

Seeking Empowerment

Asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan in Sweden

Jonny Bergman



Department of Sociology
SE-901 87 Umeå
Umeå 2010

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to contribute to the understanding of how asylum-seeking refugees manage their lives in the situation they are in, a situation in which they are dependent and have to wait for decisions on whether or not they will get to stay in the country in which they have made their application for asylum.

The elaboration upon these questions and the purpose of the study is approached through a field study of asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan in Sweden. The thesis presents a background of international migration, refugee migration, refugee migration from Afghanistan and the reception of asylum seekers and refugees in the EU and Sweden, which tells us both that asylum seekers and refugees are not welcome in the countries of the 'North', where policies of containment and repatriation are the most common features of treating the refugee 'problem' and that the long period of waiting and uncertainty creates a situation of passivity and ill-health among the asylum seekers.

Employing grounded theory methodology in different forms based in data from fieldwork, including participant observations and informal conversations, the study applies a constructionist grounded theory approach in the analyses of the situation and the management thereof.

Steered by this constructionist grounded theory approach, strengthened by a situational analysis, the thesis presents a situational frame pointing to the situation for the asylum-seeking refugees as temporal and dependent on Swedish national discourse, racism and paternalism.

With this background and frame and generated by data from the field study, the thesis goes on to present the situation as disempowering. The disempowering processes are illustrated through looking at dependence and inhospitality, and are characterised by the asylum-seeking refugees' oscillation between feelings of hope and despair.

It becomes, however, also evident that the asylum-seeking refugees take action and that they are supported by latent empowering processes. The actions taken are categorised as actions of empowering in opposition to the processes presented as disempowering. The actions of empowering are connected to keeping oneself occupied, searching for and maintaining social contacts and in the asylum-seeking refugees' representations of themselves.

From the presentation of the situation as disempowering and the actions taken by the asylum-seeking refugees in response to this situation as actions of empowering, a process characterised as seeking empowerment is presented. In this process empowerment is discussed as the establishment of power to resist. During the discussion of the concept of seeking empowerment it is shown how the asylum-seeking refugees in this study,

Acknowledgements

I dedicate this thesis to the participants in the research that this thesis is built upon: the asylum-seeking refugees who have allowed me to follow them around and take part in their lives. Allowing me to participate in their lives, always being hospitable and open to my questions and curiosity, even though their situation at times has been desperate, has been beyond comprehension. My first and most sincere thanks go out to you.

The thesis itself and the research that it presents would not have been possible without the help and guidance of my supervisors, Lars Dahlgren and Åsa Gustafson, who have patiently awaited my own thoughts and ideas from the first draft of a research proposal, through the whole research process and finally to my writing of the thesis. At the same time, they have not been afraid to give me instructive comments and have steered me gently in the 'right' direction when I have been a bit lost. And perhaps most importantly, thanks for giving me confidence to go on at each step of the research process and writing of the thesis.

I would also like to mention the three different academic environments in which my studies, research and writing have progressed from the start, in August 2004, until today. These environments were the Department of Sociology at Umeå University, from where the supervision of and the support for my studies and writing of this thesis have been arranged and to which I am most grateful; the Department of Social and Economic Geography, also at Umeå University, where I was able to develop my teaching skills and bring with me important influences for the direction of the research; and, from the autumn of 2007, the Department of Social Sciences and more specifically the subject of Sociology at Mid Sweden University, where I found an inspiring environment in which to continue and conclude my postgraduate studies and thesis writing.

Important readers and commentators on the research and different drafts of the thesis manuscript have been, for the midseminar, Jenny-Ann Brodin Danell and Aina Tollefsen, for my thesis seminar Kristina Gustafsson and for comments on later drafts Mikael Hjerm and Rickard Danell. All of your instructive comments have been helpful for the finalisation of this thesis.

Gratitude is also due to Erika Sörensson for pressuring me to keep the 'right' focus and to stand by my 'convictions', and to Angelika Sjöstedt Landén for creative comments on different drafts and for spontaneous conversations on theory and methods. Not forgotten either is a big thank you to Johan "joppe" Persson for board and lodging and for sometimes letting me win at the snooker and pool tables.

Table of Contents

Abstract

Acknowledgements

Introduction	9
Background	13
International migration	15
Refugee migration	17
Refugees from Afghanistan	21
Refugee migration and the EU	25
Refugees in Sweden	28
Reports and research on refugees in Sweden	33
<i>Concluding remarks on the background</i>	39
Methodology and Research Process	43
The social construction of reality in everyday actions	45
Constructionist grounded theory after the postmodern turn	50
Realisation of the research	58
Considerations of power, context and ethics	63
Field work	69
<i>Concluding remarks on methodology and research process</i>	74
Situational Frame	77
Understanding the situation	77
The temporality of the situation	80
Globalisation and the postcolonial condition	85
National discourse, racism and paternalism	87
<i>Concluding remarks on the situational frame</i>	96
Disempowerment	99
Disempowerment through dependence	102
Disempowerment through inhospitality	117
Between hope and despair	125
<i>Concluding remarks on disempowerment</i>	128
Actions of Empowering	131
The meaningful project	136
Keeping oneself occupied	142
Searching for and maintaining social contacts	152
Representing the self	159
<i>Concluding remarks on actions of empowering</i>	166

Introduction

All human beings are social agents. Our lives are constrained by structural factors but at the same time we seek to modify our circumstances by making choices and acting upon them. In the case of forced migrants the weight of constraint is overwhelming and the range of choices is often minimal: by considering refugees as human agents we can, however, examine the constraints upon them, the options available and how they experience displacement, flight and exile. (Marfleet 2006: 193)

The above statement sums up quite well the premises and the theoretical and methodological assumptions that have guided my research. The asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan in this study are social agents struggling with constrained structural processes. The circumstances in which they find themselves while waiting for the asylum process to take its course limit their options of creating a better life for themselves.

I based the ideas for this project on personal meetings with internally displaced persons in Angola and asylum seekers in Sweden. From these meetings the thought-provoking question of how they manage their everyday lives in their extremely difficult living circumstances as refugees arose, in particular their position as unrecognised refugees, which is what both asylum seekers and internally displaced persons are. Asylum seekers and internally displaced people are not allowed the immediate protection of permanent residence in the country or region they have come to. They are dependent on and have to wait for decisions about whether they get to stay and/or for the situation to change so that return is possible if preferred. In Angola I met people displaced from their region of origin for decades¹, but still considered as displaced persons living in camps. In Sweden, asylum seekers may have to wait for years for final decisions. International refugees in this sense can be found waiting in warehoused conditions for extended periods of time, meaning that they are denied the human rights of living as normal lives as possible when in exile (U.S. Committee for Refugees 2004). In meeting with people in these difficult circumstances I have come to appreciate how they replace their limited possibilities with strategies and actions to make the most of their lives.

