life and the Swedish Church supports the UN: declaration of Human Rights. Child Impact: The work in the Swedish Church is based on the best interest for the children and is based on the UN: Declaration on the Rights of the Child. Support after abuse: The Swedish Church gives support to people that have been sexually harassed or abused, in forms of guidance or healing conversations. Sustainable Development: Sustainable development is in focus of all the work with people who in any form live in vulnerability. Peace and Justice: The most important mission for the Swedish Church is to work toward peace in the world, the work includes conflict prevention, respect for the Human Rights and gender equality. Ecumenism and interreligious dialogue: The importance of religion in the society and for people, and a central part of the work for Swedish Church, is to collaborate with churches of other religions in the world and in Sweden (Svenska Kyrkan, 2017).

4.3 Amnesty International

Amnesty International is a global movement with around two million members all over the world and the Swedish section was formed in 1964 and includes some 100 000 members. The main focus of Amnesty International is Human Rights, which includes the rights that involves the UN declaration of Human Rights. Every day Amnesty is working with documenting violation against Human Rights but also with education and spreading information about Human Rights. Furthermore, Amnesty International is an independent organization, without any dependence from government, religious beliefs and/or political convictions (Amnesty International, 2018a).

Amnesty International is working within several areas that are connected to Human Rights, e.g. discrimination, women's rights, dictatorship and crisis and conflict, death penalty and torture as well as with refugees and migration (Amnesty International, 2018a). The work by Amnesty International’s section with refugees and migration in Sweden is: to make sure that their rights are ensured by actively spread relevant knowledge to e.g. authorities, government, NGOs, schools as well as the court. But also to provide refugees with information that supports their
asylum applications, to support asylum seekers that are in danger in the return to their home
countries and to pay attention to the authorities and the civil society in these questions, to work
with refugees and migrants’ human rights and to collaborate with other NGOs. All members of
Amnesty International are responsible for spreading knowledge and to actively work to protect
the rights of refugees and asylum seekers\(^1\).

\(^1\) Mail conversation with Amnesty International, December 12\(^{th}\). 2018.
5 Findings

In this chapter, the empirical findings received through the four interviews conducted with the NGOs and the Migration Agency, the organizations webpages as well as official documents are presented. These findings will be presented and reconnected with the three concepts from the conceptual framework RBA, namely Accountability and Transparency, Equality and Empowerment and Participation and Inclusion, which were explained in a previous chapter, Conceptual Framework. As mentioned in the chapter, Methodological Framework, the findings from these interviews are referred to in the following way, The Migration Agency: (MA), The Red Cross: (RC), The Swedish Church: (SC) and Amnesty International: (AI). Moreover, the findings are presented in the following way; firstly, this chapter will start with presenting the background of Sweden's detention centres and the presence of the three NGOs, to get a brief understanding of the overall structure of detention centres in Sweden. Thereafter the findings from the case, Åstorp detention centre, will be presented, with the RBA in mind to further organizing the findings.

5.1 Background

5.1.1 Sweden’s Detention Centres

According to Swedish Migration Agency, a detention centre is a unit where people are held imprisoned until an investigation regarding deportation has been finalized and the decision to place a person in a detention centre could be due to different reasons (Migrationsverket, 2018a). Andersson et al (2016:11-12) describes three different reasons to detain a person. First, Execution detention refers to a person that has, or is going to get, a rejection on his asylum application and that this person is suspected to, according to the Migration Agency, disappear or hide before the deportation (Andersson et al, 2016:11). Second, Identity detention refers to a person that has, for different reasons, not been able to prove his identity and the Migration Agency finds it necessary to detain the person while ensuring his/her identity. Third, Investigation detention is to detain a person that is considered to not be cooperative in the asylum process, and therefore, this person can be detained for a maximum of 48 hours (Andersson et al, 2016:12).

The number of detention centres in Sweden is rapidly increasing. By looking at statistics, the total number of detainees in one year has increased from 3200 persons in 2014 to approximately
4400 persons in 2017 (Global Detention Project, 2018). Moreover, the capacity of detention centres has expanded with almost 80% since 2016 (Fritzon, 2018). In July 2018, Sweden had five detention centres; Åstorp, Källered, Flen, Märsta and Gävle, with capacity for 357 peoples. Although, more detention centres are planned for, and in the end of 2018 one additional detention centre is opening in Ljungbyhed with room for 40 people (Migrationsverket, 2018b). Furthermore, the already existing detention centres are also increasing their capacity during the year and according to the minister of migration, Helene Fritzon, will the number of places in the detention centres increase to 500 in 2019 (Fritzon, 2018). According to international guidelines, the use of detention centres should be a last resort (UNHCR, 2012). In 2014, the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture (CPT) was criticizing Sweden for detaining too many people and the committee argued that people primarily should be placed under custody and continuously report to the police, without being locked up (Andersson et al 2016:19). However, in an examination made by The Red Cross in 2012, not a single person who was placed in a detention centre in 2012 had first been placed under custody and mismanaged this, and therefore been placed in a detention centre (Zamacona Aguirre, 2012).

According to the Swedish Migration Agency, the presence of the NGOs in the detention centres is playing an important role for the people that are detained (Migrationsverket, 2018a). The different NGOs in Sweden's detention centres seem to have slightly different roles but are aiming for the same goal, to improve the conditions for the people that are detained by promoting and protecting their rights.