This thesis also points to the asylum-seeking refugees' activities and agency as opposed to a proposed passivity that is often shown to be the consequence for people who land up in similar situations. Latent empowering structures as opportunities to keep oneself occupied, creation of social networks, having access to information and communication, and showing the 'right behaviour', together with the meaningfulness of the

¹ Personal notes on internally displaced persons in Angola (1994).

maintaining social contacts as well as in the asylum-seeking refugees' representations of themselves.

Empowerment in this thesis should be understood as the establishment of power to resist. The actions of empowering I have found are firmly based in the project of seeking asylum in Sweden being meaningful, from which energy for the actions of empowering can be drawn. From the actions of empowering, with their basis in the disempowering situation, I present the concept of seeking empowerment. With the concept of seeking empowerment I wish to show how the actions taken within the mainly disempowering situation can be understood as efforts made by the asylum-seeking refugees seeking to establish power to resist. Seeking in this instance refers not to a case of being in a state of being empowered, but to a case of trying to bring about empowerment.

The concept of seeking empowerment contributes to an understanding of the actions of empowering by pointing to how challenging and stressful situations put demands on persons to be reflective and creative in their actions. The reflectivity and creativity I found, based in emotions that the disempowering situation evokes, thus make it a case of seeking empowerment through emotions in and of the situation.

The presentation and structure of the thesis takes the form of contextualising the field of study, asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan in Sweden, before presenting the empirical findings of the situation and the management of it constructed through field work. This way of presenting the findings of this thesis does not mirror step by step how the analysis was constructed. By employing grounded theory methodology in different forms based on constructed data through field work, including participant observations and informal conversations, I have ended up in a constructionist grounded theory. The emerging use of grounded theory methodology and the construction of the analysis have been performed by relating the observations in the field to theory. The analysis has been characterised by going back and forth and checking between the observations made in the field and theory which can illuminate these findings. It is, however, problematic to visualise this shuttling back and forth between concrete findings in the field and larger and more abstract structures and discourses.

The structure of the presentation is intended to emphasise the importance of understanding the situation as framed by structures and discourses at levels that are not immediately visible in the empirical findings in the field. This frame is needed to understand how I discuss the situation found in the analysis as disempowering and how certain emotions and activities are related to this particular situation framed by extensive and abstract structural and discursive processes. The main emphasis in my presentation is on how the asylum-seeking refugees constrained by the situation create

Background

Refugee migration and more specifically Swedish policies on refugee migration will be in focus as the background to a field in which the asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan are in when applying for asylum. Asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan in Sweden serve as an example of a refugee experience connected to uneven globalising process. At the same time the reception and treatment of asylum-seekers and refugees in Sweden is an example of reactions to a refugee situation based in these global power relations. The reception of asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan serves as a field in which the purpose of contributing to the understanding of how asylum-seeking refugees manage their lives and in what circumstances can be investigated.

The field of asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan in Sweden can be viewed as a meeting place, a meeting place in the sense used by Doreen Massey (1991), describing how a global sense of place integrates the global and the local. Instead of thinking of places with boundaries, we can imagine networks of social relations and understandings related to what is outside what we construct as the place itself. Whether we construct Sweden or the EU as the place in which asylum-seeking refugees are situated, these places are related to other places, places with networks of social relations and understandings both at the local and the global level. From Massey's discussion of a global sense of place, we can and must for the purpose of this study also relate the field of study (asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan in Sweden) to the local and the global. Such a realisation is related to how social relations are stretched out over space. At every different level, structures of domination and subordination are part of economic, political and cultural social relations.

This chapter will introduce refugee migration and contextualise the study. Refugee migration will be contextualised through briefly presenting theories of international migration related to the field of refugee migration in Sweden. International migration and refugee migration will then be presented as part of uneven globalising processes, for example noting how, despite the widening gap between people in the world, there are not as many international or refugee migrants as one would expect and that the majority of refugees stay near their country of origin, thus never coming to the 'North'.

Refugee migration is discussed from the point of view of how refugee migration is treated among countries of the 'North', as something troublesome to deal with through containing the problem of refugees to regions from where they come or, if refugees manage to reach the borders of the 'North', how the concentration is on repatriation. At the same time the

discussions to draw from that lead to the discussion underlying the analysis of the situation and how the asylum-seeking refugees manage this situation by being active in seeking empowerment.

International migration

International migration movements are one of the dynamics of globalisation, one which has intensified from the mid 1970s together with cross-border flows of investment, trade, cultural products and ideas (Castles and Miller 2003). It is difficult to know just how many international migrants there are. Between 1965 and 2000 the International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimated that the number of international migrants had doubled from 75 million people to 150 million people. Today the number of international migrants is estimated at 214 million, which is about 3% of the world's population (IOM 2010). These numbers are very much in doubt as not all international migrants are accounted for, but even if the number of international migrants is higher than what official statistics confirm, the majority of the world's population is not international migrants. To migrate internationally for whatever reason is still the exception to the rule. The impact of international migration is greater than numbers imply, though, and today most people have personal experience of international migration and its effects (Castles and Miller 2003).

In the light of this it is not the volume of international migrants which is the most interesting aspect, but the fact that the consequences of international migration go far beyond the actual numbers (Castles 2000). Papastergiadis (2000) connects international migration movements to the debate on globalisation and defines globalisation of migration as the

...multiplication of migratory movements; differentiation in the economic, social and cultural backgrounds of immigrants; acceleration of migration patterns; expansion in the volume of migrants; feminization of migration; deterritorialization of cultural communities; and multiple loyalties of diasporas. (Papastergiadis 2000: 86)

International migration is related to internal migration and other forms of geographical mobility. People move longer or shorter distances and sometimes they cross national borders, making them international migrants. International migration is regulated, mainly by the receiving states, but on occasion also by the states of origin. To define international migration Tomas Hammar and Kristof Tamas (1997) point to migrants who move from one country to another and intend to stay in the receiving country for some time. In this regard refugees and asylum seekers are international migrants at the forced migration end of a continuum between voluntary and forced migration. Ishtiaq Ahmed (1997) discusses voluntary migration and forced migration as ideal-types conceptualised as a continuum. International migration is more often a mix of these extremes than pure cases that can be

At the same time, international migration and especially refugee migration are very important to understand global processes of uneven development. Uneven development in our globalised world produces migratory movements and international migration is set to continue growing in numbers, not least because of the widening gap between the rich and poor in the world (Castles and Miller 2003). Free movement of people from low income countries and across borders into high income countries is not likely though. Most probable is that barriers to international migration from the 'South' to the 'North' will be strengthened. Refugee migration is part of this unwanted international migration.

Refugee migration

Definitions of asylum seekers and refugees are normally referred to the definitions of the refugee in the UNHCR Convention from 1951 which states that:

A person who is outside his/her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution. (UNHCR 2007a)

Another definition in the Convention, which is directed towards the responsibility of the receiving states that have signed the Convention, is that of 'non-refoulement'.

No Contracting State shall expel or return [*refouler*] a refugee against his or her own will in any manner whatsoever to the frontier of territories where life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular group or political opinion. (UNHCR 2007a)

These two sections from the Convention are used by Whittaker (2006) to define and give a background to a discussion on asylum seekers and refugees in the contemporary world. The texts of the 1951 Convention and the 1967 protocol (UNHCR 2007a) provide the background to interpretations of the refugee situation and to national responses by the contracting states. Following the definitions of refugees Whittaker gives the following definition of an asylum seeker.

Generally, in the eyes of authority, an asylum seeker is a person in transit who is applying for sanctuary in some other place than his native land. He is a migrant in search of something better and in that sense is an intending immigrant. He has moved across frontiers, in common with the recognised refugee, but motives and experiences will have to be rigorously examined to see whether or not they meet the strict definition as enacted in the Convention of 1951 and the protocol of 1967. (Whittaker 2006: 7)

democracy and the government in place. To receive refugees from these countries would be to admit defeat, that they are not in control and that the installation of liberal democracy as a reflection of their own is not working out.

A situation is described in which states are more and more unwilling or incapable of giving protection to refugees. Refugees are seen as a threat to national and regional security. Everywhere there are laws to prevent refugees from entering states and laws limiting the rights of refugees. This is in sharp contrast to the time of the Cold War, when attitudes towards refugees were more tolerant and welcoming. This tolerance, built on the war on communism and refugees coming from communist countries, has been changed into an increasing interest among states to keep refugees outside their own borders and/or send them back. This is a worldwide trend and repatriation is seen as the only effective solution to the refugee problem (Loescher 2003).

The 'solution' to the 'problem' of refugee migration is thus very much a question of controlling and limiting the number of refugees. This is also partly done through the rhetoric of humanism in which 'rich' states talk of relieving people of situations from which they need to seek refuge. Controlling and limiting refugee immigration, though, is the paramount perspective of the states of the 'North'. Castles (2003) paints a picture in which the supported and supporting intergovernmental agencies of the states of the North have introduced entry restrictions to the north and 'containment' measures to the south, in order to prevent refugee migration. Entry restrictions include efforts to keep refugees outside the borders and then efforts to repatriate the refugees once they are in the country. Containment measures may include humanitarian aid, peace-keeping missions and even military intervention. One way of containing the problem of refugees to the 'North' and reducing the numbers of refugees is the 'root causes' approach (Richmond 2002), which is closely related to the containment measures mentioned above. At the same time as the 'North' tries to control and limit the numbers of refugees, Castles (2003: 18) argues that *'...the North does more to cause forced migration than to stop it, through enforcing an international economic and political order that causes underdevelopment and conflict'*.

In an era of globalisation and the weakening or at least transformation of the nation state, one can see that immigration controls in the EU and the US have been strengthened in the last decades. These immigration controls can be traced back hundreds of years in Western Europe, where the racialisation of particular groups of immigrants was pioneered in the late nineteenth century, first towards black and third world populations and continuing with refugees and asylum seekers today (Mynott 2002). Nation states are no longer able to effectively control their borders but they continue trying by

asylum seekers at each year's end between 1998 and 2006. In 2008 the reported number was 13.6 million.

Despite showing that the number of refugees, although increasing, still constitutes only a small part of the world's international migrants and an even smaller part of the world's total population, the number of refugees creates both great debates and significant measures, especially in the 'North', for protection against them. What the statistics also show is that definitions are important. Counting the number of refugees implies defining who is and who is not a refugee and who is an asylum seeker.

With these definitions it is also up to the asylum-seeking refugee to individually prove that he or she is in well-founded fear of persecution. After applying for asylum the process and struggle for recognition thus begins. The struggle for recognition starts from a point where one is not welcome in which:

Western states make the assumption that most applicants for refugee status are inauthentic – that they do not move under compulsion, seeking security, but are opportunists whose aim is to exploit potential host societies. Increasingly they also view refugees as 'illegals' – people who evade migration controls and who, placing themselves outside the law, abandon their rights to asylum. (Marfleet 2006: 164)

The struggle for recognition and not being welcome is a central theme through this report and I will come back to what this more directly implies. Filtering down to the field of asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan in Sweden I will now go on discussing the refugee situation of Afghanistan and policies towards refugees and asylum seekers in the EU and more particularly in Sweden.

Refugees from Afghanistan

Afghanistan has suffered from wars of occupation and struggles between east and west during the Cold War and through sponsored (by foreign states with different political objectives) warring groups within. In an overview of Afghan population movement from 1979 until 2001 Daniel A. Kronenfeld (2008) describes how it is likely that at least one third of the population has been displaced from their homes at some point in their lives. In December 1979 when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan approximately 3.8 million people fled the country. Hundreds of thousands more people fled the country during the following decade of war between the Soviets and the insurgency, made up of loosely allied warrior groups called the 'mujahedeen', who were supported with weapons and money from the West.

In 1988 it seemed as if the troubles might come to an end as the Soviet Union agreed to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan. The return of refugees did not start until 1992 when the Soviet-backed government finally fell. Soon after this, however, war started again between different groups of

mobility and migration make it difficult to categorise the movement of Afghans as, for example, either 'economic migrants', 'political refugees', 'voluntary' versus 'forced' migration or for that matter 'host country' or 'return' (Monsutti 2008). Although Afghans have moved out of the country in numbers due to events relating to great disturbances of society, each individual movement is in tune with the individual sociology of the person (Connor in Monsutti 2008), meaning that they have their own differing reasons for leaving the country. Afghans have moved due to war, but their circumstances and reasons for seeking refuge elsewhere in the world are a part of their own sociology, creating a need to nuance the dynamics of Afghan movement in general and refugee migration in particular.