5.1.2 The Red Cross Presence at Sweden's Detention Centres

The Swedish Red Cross started to visit Sweden's detention centres in 1998 (Röda Korset, 2018b), when the responsibility changed from the Police to the Migration Agency (Andersson et al, 2016:18). The Red Cross’ primary purpose at the detention centres is to give human support to the detainees’ through e.g. social activities or normal conversations (Röda Korset, 2018a). At the moment, The Red Cross is conducting regular visits at three out of the total five detention centres. Unfortunately, at Flens and Gävle detention centres the Red Cross do not perform visits, even though both the Migration Agency and the Red Cross is striving to conduct visits at all five detention centres (RC). However, Since the Red Cross has around 1000 ‘Kretsar’ at the local level in Sweden (Röda Korset, 2018c) the choice is not at the national
level for the Red Cross or for the Migrations Agency to decide. Even though the goal for the Red Cross is to carry out visits at all of Sweden's detention centres the organization is depending on that there exist a ‘krets’ at the local level that could take responsible for the visits. Some of the reason that there is no ‘krets’ that are visiting the detention centres in Flen and Gävle is the lack of capacity, resources and/or priority at the local ‘kretsarna’ in these cities. The whole organization is built, and depending, on the volunteers at the local level (RC).

At the national level, the Red Cross has influence in developing Migration Agencies national guidelines regarding the NGOs visit activities, together with other NGOs. Since the demand for detention centres is increasing (Fritzon, 2018), the aim with these guidelines are that the NGOs visits should look more or less the same at all of Sweden's detention centres (RC). Today, these visits from the Red Cross looks different for all detention centres. E.g. in the detention centre in Kållered they have always had all NGO visits during one day, at the same time, to make sure that the detainees get a visit from any NGOs and this gives the NGOs an opportunity to collaborate. However, the challenge is that it sometimes gets a bit confusing for the detainees, that they sometimes do not know if they are talking to a volunteer from the Red Cross or from the Swedish Church. “And I think it may be unfortunate that you do not know if you are talking to (a volunteer from) the Red Cross or the Swedish Church. It is not about that the assignment is so extremely different between the Swedish Church and the Red Cross, but more what we stand for. We are a neutral, impartial independent organization. And the Swedish Church is not that [...]” (RC).

5.1.3 The Swedish Church Presence at Sweden's Detention Centres

The Swedish Church is visiting all five detention centres in Sweden: Flen, Gävle, Märsta, Kållered and Åstorp (SC) and the main purpose of the Swedish Church is to give support, conversations and cure, but also to some extent, help the detainees in mediating contacts for their asylum questions (Svenska Kyrkan, 2018c). There also exist commitments for the Swedish Church such as baptism or nuptials, since there exist detainees that is originally Christians or has converted2. The visits at the five detention centres are slightly different, in some there is a deacon or a priest that is responsible and has predetermined times for the visits. Although, at the moment, in Flen there is no regular visit at the detention centre but the personnel from the

2 Mail conversation with Lund Stift, December 7th, 2018
Migration Agency have the opportunity to contact the Swedish Church in Flen if a detainee needs a support contact\(^3\). However, none of the visits at detention centres includes any volunteers from the Church, only employed staff.

Since the number of detention centres are increasing in Sweden (Fritzon, 2018), there exist good contacts between the Swedish Churches in the country to coordinate the work at Sweden's detention centres. This is in form of support and meetings to share experience and to develop the visit activity. However, the Swedish Church lacks national guidelines\(^4\) over the visits at the detention centres and, at the moment, the responsibility for visiting the detention centre is by the local assembly in the vicinity of the detention centres. Even though there are no national guidelines over the Swedish Church visit activity at the detention centres, two basic missions for the Swedish Church is to conduct visits at both hospitals and at prisons in Sweden. Moreover, the work at detention centres is in a way influenced by the guidelines from both the hospitals and prisons. E.g. the Swedish Church role at the hospitals are to give cure and offer counselling (Sjukhuskyrkan, 2018) and at the prisons the role of the Swedish Church is through conversation, with both believing Christians and others, with a fellow human being offer cure and support (Sveriges Kristna Råd, 2015).

5.1.4 **Amnesty International's Presence at Sweden's Detention Centres**

Amnesty International visits the detention centres on regular basis in Gävle, Åstorp and Märsta, and when needed in Flen. In a short period of time, Amnesty International is also starting a visit activity in the detention centre in Källered, Gothenburg (AI). Amnesty International has developed five guidelines for the groups of volunteers that visits the detention centres. *First*, to regularly visit the detention centres. *Second*, to be available during the visits for the detainees that desire to get in contact and assist with relevant information *Third*, to monitor the access of information for the detainees about their rights, information about the asylum process and the availability to contact with the surrounding world inside the detention centre. *Fourth*, to make sure that the detainees have access to an official assistant and *fifth*, to regularly have contact

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\(^3\) Mail conversation with Lund Stift, December 7\(^{th}\), 2018  
\(^4\) Mail conversation with Lund Stift, December 7\(^{th}\), 2018
with Amnesty’s Secretariat and inform them about the actions that are made in the name of Amnesty during the visits at the detention centres.

Therefore, all volunteers need to have basic knowledge about questions that involves the areas: Asylum and Migration. Before any volunteers are visiting the detention centres, they will get basic training in asylum law and undergo the Migration Agencies security talk (Amnesty International, 2018b). Furthermore, the visiting group are carefully chosen, and Amnesty have high demands on the people that apply, e.g. the person needs to be serious and able to stay and implement the mission for at least one year. Not formally, but the people that are applying for the visit groups are expected to be able to visit the detention centres regularly. At the moment, Amnesty International are visiting Gävle and Mårsta detention centres every second week, and every third week they are visiting the detention centre in Åstorp (AI). Furthermore, Amnesty has also collaboration with other NGOs, both concerning the detention centres but also within other areas of asylum law. At local level, the Migration Agency is arranging meetings with the volunteers to exchange experiences but also to inform the volunteers about the situation at the detention centre (AI).

5.2 Åstorp Detention Centre

As mentioned, Åstorp detention centre is located in Skåne, 20 km from Helsingborg. The previous director-general of the Migration Agency in Sweden, Dan Eliasson, stated when the detention centre in Åstorp was opening in 2011, “The detainees will have the best detention centre in the world, even if they may not would like to be here” (Andersson et al, 2016:15). There are many rules before visiting the detention centre and when I was conducting my interview with the ‘OS-responsible’ at Åstorp detention centre I was not allowed into the location were the detainees are locked in. However, the deacon at the Swedish Church describes the onsite as very bright with a big assembly room and with “leather sofas, large TV sets, possibility of tea / coffee and fruit. It’s bright and nice, but it’s very bare. There must not be anything you can hurt yourself or others with” (SC).

5.3 Accountability and Transparency

5.3.1 The Migration Agency

The detention centre in Åstorp has in the last two years had a person that is ‘OS-responsible’, who is responsible for the activities for the detainees and the visits from the NGOs. The ‘OS-responsible’ is supposed to make sure that all kinds of relevant information reaches the detainees and to provide the detainees every week with a schedule of the following week’s activities. The ‘OS-responsible’ is also responsible to keep in contact with the NGOs that regularly have visits at the detention centre, but also to contact other NGOs to investigate the interest to start a collaboration (MA). Much of the work is to contact different NGOs and ask if they have the possibility to start a group and visit the detainees. There is no restriction from the Migration Agency to have visits from NGOs, “We can never force NGOs to come here and visit us, that is only a wish from our side, and we are very happy that they come and also think it is important. Our desire is that many (NGOs) would like to come all the time” (MA).

“Anyone who, now it sounds that there are really many (NGOs) who want to come here, but it is not!” (MA), but all NGOs that would like to visit the detention centre are welcome to do so. Although, the chief and security assistant need to approve the NGOs and the Migration Agency needs to know for what purpose an NGO wants to visit, “e.g. we cannot have activists in here, that is not good for anyone” (MA). Before the NGOs are starting a visit activity, all members need to go through the Migration Agencies security talks at Åstorp, where visitors sign a silence form, and if a visitor is spreading information from the detention centre or about the detainees, they are breaking the law. However, if a civilian knows a detainee, they could of course visit the person in private, and then the meeting is in a special visiting rooms and no forms are filled (MA). It is possible for both the Migration Agency and NGOs to start a collaboration, and since there occasionally is children detained at Åstorp detention centre, Save the Children has a desire to facilitate and help the parents and to visit the detention centre (MA). However, when children are detained at the detention centre they are allowed to stay maximum of 72 + 72 hours (Migrationsverket, 2018a), and therefore Save the Children has to examine if they have the economic resources to act so fast. Moreover, many of the detainees have been asking for a contact with the SMR, Swedish Muslim Council, and therefore the ‘OS-responsible’ in Åstorp has several times been in contact with SMR and tried to make them start a visit group. However, due to lack of economic resources on their side, they do not so far have the capacity. “But I continue to email on a regular basis to them” (MA).
5.3.2 The Red Cross

One of the reasons for inviting The Red Cross, and other NGOs, to the detention centres was to have an open and transparent organization by engaging the civil society (RC). The collaboration with Migration Agency and the presence in these detention centres gives the Red Cross an advantageous position to understand the daily life for the detainees at Sweden's detention centres (Röda Korset, 2018b). The volunteer’s main purpose at the detention centres is to monitor the detainee’s rights but also due to the fact that the Red Cross is a neutral part and neither a detainee nor an employee at the Migration Agency, the detainees usually feel more comfortable to share their life experience or their situation at the detention centre. Moreover, the volunteer’s commitment at the detention centre is not to help detainees in their asylum process, but to help by referring to where the detainees could turn (RC). The Red Cross organization offers namely legal help as well as health care (Röda Korset, 2018d), even though the Migration Agency offers regular medical care at the detention centre (RC). After the visits at Åstorp detention centre the group of Red Cross volunteers writes a report about the visit in which they highlight faults or issues regarding the detention centre and the situation for the detainees, with the aim of monitoring the detainee’s rights. Twice a year, a summary of all reports from the volunteers is presented to the Migration Agency’s management at Åstorp detention centre. “I cannot really answer to what extent they take our comments into account, but they listen to us, and they are also interested in doing it as well as possible for the detainees as well as developing the detention centre. [...] And then it is not always that we see things the same, but I think absolutely they are listening to us.” (RC).