One such nuanced understanding of refugee migration is that, without underestimating the hardships faced by refugees, they can also be seen as not mere victims of circumstances, but also creative people adapting to the world around them. This statement is made by Alessandro Monsutti (2008) in relation to transnational connections made by Afghans in exile around the world, including in Western societies. Answering the question of not why people migrate to and from Afghanistan, but how, Monsutti presents three complementary phenomena of solidarity:

...first, the spatial mobility of individuals, their transnational routes and the migrant smuggling rings (travelling is risky, involves trust relationships and implements common economic strategies); then, the transfer of goods and money, and the trading activities across international borders; finally, the circulation of information through visits, telephone, letters and e-mail. (Monsutti 2008: 67)

Monsutti makes three claims from his study on Afghan mobility: the normality of movement and existing transnational networks, resilience and inventiveness in the trying conditions of war and exile and the relevance of transnational networks in the reconstruction of Afghanistan. Part of the inventiveness of the Afghan refugee population is the use of trafficking, encouraged by European policies of restrictions on asylum seekers. At the same time, the asylum seekers have become dependent on traffickers (for many it is their only way to be able to apply for asylum), who have made them even more vulnerable in the process (Koser 2000). Many, if not all, of the informants (asylum seekers) from Afghanistan will have had this experience, before ending up in reception centres in Sweden.

Refugees from Afghanistan to the EU have not been welcome, and have met with different repatriation schemes. Brad K. Blitz, Rosemary Sales and Lisa Marzano (2005) look into one such supposed voluntary scheme for repatriation within the context of the UK. They question the voluntarily return of refugees as part of repatriation schemes with the background of the forcible deportation of 35 Afghan nationals in 2003 and the fact that only 39 Afghan people living in Britain had taken part in the repatriation schemes, which were organised by international agencies (out of approximately

At the same time as there is concentration on repatriation for asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan in Sweden, the situation in Afghanistan is described by the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Utrikesdepartementet 2007) as that of a human rights situation that continues to be serious and that serious transgressions are made against human rights, among them torture, unlawful detentions, rape and the harassment and discrimination of women. The exemption from punishment stems from weak public administration and the lack of a functional legal system. The lack of respect for human rights can be directly connected to the poor security situation in the country, which the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs means has deteriorated in recent years. The report prepared by the Ministry points to insurgents openly combating the Afghan Security Forces, the American coalition and the International Security Force in some parts of the country and how violence is widespread in the country, also affecting the capital of Kabul.

Sweden is presented as taking part as an international counterpart in the reconstruction of the country, to stabilise, democratise and build up the country. Sweden contributes with humanitarian aid, supporting the infrastructure and the political peace process. Afghanistan is, and has been for some time, one of the main recipients of Swedish aid in Asia. The overarching goal of Swedish aid is to alleviate poverty and to strengthen democracy and human rights. Sweden is also involved in ISAF – the International Security Force providing about 500 personnel (Utrikesdepartementet 2010). The Swedish government in this sense is in a similar position to the UK government in having to consider asylum seekers from Afghanistan in relation to its foreign affairs, including development aid and military intervention.

Refugee migration and the EU

The asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan come to a context of Swedish migration and asylum politics that has its own characteristics but that is also dependent on supranational relations in general and in particular on the other member states of the EU.

In the EU, the political construction of ‘fortress Europe’ was the reaction to a larger number of asylum seekers, with a number of restrictions to entry to these states, such as restricting access to refugee status, restrictive interpretations of the 1951 UN Refugee Convention, temporary protection regimes, ‘non-arrival policies’, diversion policies and cooperation on asylum and immigration rules between the member states of the EU (Castles and Miller 2003). Also related to the efforts to control immigration were efforts to contain people at their origins, with the ‘root causes’ approach being introduced to stop movements to the ‘North’. For those actually making it to

to harmonise the asylum system, the European Commission was not satisfied with the results, as it had not been able to deal with the problem of asylum politics within the EU. To meet the crises of asylum politics the Commission recommended not only an internal response to immigration and refugee politics, but also an external response to the inflow of migrants.

Pointing to external responses to the inflow of migrants was nothing new, but to reinforce the external responses was to establish a strong link between the EU's policies on development aid and agreements of return between the EU and third countries, among them a return plan for Afghanistan. The Commission puts great focus and effort on the issue of return, repatriation, refusal of entry and deportation and is also very consciously making the public aware of the efforts made in the fight against 'bogus' asylum seekers. Also high on the agenda have been the efforts to strengthen the protection of refugees in places of origin. The dominating reason for these efforts seems to be keeping refugees at bay, as far away as possible from the EU, and shifting the responsibility for refugees from rich regions to poor regions. Part of this focus is also the 'root causes' approach, meaning to come to terms with push factors such as poverty, unemployment and violations of human rights, by means of development aid and reformed politics on trade and investments between the rich and poor.

In continued pursuit of this aim of shifting the responsibility of receiving refugees on poorer regions, Hansen discusses how refugee camps, or regional protection camps as they were called, were created in areas outside the EU where refugees would be kept from entering the EU spontaneously. Along the same lines there has been a tendency to integrate the policies on refugee migration with those of labour migration and integration so as to be able to 'choose' the refugees who would most easily integrate into European society. With the programme of Haag (presented in 2004) the second step of harmonising towards a common asylum system within the EU was to be concluded in common views and practices towards asylum. Regional programmes of protection are still very much in focus together with linking these programmes to development aid policies and programmes.

In 1999 Maria Appelqvist (1999) made an analysis of Swedish refugee law and policy as one in transition between responsibilities. Summing up:

The aim of giving 'greater financial support' for return migration in combination with increased restrictions for entering European territory, and the way in which developmental aid is connected with issues of migration, transfers responsibility from Sweden (and from Europe in general) to the countries in question. The legal right to seek asylum is now re-articulated as the legal right to remain. (Appelqvist 1999: 30)

Appelqvist also interestingly concludes that just as policies on the protection of refugees changes, definitions of who is to be seen as a refugee change too. Not only does the interpretation of refugee law change, refugee laws

Government rhetoric supports the idea that many people seek asylum although they are not really in need of protection, pointing to the fact that Sweden does not give them protection and that many people arrive without their papers in order (Regeringens skrivelse 2003). With this kind of argumentation by the Swedish authorities their interpretation of the need for protection by asylum seekers coming to Sweden can never be questioned. The only valid interpretation is that of the Swedish authorities.