5.3.3 The Swedish Church

When the detention centre moved from Örkelljunga to Åstorp, in May 2011, a deacon from the Swedish Church in Åstorp took over the visiting activities for the Swedish Church at the detention centre. Normally the deacon visits the detention centre every Tuesday but can also visit the detainees whenever they need someone to talk to, based on the time and availability of the deacon. The length of the visits varies from time to time, it all depends on how many that would like to speak with the deacon. “I Am there as long as it is needed, and I can even go there if it is others who specifically say they want to talk to me during other times” (SC). The detainees also have the possibility to meet with a priest if they have a specific desire for that.
5.3.4 Amnesty International
At the moment, Amnesty International is together with other NGOs collaborating with the Migration Agency to develop national guidelines for the visit activities at all detention centres. “it is very important to get NGOs taking part in these discussions, […] It is seen as very positive and they (The Migration Agency) are investing a lot in the national meetings we have had” (AI). Together with the Migration Agency, the NGOs are constantly working on improving the conditions for the detainees and developing Sweden's detention centre, “We have different roles, but basically we are working for the same goal” (AI). Moreover, after every visit at the detention centres the groups of volunteers write a report and forward it to the national level and if it has arisen structural problems or more general questions, the secretariat informs the Migration Agency about this. Sometimes the criticism could involve e.g. the healthcare, and even if the Migration Agency is not in charge of providing healthcare, these questions should still be brought up. The most common question and critic from the detainees is that they have poor (or no) contact with their public assistant, and this is again not the Migration Agencies responsible. However, this is a very important question for Amnesty and the volunteers at the detention centres, together with the personnel, helps the detainees to get in contact with their public assistant. Since all detainees are obliged to get a public assistant after being detained for 72 hours (AI and Migrationsverket, 2017).

5.4 Equality and Empowerment

5.4.1 The Migration Agency
There are several guidelines and rules the NGOs need to follow during the visits at the detention centre, it is very important that the volunteers get the support they need from the Migration Agencies’ staff and “We are very grateful that they come here because they do it for free in their spare time, those who come” (MA). One way for the Migration Agency to show appreciation, is to invite all volunteers at Åstorp detention centre for “fika” twice a year and to inform all groups about the detention centre. During their last meeting this fall, “We invited the nurse that is working at the detention centre and let her inform about her business and how she worked. The Swedish Migration Agency has nothing to do with the healthcare. […] And the more information they (the volunteers) have the safer they are when they go out (in the detentions centre), and then this is a way for us to show our appreciation towards them” (MA).
All people that are detained gets a public assistant within 72 hours (Andersson et al, 2016:12), that is a person that knows the laws in Sweden and helps out in the detainees’ asylum cases (Migrationsverket, 2017). The responsibility for staff that are working at the detention centre is to make sure that the people that are detainees gets the best treatment possible. However, they are not supposed to be involved, or have any power, in the detainees’ asylum cases. “[...] we should facilitate as much as possible so that they (the detainees) can exercise and utilise their rights” (MA).

5.4.2 The Red Cross
The visits from the Red Cross at Åstorp detention centre is mainly focusing on conversation and spontaneous activities such as playing card or football. The general expectation from the detainees is usually very high and since the Red Cross is a well-known organization, the hope that the Red Cross volunteers could help in individual cases is common. However, the Red Cross is a neutral part and are not employed by the Migration Agency and one reason to visit the detainees is to make sure that their rights are guarded and fulfilled. Most of the detainees appreciate to talk to a person from the outside and the volunteers explain and help the detainee to understand his/her situation. “Their mission is not to give advice, but they are good at referring to various issues” (RC) both to other organizations, authorities or to the staff at the detention centre. The volunteers help the detainees to understand their situation and help them in all kinds of questions they have. If a person that is detained claims e.g. about deficiencies of their existence in the detention centre, the volunteers forward this to the secretariat, which in turn highlights this to the Migration Agency. With the goal to empower the detainees and to develop the detention centres to be as good as possible (RC).

5.4.3 The Swedish Church
The Swedish Church are responsible for all the people that belong to Åstorp’s parish, which also includes the people that are detained there. In the Swedish Church there is a tradition and part of the work to visit prisons, hospitals and detention centres, and there is a duty to be with the persons that are the most vulnerable in the society, and that includes to the highest extent the people who are detained. The visits at the detention centre are mainly focusing on conversation, and since that is a part of a deacons daily work, to talk to people that are vulnerable or in crisis “that is nothing that is strange or new for me. It is a special environment,
But that is my every day and know what I can, or rather, cannot promise.” (SC). The last thing that leaves anyone is their hope and the deacon often hear "Oh, you come from the Swedish Church, can you help me stay?” (SC). However, the Swedish Church does not have that power, but they can help the detainees, through conversation, to understand their situation and explain about Swedish laws and the conditions for resistance. The conversations are often about the detainee’s circumstances of life and sometimes they would like the deacon to pray for them. “It is often the case that you have applied for asylum three times and you have been rejected. And then we talk a little about whether they have any new reasons, have you stated them? And so they tell about their life that they came here because they wanted a good life for my children I came here therefore... “(SC). It should be underlined that guidelines and demands from the Migration Agency at Åstorp Detention centre are explained during the security talk, before starting a visiting activity, and “the most important is to not give false hope, and that is something we are well aware of” (SC).

5.4.4 Amnesty International

The work for Amnesty International's volunteers at the detention centres is not to be a representative for the detainees or to get the people out from the detention centres. Instead, the visit at the detention centres is to make sure that their basic rights are respected and that their work at the detention centres are guided by Amnesty International's guidelines (AI). The main focus during the visits at a detention centre for Amnesty International is to act as a fellow human being and listen and talk with the detainees, but also to explain the Swedish asylum process and inform the detainees about their rights (Amnesty International, 2018b). Both Amnesty International and the Migration Agency have guidelines and rules for the volunteers before their visits. The collaboration with the Migration Agency “works good and it has been better, much better recently. They know who they should contact, and we know who we should contact, and both parts do that as well” (AI). It is in both the Migration Agency and Amnesty International's interest that the conditions for the detainees are as good as possible “and we have a very close dialogue with the Migration Agency. [...] and we try to correct misunderstandings, because it is often misunderstandings when they (the detainees) feel they are poorly treated” (AI).
5.5 Participation and Inclusion

5.5.1 The Migration Agency

At the moment, one person from the Swedish Church is visiting the detention centre every Tuesday, the Red Cross visits every second week at Thursdays and Amnesty International visits the detention centre every third week at Thursdays. At the moment, these NGOs are conducting normal conversations with the detainees and no other planned activities but “We would have liked to see that they had activities. But we are so far happy that they come here, that they have a visit activity” (MA). However, the Migration Agency is working on national guidelines for the NGOs visits, so that the guidelines are the same at all Sweden’s detention centres. At the moment, there is only a desire from the Migration Agency in Åstorp that the NGOs, during their visits, do not get engaged in individual asylum processes for detainees, however, “this the organizations agree on too”. During the introduction, “that is something we push for […], that you cannot promise something you cannot live up to.” (MA)

There are two kinds of activities executed by the Migration Agencies employees at Åstorp detention centre, spontaneous activities and planned activities, both are equally important. The spontaneous activities are e.g. to play card or a spontaneous football game, and the planned activities are e.g. the visits from NGOs but also to make bracelets, key chains or offering English lessons. The interest from the detainee’s varies, “One week I make bracelets with 12 persons, and the next week there is 0”. Even if there is nobody that would like to participate in the planned activities there could still be a successful activity, “You are stripped of many choices here, but you can at least choose whether you want to participate or not, and it is very important to feel that you have a choice. If nobody shows up, I understand that they have chosen not to attend […] and it is still a valuable activity.” (MA). It is the same with the visits from the NGOs, some weeks very few would like to meet the Swedish Church, and some weeks there are detainees that are asking to get in contact with the Swedish Church. Then the staff could call the contact person at the Swedish Church and arrange a meeting beyond the visiting hours that the Swedish Church has. “It is actually a choice that you (the detainees) can make, and you still feel that you have the power, that little bit I can decide” (MA). Moreover, the detainees are allowed to have visits during the visiting hours and the detainees are in charge of whom they would like to meet during these visits (MA). Due to confidentiality, the Migration Agency are normally not allowed to reveal the names of the people that are detained, however, the
detainees have unlimited access to a telephone and internet and have opportunity to get in contact and book a meeting with whoever they like (Migrationsverket, 2018a). These visits are referred to one of the detention centres visiting rooms and not inside the detention centre with the other people who are detained. However, the detainees always have the choice whether they would like to participate in any visits or not (MA).

5.5.2 The Red Cross
The Red Cross visits Åstorp detention centre every second weeks and consist of a group of seven volunteers, however, normally two-three persons visit the detention centre during their visiting hours. Since the visits at the detention centres is a special commitment, the Red Cross train the volunteer before and e.g. inform the volunteers about the basic principles of the organization (RC): Humanity, Impartiality, Neutrality, Independence, Voluntary Service, Unity and Universality (Röda Korset, 2018c) and other basic Red Cross codes of conducts. Since the commitment in the detention centres is quite limited and to “only” be able to offer conversation to a detainee that have other expectation could be frustrating and hard. “[...] I think it is quite common when you get involved in a voluntary organization, that you want to do so much. They want to help, want to do something concrete. We have many volunteers who are very committed, but it becomes difficult when the commitment goes too far [...]” (RC).

5.5.3 The Swedish Church
At the detention centres there are sometimes people that has converted to Christianity and these detainees will sometimes like to have a bible, an icon or a cross, and “I have ordered bibles in languages that I didn't know existed” (SC). But the conversation could also be about dreams and hopes or about their life situation, “you don't have to talk about religion with me [...]” (SC), and if there exist a language barrier the personnel at the Migration Agency is generous with arranging an interpreter. The collaboration with Migration Agency is working well, “They are amazing, it is fantastic personnel and they are very easy to deal with, and it is very nice to come there” (SC).
5.5.4 **Amnesty International**

As mentioned previously, Amnesty International visits Åstorp detention centre every third week and consists of a group of six volunteers divided into two groups. Therefore, every group visits Åstorp detention centre every six weeks. The volunteers are mainly conducting conversation with the detainees, sometimes they would like to talk about their asylum case, the situation in their home countries or a detainee may want the volunteers to forward information to the personnel. Or they simply spend some time talking about football with a fellow human being, a person that is not working for the Migration Agency and "[...] this we see as a very important function to be an outsider" (AI). During the visits at the detention centre in Åstorp the volunteers have the opportunity to get phone support from the secretariat in questions they have, or in questions the detainees have, that the volunteers cannot answer. Furthermore, after every visit the volunteers write a report to the secretariat with information about the visits and their conversation with detainees, and if it occurred some questions during the visit (AI).
6 Analysis
In this chapter, the findings outlined in the previous chapter, together with the answers to the research questions, will be illuminated and elaborated in relation to the RBA. This chapter will also evaluate the explanatory power of using the RBA in order to examine the collaboration between the NGOs and the Migration Agency to secure the rights for the detainees at Åstorp detention centre.