This means that although realising their responsibility to give protection to refugees in the spirit of the Convention of refugees, the interpretation of these needs is very much up to the Swedish authorities. The discussions on receiving refugees in the 'North' are often focused on who is not a refugee in need of protection. When the Swedish authorities make their interpretation many people are not viewed as refugees, but just as people in search of a better life. The responsibility for the amount of people coming to Sweden in search of this better life is put on traffickers and is extended to the asylum seekers themselves who, in the eyes of the Swedish authorities, have interpreted their situation wrongly as one from which they need protection.

The Swedish government continues saying that the amount of asylum seekers, including and especially 'bogus' asylum seekers, weighs down the system of receiving asylum seekers leading to long turnaround times and therefore long waiting times for the applicants. It is also realised that this waiting falls upon the asylum seekers, but at the same time the blame is put on the asylum seekers. To solve this problem the government wants to make efforts to strengthen the rule of law, shorten the time for decisions on applications, fight trafficking and strengthen measures to deal with asylum seekers without papers (Regeringens skrivelse 2003). Recent letters from the government to the Swedish parliament on migration and asylum politics have stressed the importance of keeping the asylum system in balance by working towards the repatriation of people with refusals to entry and deportations orders (Regeringens skrivelse 2008), due to the fact that many people stay put in Sweden although they are supposed to leave.

In conclusion, while mentioning the right for protection under refugee law, most emphasis is put on controlling and limiting the number of asylum seekers and refugees and explaining why these efforts are not successful and what the problems are. The asylum-seeking refugees are subject to these politics and, as will be shown, are subject mainly to the regulation of immigration and to the official Swedish policy of protecting the right to asylum in Sweden and worldwide by restricting the possibilities for people coming to Sweden with a minimal interpretation of the Convention of refugees. At the same time migration politics does not take into consideration, although it speaks of the link between migration and development, the role of Sweden in uneven globalisation and in this respect

permits for asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan went from 19% (174/903) in 2004 to 54% (328/609) in 2007 (Regeringens skrivelse 2008).⁵

The numbers and statistics presented only give an overall picture of the reception of asylum seekers and refugees in Sweden for the years in which the research was made. The individual experiences and the group of asylum-seeking refugees I have spoken to in this study do not necessarily reflect the statistics presented. Two important conclusions can be made from the numbers though. One is the temporality of both the numbers of asylum seekers coming to Sweden and how the amount of people being granted refugee status and residence permits changes over time; the other is that compared with other countries of the 'North', Sweden takes on quite a big responsibility for receiving asylum applications, while at the same time tries to control and limit the number of applications and granting of applications. Sweden is working towards more harmonisation within the EU to share the 'burden' more evenly among the member states to deflect some of that responsibility.

From the numbers above, about half or more of the applications for asylum made by asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan are rejected, meaning that they have to leave Sweden and that they are not granted refugee status. Also for those who get to stay, the decision-making process is lengthy, leaving the applicants waiting for a long time. The median numbers of days of waiting for the final decisions on applications for asylum between the years 2005 and 2007 were 484, 375 and 401 days (Regeringens skrivelse 2008). It is this period of waiting I have chosen to focus on. I have chosen to include asylum-seeking refugees with only temporary residence permits as also waiting for the final decisions and thus as also being asylum-seeking refugees waiting for decisions. I have also continued following asylum-seeking refugees who, in the eyes of the Swedish authorities, were no longer allowed to stay in Sweden and who were in hiding or ready to go into hiding.

The reception of asylum seekers who come to Sweden has also changed in the years during which this study was made. In 2001 the process towards a new system for the reception of asylum seekers and the handling of their applications was started (Regeringens skrivelse 2003). The Swedish parliament decided on new authorities and processes in matters of aliens and citizenship (Regeringens proposition 2005; Regeringens skrivelse 2005). These reforms to the asylum process came into action from the 31st March 2006. Decisions made by the Swedish Migration Board are now to be

⁵ The numbers of granted residence permits in 2005 and 2006 were 47% (204/435) and 97% (575/594) respectively. For the number of granted residence permits in 2006 one has to keep in mind the temporary law on impediments to enforcement of repatriation in force between 15 November 2005 and 31 March 2006 (Regeringens skrivelse 2007; Regeringens skrivelse 2008).

of entry (November 2005–March 2006) whilst waiting for the new Aliens' Act (March 31st 2006) to come into force. During the asylum-seeking refugees' stay in Sweden, they are also required to take part in organised activities and the asylum seeker is also allowed to have an ordinary job, if the waiting period is expected to be more than four months (Migrationsverket 2006).

At the start of this study there were 43,402 asylum seekers in Sweden by December 31st 2003 waiting for decisions from the Migration Board or the Aliens Appeals Board. The average time of waiting for final decisions was 404 days and many wait for up to two or three years (NTG Asyl 2004). The long waiting times for decisions from the different bodies and what this waiting does to the asylum seeker have been the focus of reports and research, among which this report will find itself.

When in Sweden, having made their application, there is a period of waiting for decisions on their applications. It is this time which is in focus in this research as I wish to understand the situation they are in and how they manage this situation. Research has been carried out and reports made both regarding the situation and how asylum seekers manage their situation, but the need for further research on the situation of asylum seekers in Sweden has been stressed for the betterment of asylum seekers' possibilities for social and vocational integration in the country of asylum, or in the case of negative decisions on the asylum application, re-integration in the country of origin or its equivalent. Research on the situation of asylum seekers in the EU has been described as insufficient (Råhberg 2004).

This research tries to make a contribution to this field of study and sits among many other studies in the field made both before and during the period of this research.

Reports and research on refugees in Sweden

The reception of refugees in Sweden takes place in the context of more restrictive immigration controls. Tomas Hammar (1999) describes how a new policy on immigration was introduced in the mid-1980s, which integrated immigration control policies with those of foreign and security policies and with Swedish development assistance. He also notes two domestic reasons for this change in immigration policy, which were record high levels of unemployment and a new programme for refugee resettlement. The number of unemployed foreign workers increased, straining the welfare system and producing especially difficult consequences for newly arrived foreigners and refugees. The increased segregation and marginalisation of immigrants and refugees, with costs to the welfare system, led to negative opinions towards immigrants and refugees, as well as to demands for tougher immigration controls. At the same time, integration policies targeted integration by resettling refugees in areas with good possibilities for finding

The introduction of Swedish repatriation policies was thus accompanied by discourses of the nation state. One theme of this was the view of repatriation as the most durable solution to refugee migration. Another was that it was better to help refugees in the immediate regions from where they fled. A third theme was that the refugees really belonged somewhere else and it would be best for everybody if they returned. Refugees would be an economic and social stress to Swedish society while, at the same time, they were seen as invaluable for their home countries. The ethnic dimension was also clear as some groups were given priority in Swedish repatriation efforts. Refugees from Bosnia, as they were many, and refugees from Somalia as they were seen as too 'different' and difficult to adapt to and integrate into Swedish society. The discourses of Swedish migration politics contribute to the view of Sweden as a welfare state and as an ethnically homogeneous society. Johansson also considers the ideology of the Swedish nation state through how, in the construction of the 'west', groups connected with Islam are constructed as different and in contrast with what the 'west' is. This shows how different groups connected with Islam are discriminated against in the practices of Swedish migration politics and are singled out as being difficult to integrate.