6.1 Accountability and Transparency
One of the most important principles of the RBA is to keep the actors whose actions affect people's human rights, responsible (Mikkelsen, 2005:209). The presence of the NGOs at Åstorp detention centre has been significantly important for improving the rights of the detainees. The approach by the Migration Agency is through close collaboration with the NGOs to increase the transparency and together with the NGOs develop the detention centre to become as good as possible. The NGOs sometimes lack resources, both economic and in forms of volunteers, to regularly visit the detention centres, e.g. Amnesty International visit Åstorp detention centre every third week and the Red Cross are only capable of conducting visits at three out of the total five detention centres (AI and RC). The conditions for the Swedish Church have proven to be slightly different, since they have employed staff for the visits at the detention centres and are not depending on volunteers. As well as significantly more resources both economically but also more members and employed staff, which were outlined in the background chapter (Svenska Kyrkan, 2018d).

However, the collaboration between the Migration Agency and the NGOs was very mutually beneficial and well-functioning. Where the Migration Agency stated:”"[...] works well, I think we have a great contact, very mutual” (MA), the Red Cross claimed that; “The collaboration works really good”(RC). Moreover, according to the Swedish Church the collaboration with Migration Agency: “They are amazing, it is fantastic personnel and very easy to deal with, and it is very nice to come there” (SC). Also, Amnesty International claims that it “works well and it has become better, much better recently” (AI). Furthermore, a well-functioning collaboration improves the condition for the detainees and the result from the Migration Agency, to include and respect the opinions from the NGOs is noticeable at Åstorp detention centre. In fact, the Migration Agency even expresses gratitude towards the presence of the NGOs and is constantly
working on starting more collaborations with other NGOs. Which is a way to increase the conditions for the detainees as well as increasing the transparency in the organization. However, there are obviously many restrictions set up by the Migration Agency before any NGOs could start a visiting activity, but also during their visits, mostly due to safety reasons. In addition, as the employees at Migration Agency are not interested in any additional work after the visits from the NGOs, there are distinct rules from their side. Even though all NGOs that are present agree on the conditions and rules the Migration Agency has set up. Furthermore, the collaboration between the Migration Agency and the NGOs that are conducting visit activities at Sweden's detention centres seems to be improving constantly. Currently, the Migration Agency is developing national guidelines for the NGOs visiting activity, with the help from several NGOs, as a way to improve the conditions for the detainees as well as facilitate for future collaborations with the NGOs.

In line with the RBA, the Migration Agency at Åstorp detention centre is by inviting NGOs into the organization taking responsibility over their action and is together with the NGOs, providing and increasing the access of different kinds of information to the detainees. Moreover, by taking the inadequacies that both the detainees and the NGOs are criticizing into consideration, the transparency increases at the same time as the rights for the detainees improves.

6.2 Equality and Empowerment

According to the RBA and the principles of equality and empowerment, all people in the society have right to fulfil their basic human needs and people that belongs to the most excluded groups should be especially considered. Moreover, people shall also be empowered and have knowledge about their rights to be able to claim and defend their own rights (Mikkelsen, 2005:207 and EAPN, 2007). As it has been outlined in previous chapter, in Åstorp detention centre and the four other detention centres in Sweden, the detainees are locked up because of the following reasons. Firstly, the Migration Agency have reasons to believe that the person either after the decision of deportation are going to disappear, or a person cannot strengthen their identity, or a person is not cooperating in their asylum process (Andersson et al, 2016:11-12). These decisions are regulated under Swedish law. However, the decision to detain a person

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6 Mail conversation with the Migration Agency, November 19th, 2018
has been strongly criticised from both the civil society, NGOs and also from the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture (CPT) (Andersson et al, 2016:19). The Migration Agency is working to give these people the best treatment as possible under the circumstances, and e.g. in Åstorp detention centre the people are not locked up in their rooms. They have free access to both internet and cell phone, they have a gym, the staff does not have any weapons or uniform, and to increase the diversity among the employees, people with different background, languages and education are hired (Global Detention Project, 2018). The detainees have access to basic healthcare as well as a public assistant (MA). Moreover, the healthcare and the public assistance are areas that are constantly being criticized, areas that the Migration Agency is not responsible for, but forward any complaints to the responsible persons (AI and MA).

One of the ambitions with the Migration Agency’s invitation to the NGOs is to be transparent, and together with the NGOs improve and secure the rights for the detainees. From the Migration Agency at Åstorp detention centre, the willingness to invite NGOs is a good attempt for increasing the rights for the detainees. This because, the confidence for the NGOs is higher than for the employees at the Migrations Agency. This is understandable, after all, the persons that put the detainees at the detention centre is working for the Migration Agency. Therefore, the presence of the NGOs is of significant importance, for both the detainees and for the Migration Agency. However, according to the Swedish Church “After all, they are an authority with everything that means. […] Now I just meet the Migration Agency in Åstorp, but I think they do the best they can, they are not the ones who make the big decisions.” (SC).

Even though the aim is not to compare Sweden's, or Åstorps, detention centre with others, one thing still needs to be brought up when discussing equality and empowerment. That is the fact that in a study made by the Refugee Council of Australia cited the “successful” way of detention in Sweden as “The Swedish Model of Detention”, by “not by increasing security and secrecy, but by increasing consultation and access for NGOs, researchers and the media; the removal of companies running the detention centres, who don’t have the experience in the sensitive issues involved in working with asylum seekers; and by ensuring all detainees are treated with dignity and fairness, are aware of their rights and have the right to appeal.” (Refugee Council of Australia cited in global detention project, 2018). However, a recent report made by the Red Cross revealed new data on the numbers of children Sweden is keeping detained every year (Röda korset, 2018b) as well as the hidden deportation of asylum seekers (Öhman, 2018). The
work to fully secure the rights for Sweden detainees is not accomplished, and according to the Red Cross, “there is much to work on!” (RC).