The reception of individual asylum seekers is framed within these structures and discourses of immigration control. Eva Norström (2004) examines the 'logos' and 'praxis' of the reception of asylum seekers in Sweden. She discusses how the reception of asylum seekers is framed at both the macro and micro level, from the nation states' need to control its borders and the people living there to the decision-making process in the official's office. How a decision in an individual case is made goes on in something of a 'black box'. It is not really known what happens.

Norström examines the process of one man's application from application to decision and the context in which the process was handled. She discusses how, technically, the Swedish system can be viewed as having a well-developed system for receiving asylum seekers with access to a fair application process. The asylum seeker can enjoy not only a process including investigation and decision, but also legal aid and is guaranteed free housing, food, clothes, occupation, access to emergency health care and more. On a practical level though, the case is different. The discrepancy between 'logos' and 'practice' is too big. On paper Sweden takes its obligations to the asylum seeker seriously, but what happens in practice? On paper the list of conventions on the rights of refugees is quite long, but in reality the politics towards migration is restrictive, among other things, as we have seen, hindering people from even coming to Europe and Sweden. This is done in the light of the official view that only real refugees are subject to protection and that the normal position is for a refugee to want to return.

among the asylum seekers because of, for example, difficult memories of being a refugee and the uncertainty of waiting. The report also relates these problems of passivity to greater costs for the host society, arguing that they lead to difficulties for society at large with higher costs of health care. The report also points to complications in the process of repatriation if the decision on the residence permit is negative.

According to the statistics of November 2008 only 31% of the asylum seekers participated in organised activities. As a note to these numbers the Migration Board assesses that they offer activities to each individual adult asylum seeker, thus making the report conclude that most asylum seekers decide not to participate. The report concludes, drawing on the reports from Brekke (2004) and Lennartsson (2007), that the period of waiting for asylum seekers is characterised by inactivity, isolation and anxiety. These reports on the situation for waiting asylum seekers also state that organised activities and occupation are seen as something valuable. Waiting in uncertainty is characterised by being inactive and isolated, which leads to ill-health. Everything points to asylum seekers faring badly at the hands of the Swedish system of receiving them.

Jan-Paul Brekke (2004) asks the questions of how asylum seekers perceive their situation while waiting for decisions on their application and what consequences this waiting will have for future integration or repatriation. On the issue of empowerment Brekke points to how the situation is one of powerlessness, based on the lack of control to influence the circumstances surrounding the asylum seeker. Brekke describes this situation of powerlessness as being confronted with the perception that one's time should be put to use. It comes down to getting rid of surplus time by wasting it. As will become evident I have made another complementary analysis of the time spent waiting.

Brekke's main findings are that returning was just not an option for the asylum seekers in his study; they were not well informed about the handling of their cases and the asylum seekers in general had a low sense of coherence. Importantly, though, speaking of a sense of coherence, the sense of meaningfulness was quite intact. He also finds that, in relation to his starting point of looking at the consequences of the waiting period for both integration and repatriation, the ambivalence between preparing for both integration and repatriation affects both the asylum seeker and the authorities.

That return is just not an option also comes to the surface in Rebecka Lennartsson's (2007) study: the option of return is seen as a threat, never as a real option. Like Brekke she also paints a picture of uncertainty and passivity, pointing to how, if people are kept in this situation and are also supposed to prepare to leave Sweden, they are isolated from Swedish society

Slavnic in his field work finds processes of resistance to the discourse of repatriation, pointing, for example, to the view that they had the right to live anywhere in the world that they wanted to and that there was resistance to the system of repatriation introduced by the Swedish authorities. At the same time, Slavnic found that the informants in his study used parts of the repatriation programme that they viewed as promoting their own cause, to help themselves. The situation of temporality thus creates a search for empowerment. In other words, my words, the asylum-seeking refugees, in this case with short temporary residence permits, are not passive victims, as is often proclaimed in the general discourse on asylum seekers in Sweden.

Concluding remarks on the background

This chapter focusing on the background to the field of study, asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan in Sweden leads us to understand that international migration is still the exception and that most people do not migrate internationally. Only an estimated 3% of the world's population is international migrants today. This fact is a bit confusing considering that international migration is debated so much and in focus for different political policies and decisions, and when considering the gap between the 'rich' and the 'poor' in the world. Considering this gap between the 'rich' and the 'poor', it is even more surprising that so few migrate to the riches of the 'North' (at least 'rich' according to the ethnocentric image of the 'North' being so much more developed and desirable).

Considering these numbers does not take away the fact that international migration and refugee migration have had a larger impact than the numbers might imply and that international migration and refugee migration are important aspects of understanding global processes. Refugee migration to the 'North' can be discussed from the point of view of understanding how the relatively few refugees coming to the countries of the 'North', compared to how many seek refuge in other countries of the 'South', are treated as a big problem that needs to be solved supranationally. The 'North', as exemplified by the European Union, makes efforts to solve the problem by supranational cooperation between the member states of the union. Refugees are not, in these solutions, welcome in the 'North' where policies and politics of containment and repatriation are most common in treating the refugee 'problem'.

The refugee population of Afghanistan visualises the dynamics of and the reactions to refugee migration. Globalising processes are involved in creating a situation from which there is a need to flee and also demonstrates how the refugee population from Afghanistan is mainly found in other countries of the 'South' (Pakistan and Iran), while only a few find their way to the countries of the 'North'. The situation for the refugees from Afghanistan in

Indeed the emphasis on seeking empowerment in this study clearly implies a situation from which to seek empowerment. Relating to other studies made of the situation and experiences among asylum seekers it is shown that asylum seekers view themselves as pushed into inactivity by the situation they are in. These disempowering factors will also be described in relation to what the participants in this study express.

What this research does differently is to look closely at the actions taken in the management of the situation, which I argue promote their own empowerment from within the situation. Actions which might not normally be understood as extraordinary or empowering will be analysed as actions of empowerment.

While putting this emphasis on action, the research process is also charged with issues of powers limiting the actions the asylum-seeking refugees are able to choose from. The question is what are the limitations to the spaces of actions that trigger the need for seeking empowerment? What are the disempowering structures and discourses surrounding the asylum-seeking refugee?

The questions are based in the empirical findings of the research that in turn are constructed through the choice of methodology; a methodology based on a constructionist grounded theory pulling and being pushed around the postmodern turn, with an emphasis on action, practices and agency in relation to structure and discourse; and with a research process steered by sensitivity, theoretical sampling and openness to constructed data of different kinds.

Methodology and Research Process

By employing a theoretical discussion on the study of social interaction, inspired by symbolic interactionism and considering contexts of power relations, I wish to study both the particular situation of being an asylum-seeking refugee in Sweden and their management thereof. The empirical work is based in field work, initially focused on participant observations and conversations, but also including other material as it fits with the emergent model. The research process is based in a grounded theory tradition, based on the readings of Barney Glaser & Anselm Strauss (1967), Glaser (1978; 1992; 1998; 2001; 2003) and Strauss (1987) with insights from Kathy Charmaz (2006), Adele Clarke (2005) and Antony Bryant (2009) on Grounded Theory and constructionism, situational analysis and pragmatism respectively.

From the very first steps towards the field of study I knew that it would be a process of 'learning by doing', but little did I know how much I would learn and how much there still is for me to learn. Little did I know how involved or how complex the relationships between theory, methods and the empirical world are. Still, the journey into the methods of Grounded Theory has given me some tools to achieve some sort of construction of a description and theorising of the management of the situation of being an asylum-seeking refugee in Sweden and the context in which this management takes place.

I stubbornly started out on the journey of research process with Glaser and Strauss's (1967) '*Discovery of Grounded Theory*' and Glaser's further work, (1992; 1998; 2001; 2003) and made continued efforts to keep the approach of Grounded Theory pure by mainly looking at '*Theoretical Sensitivity*' (Glaser 1978), while somewhat unwillingly setting my approaches to uneven globalisation, my interest in power relations and discourse and my social constructionist world view to one side. I knew that I would come back to them at some point. I did, but through a detour of running into methodological dilemmas in my analysis and my approach to data.

Today I am firmly convinced that some of the ideas of Grounded Theory as it was conceived in the 1960s are still very much up-to-date and useful in the inquiry into actions, structures, narratives, discourses or whatever comes ones way. This conviction has only been strengthened by my reading of Charmaz's (2006) work pushing Grounded Theory towards constructionism and Clarke's (2005) work pushing Grounded Theory firmly around the postmodern turn while at the same time showing how a symbolic interactionist version of Grounded Theory pulls social science around the postmodern turn. In retrospect I have also used a symbolic interactionist's (Blumer 1969) and George Herbert Mead's (1934) theorising on the self and

The social construction of reality in everyday actions

It shows that circumstances make men just as much as men make circumstances.
(Marx 1845 - 1846a: (3))

I read this quote from Marx as quite a simple statement, but also as an important insight into the relation between agency and structure. The circumstances in which we find ourselves create who we are, and at the same time who we are creates the circumstances. Marx makes this point in relation to historical stages, which he means are '*...a sum of productive forces, a historically created relation of individuals to nature and to one another*' (Marx 1845 - 1846a: (3)).

Another important statement in the materialist approach to the making of history is on the production of human consciousness. The base for human consciousness is in human action and in the interplay with other human beings. Knowing world history cannot be based on theorising on abstract self-consciousness, but needs to be understood through everyday empirically known actions. History is not made in the abstract, from self-consciousness, but from materially and empirically demonstrable actions by individuals as they '*...walk and stand, eat, drink and dress*' (Marx 1845 - 1846b: 165, my translation).

In other words we need to look at actions in everyday life to know the world. Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1967) argue that the sociology of knowledge is that the basis of all knowledge lies in everyday life. It is in the social interaction of everyday life that reality is constructed. Some telling quotes underlining this view are:

...the relationship between man, the producer, and the social world, his product, is and remains a dialectical one.

...the objectivity of the institutional world, however massive it may appear to the individual, is a humanly produced, constructed objectivity.

What remains sociologically essential is the recognition that all symbolic universes and all legitimations are human products; their existence has its base in the lives of concrete individuals, and has no empirical status apart from these lives.

(Berger and Luckmann 1967: 61, 60, 128)

From this I take the assumption that the relationship between the individual and society is dialectical, and that situations, at any level, are humanly-produced constructed realities. Thus it is possible to research the constructed reality of the situation and the world, in the relationship between individuals and society.

A link between the actions of the human being to society as a whole can be made through a discussion on the creation of the human self. For Mead (1934) a self can only develop in a social environment which means that the

What I want to do is to study society by studying the lives of individuals as actors. I theorise on this as the link between self and society. By looking at the individual and/or group's actions and thoughts it is possible to say something about society. I concentrate on how society is manifested in the individual's self and actions. By actions I also take to mean spoken and written language, perhaps the most commonly used data in research.

The self is also a balancing act between, on the one hand, committing to others and on the other hand being true to oneself; we see that each personal narrative involves both the uniqueness of the 'I' and a reflection of the public 'good self'. For Jerome S. Bruner (2003) making stories is a way for us to make sense of the world around us and making sense of who we are.

A self-making narrative is something of a balancing act. It must, on the one hand, create a conviction of autonomy, that one has a will of one's own, a certain freedom of choice, a degree of possibility. But it must also relate the self to a world of others – to friends and family, to institutions, to the past, to reference groups. But the commitment to others that is implicit in relating oneself to others of course limits our autonomy. We seem virtually unable to live without both, autonomy and commitment, and our lives strive to balance the two. (Bruner 2003: 78)

Central to our understanding of interpretation is language and the way in which we represent ourselves and the world around us. One central question is whether we as individuals are intentional, implying that meaning lies with the 'author', or whether we recognise the social character of language and collectively construct meaning through our representations. To explore this I use Stuart Hall's (1997) discussion on the production of meaning through representation as a correlation between the levels of the material (and immaterial), the conceptual and the signifying – which are linked together by cultural and linguistic codes. We can further say that by interpreting individual representations, we might also say something about the culture and society in which the representation was produced.