6.3 Participation and Inclusion

The principle of participation and inclusion, which was presented earlier in this thesis, explains that all people in a society are justified to participate with their potential and that participation in the society should not be forced (Mikkelsen, 2005:209 and EAPN, 2007). Due to the circumstances of being detained, the potential for the detainees to participate in the society is limited. However, in line with the RBA, people should participate based on their potential. Therefore, one could argue that an important principle in developing and protecting the detainees’ rights is to increase their choice to participate as much as possible, even though, due to security reasons and the consequences of being detained, the choices is relatively limited for the detainees. The choices for the detainees are controlled and based on the Migration Agency guidelines. The ‘OS-responsible’ at Åstorp detention centres is very much aware of this. Every week the detainees are offered to participate in several planned and spontaneous activities, within the boundaries that are accepted. As the ‘OS-responsible’ stated in the findings, “You are stripped of many choices here, but you can at least choose whether you want to participate or not, and it is very important to feel that you have a choice. If nobody shows up, I understand that they have chosen not to attend [...] and it is still a valuable activity.” (MA). It is the same when the NGOs are visiting. Even though, the circumstances of being detained, obviously, comes with a lot of forced participation, e.g. the Migration Agency have the power to decide when the detainees are going to eat, are allowed outside or are allowed to meet visiting friends and family during the visitation’s hours. However, in a system with regulated migration and laws that justifies keeping people detained, the control and rules decided by the Migration Agency at the detention centres is inevitable.

In this chapter, the work of the Migration Agency and the presence of the NGOs at Åstorp detention centre have been placed in relation to the concepts chosen from the RBA. All three NGOs that are present at Åstorp detention centre, The Red Cross, The Swedish Church and Amnesty International, are working to protect the rights for people that are in a vulnerable situation in the society, in one way or another. As mentioned in the background chapter, two of the basic principles of the Red Cross Organization is humanity and impartiality, where the aim is to prevent humans to suffer and respect all people no matter what race, sex, nationality,
religious or political opinions they have (Röda Korset, 2018c). All people should be treated equally. Moreover, the Swedish Church is supporting the UN: declaration of Human Rights and all the assignments and work that the Swedish Church are involved in is guided by the protection of all people’s rights (Svenska Kyrkan, 2017). Peoples’ rights are also the foundation of Amnesty International's work and they are daily working with spreading knowledge and ensuring as well as protecting people's rights in the society (Amnesty International, 2018a). Neither of these NGOs, nor the Migration Agency, are explicitly basing their work on the RBA. However, as this research has shown, the concepts from the approach have helped to distinguish important mechanisms in the work of the NGOs at Åstorp detention centre and their collaboration with the Migration Agency.
7 Conclusions

The objective of this study was to analyse the collaboration between the Swedish Migration Agency and the three NGOs that are present at the detention centre in Åstorp. The overall aim of the research was to make the underlying mechanisms visible to reveal how, and if, the presence of the NGOs increases the rights of the detainees. The chosen case for this research was one of the five detention centres in Sweden, namely Åstorp detention centre. With help from the chosen concepts used in the conceptual framework RBA, this study demonstrate that the presence of the NGOs has a positive effect on increasing the rights for the detainees. The findings also indicate a close collaboration between the NGOs and the Migration Agency, and according to the three NGOs, a good dialogue with the employees at Åstorp detention centre.

One important effect of the presence of the NGOs is that they have the opportunity to monitor the conditions of the detainees and examine if their rights are fulfilled. This study has shown that there is a successful and mutual collaboration between the NGOs and the Migration Agency at Åstorp detention centre. One reason being that all participants are working towards the same goal, to increase the transparency and to improve the rights for those who are detained. One way for the Migration Agency to accomplish this is by inviting the NGOs for both local and national meetings to exchange experiences and to make sure that the detainees get the best treatment and existence that is possible, based on the conditions that exist when you are detained.

Moreover, there is a desire from the Migration Agency in Åstorp to increase the collaboration with more NGOs, which is one of the main assignments for the ‘OS-responsible’. Even though the Migration Agency is positive and is constantly working on inviting NGOs to visit the detention centre, the limits for the NGOs are several. E.g. many NGOs have limited economic resources and/or depending on volunteers which is also a scarce resource. As this research has shown, there is one major difference between the Swedish Church and other NGOs, since the Swedish Church has more members and much more financial resources. In line with this, the persons that visits Sweden's detention centres are employees, and are therefore paid to be there. Therefore, the Swedish Church is visiting all five detention centres and e.g. The Red Cross only three. Furthermore, one other finding in this study shows that the NGOs only collaborate with the Migration Agency, and not with each other at Åstorp detention centre. Even though the Red Cross claims on their webpage that there exists a collaboration between the NGOs, this is not the case at Åstorp detention centre. These conditions for the NGOs can lead to limited chances of improving the conditions for the detainees.
Since studies on Sweden's detention centres, and the NGOs contribution to increasing the rights for the detainees is scare, the findings in this study contributes in several ways to increase our understanding of Sweden's detention centres. Notwithstanding the relatively limited sample, this work still offers valuable insights into a state institution that is expanding and the valuable relationship between the NGOs and the Migration Agency. However, to be able to make more generalizing conclusions, further research should be carried out. Future research can be made by including and examine other detention centres in Sweden or to examine the effect of Migration Agency newly developed national guidelines for the NGOs visit activities, and how/if these guidelines improve the detainee’s rights. These two angles would both be useful in order to further comprehend the effects, and consequences, of the NGOs presence to secure and protect the rights for the detainees at Sweden's detention centres.
List of references


Appendix

Interview Guide
The following interview questions were adapted for each interview and these questions were used as a guide. The goal was to use a semi-structured method which allow much flexibility during the interview process and the intention were to allow the informants to speak more freely. Before all interviews, all informants were informed and asked if they would like to be anonymous. Moreover, all informants agreed on audio-recording the interviews and were informed of the purpose of the study.

The Migration Agency
1. Could you start by explaining what role you have in Ästorp detention centre?
2. What kind of guidelines exist when visiting the detention centre?
   - Are the guidelines the same at all detention centres?
3. How does the process work when the Migration Agency starts a new collaboration with an NGO?
4. What requirements do the Migration Agency have on the NGO?
5. Which NGOs are current allowed to visit the detention centre in Ästorp?
   - What kind of activities do they have?
6. Can the Migration Agency influence the visits from the NGOs?
   - If yes, in what way?
7. How do the Migration Agency collaborate their work with the NGOs?
8. What effect do the NGOs have on the detainees?
   - Is there any positive / negative impact on the detainees?
9. Are there other NGOs who wish to visit the detainees?
10. - If yes, which?
11. From your experience, would you like to share something else?
   - any questions?

Conclusion
12. What education do you have?
13. For how long time have you worked for the Migration Agency?
14. If I have any further questions can I contact you again?

The Red Cross
1. Could you start by explaining the Red Cross visits at the Swedish detention centre in general?
   - How many detention centres do the Red Cross visit?
   - Is there good commitment from the volunteers?
   - What kind of demands do you have on your volunteers before they visit a detention centre?
2. How did the cooperation with the Swedish Migration Agency start?
   - What will happen when a new detention centre is opening (Ljungbyhed)?
3. Could you explain the Red Cross visit at Åstorp detention centre?
   - How often does the Red Cross visit the detainees?
   - How many volunteers?
   - For how long have you had these visits to Åstorp detention centre?
4. Does the Migration Agency have any demands during the visits?
   - Are there any activities that you are not allowed to have?
   - Have any of the participants not been approved by the Migration Agency?
5. According to Red Cross website, the Red Cross group in Märsta is involved in a collaboration with other voluntary organizations, do you also have collaboration in Åstorp, such as with the Swedish Church or Amnesty International?
   - Do you coordinate your visits?
   - Do you convey information that is considered "important" to other NGOs, e.g. something that they should pay attention to?
6. How is the collaboration between the Red Cross and the Migration Agency working?
   - Is there any problem/conflict?
7. Can the Red Cross change/improve the conditions for the detainees in the detention centre?
   - Do the Migration Agency listen to your demands? Examples?
8. What do you experience as the main shortcoming at the detention centre?
9. From your experience, would you like to share something else?
   - any questions?
Conclusion

10. What education do you have?
11. For how long time have you worked for the Red Cross?
12. If I have any further questions can I contact you again?

The Swedish Church

1. Could you start by explaining the Swedish Church’s role at the detention centre in Åstorp?
   - How often does the Swedish Church visit the detainees
   - How many volunteers
2. For how long time has the Swedish Church visit the detention centre in Åstorp?
   - Are your assembly involved?
   - How did the Swedish Church start the collaboration with the Migration Agency?
3. Does the Swedish Church have any collaboration with other NGOs that are visiting Åstorp detention centre? (The Red Cross? Or Amnesty?)
   - Do you coordinate your visits?
4. Does the Migration Agency make any demands on the Swedish Church?
5. How is the collaboration between the Swedish Church and the Migration Agency working?
   - Is there any problem/conflict?
6. Has the Migration Agency cancelled any of the Swedish Church visits? Due to e.g. conflicts or deportation?
7. What do you experience as the main shortcoming in the detention centre?
8. Are the Swedish Church in contact with other members who visit other detention centres in Sweden?
9. From your experience, would you like to share something else?
   - Any questions?

Conclusion

10. What education do you have?
11. For how long time have you worked for the Swedish Church?
12. If I have some further questions can I contact you again?
Amnesty International

1. Could you start by explaining Amnesty International visits at the Swedish detention centre in general?
   - How many detention centres do Amnesty International visit?
   - Is there good commitment from the volunteers?
   - What kind of demands do you have on your volunteers before they visit a detention centre?

2. How did the cooperation with the Swedish Migration Agency start?
   - What will happen when a new detention centre is opening (Ljungbyhed)?

3. Could you explain Amnesty International’s visits at Åstorp detention centre?
   - How often does Amnesty International visit the detainees?
   - How many volunteers?
   - For how long have you had these visits to Åstorp detention centre?

4. Does the Migration Agency have any demands during the visits?
   - Are there any activities that you are not allowed to have?
   - Have any of the participants not been approved by the Migration Agency?

5. Is there any collaboration between Amnesty International and other NGOs? (Swedish Church or The Red Cross)
   - If yes, do you coordinate your visits?

6. How is the collaboration between Amnesty International and the Migration Agency working?
   - Is there any problem/conflict?

7. Can Amnesty International change/improve the conditions for the detainees at the detention centre?
   - Do the Migration Agency listen to your demands? Examples?

8. What do you experience as the main shortcoming at the detention centre?

9. From your experience, would you like to share something else?
   - Any questions?

Conclusion

10. What education do you have?

11. For how long time have you worked for Amnesty International?

12. If I have further questions can I contact you again?