The power of the social is clearly visible in Hall's (1996) discussion of Foucault's theories which can be highlighted with this quote:

Ruthlessly attacking 'the great myth of interiority', and driven both by his critique of humanism and the philosophy of consciousness, and by his negative reading of psychoanalysis, Foucault also undertakes a radical historicization of the category of the subject. The subject is produced 'as an effect' through and within discourse, within specific discursive formations, and has no existence, and certainly no transcendental continuity or identity from one subject position to another. (Hall 1996: 10)

Hall continues, from stressing the importance of the social to looking for the contents of the subject, by saying, again about Foucault, that by being pushed by his own research he moves towards recognition of the need for an attention to the 'practices of self-constitution'. On this note Hall says that:

scientists have a hard time showing these relations between the parts and the whole and advocates a move away from what he calls overspecialisation. By acknowledging abduction, the researcher can act as a generalist and as a specialist at the same time *'Otherwise, one gives up too large a part of one's self, the part that is the most emotional and brilliant'* (Scheff 1990: 195).

I have found that applying the concept of abduction as the means to interpret the world has meant a lot of comparing both between incidents and levels, and many of these comparisons have been made through dualisms. Comparisons through dualisms can be quite unfortunate, but when they have surfaced I have tried to employ a critical discussion to problematise these dualisms. It is perhaps not so much a case of problematising the understanding of the world through dualisms, as it is problematising tendencies to treat dualisms as dichotomies. Massey (1994) critiques dichotomous dualisms from the perspective of critiquing Laclau's formulations of the dualism between temporality and spatiality. She engages in the following debate:

First of all, this manner of conceptualizing space and time takes the form of a dichotomous dualism. It is neither a simple statement of difference (A, B, ...) nor a dualism constructed through an analysis of the interrelations between the objects being defined (capital: labour). It is a dichotomy specified in terms of a presence and an absence; a dualism which takes the classic form of A/not-A. As was noted earlier, one of Laclau's formulations of a definition is: 'temporality must be conceived as the exact opposite of space'. Now, apart from any reservations which may be raised in the particular case of space and time (and which we shall come to later), the mode of thinking which relies on irreconcilable dichotomies of this sort has in general recently come in for widespread criticism. All the strings of these kinds of opposition with which we are so accustomed to work (mind-body, nature-culture, reason-emotion, and so forth) have been argued to be at heart problematical and a hindrance to either understanding or changing the world. Much of this critique has come from feminists. (Massey 1994: 255)

I agree with this critique of dichotomising dualisms and want to see dualisms as relational by looking at the relations between them.

For my results to meet, challenge and strengthen theories of globalisation and for my results to be put into a larger context I have also used some of the insights from Burawoy (1998; 2000). With Burawoy I acknowledge that globalisation theory is often way too distanced from the everyday lives of people not belonging to the cosmopolitan elite. He uses a method for this, which he calls the 'extended case method', in which the researcher 'extends' into the world of the participant, makes observations over time and space, going from 'micro processes' to 'macro forces' and 'extends theory' into the area of study (Burawoy 2000). I have mainly used important insights from this method including considerations of power and reflexivity for theorising on the relationship between what Burawoy refers to as micro processes and macro forces. Grounded Theory is my methodological starting point, and

Grounded Theory focuses on generating theory from empirical material and was first introduced by Glaser and Strauss (1967), and has since been developed by the original authors separately (Glaser 1978; Strauss 1987; Glaser 1992; Strauss and Corbin 1997; Glaser 1998; Strauss and Corbin 1998; Glaser 2001). Glaser (1998) describes what Grounded Theory is and is based on, in the following quote:

Grounded Theory accounts for the action in a substantive area. In order to accomplish this goal grounded theory tries to understand the action in a substantive area from the point of view of the actors involved. This understanding revolves around the main concern of the participants whose behaviour continually resolves their concern. Their continual resolving is the core variable. It is the prime mover of most of the behaviour seen and talked about in a substantive area. It is what is going on! (Glaser 1998: 115)

Although I will later argue that there is not something like a 'main' concern or one 'core' category to be found in a substantive area, I think that the tools and pacing Glaser presents for the research process is fruitful. With these tools and recommended pacing it is possible, from an open phase of the research via selective and theoretical coding of the material, to construct categories and possibly a core category to be explored in a more selective and theoretical phase where important categories are more thoroughly investigated and relations between categories can be constructed.

Following Glaser's (1978) recommendations there are some important steps in the research process; the ones that I would like to emphasise here are constant comparison, memoing and theoretical sampling. Constant comparison goes on all the way through the process, from comparing incidents to incidents (by coding), codes to codes (categorising), categories to categories (theorising) and substantive theory to existing literature and theory (theoretical integration). This constant comparison distils the data into a thick, full and distinct description and hopefully a more abstract conceptual model. Writing memos is an important step in the analysis and creative process towards a grounded theory. It starts out from the very beginning of the research process and continues to the very last word put into the final report. The memos can be very different in content and form, from description to conceptual discussions. In general the memos go from simpler descriptions of codes and categories to theoretical discussions and theoretical integration. Later the memos make up the basis for the final written report. The constant comparison and memo writing allows for the possibility for theoretical sampling, in which the research is more and more focused on one (or more) categories. Theoretical sampling means that sampling is made from the emergent theory and focuses on the emergent model or theory. A prerequisite for this is that the analysis starts immediately from the first day in the field and that the collection of data is always immediately followed by analysis of the same.

To start the discussion on constructionist grounded theory Charmaz (2006) makes a distinction between ‘discovering’ theory and ‘constructing’ theory, in which she argues that Glaser and Strauss in their original works present theory as discovered and emerging and separate from the observer. Charmaz, on the other hand, states, and I agree with her, that:

...assume that neither data nor theories are discovered. Rather, we are part of the world we study and the data we collect. We **construct** our grounded theories through our past and present involvements and interactions with people, perspectives, and research practices. (Charmaz 2006: 10, emphasis in original)

Another distinction is between what the discovered categories and models do. In Charmaz’ words:

Raising categories to concepts includes subjecting them to further analytic refinement and involves showing their relationships to other concepts. For objectivists, these concepts serve as core variables and hold explanatory and predictive power. For constructivists, theoretical concepts serve as interpretive frames and offer an abstract understanding of relationships. Theoretical concepts subsume lesser categories and by comparison hold more significance, account for more data and often are more evident. We make a series of decisions about these categories after having compared them with other categories and the data. Our actions shape the analytic process. Rather than discovering order **within** the data, we create an explication, organization, and presentation of the data. (Charmaz 2006: 139-140, emphasis in original)

In this way constructionism takes the focus away from discovering order in the data of the empirical world towards empirical and theoretical discussions from the viewpoint of presenting them as possible organisations and representations of this world, as constructions and presentations that are dependent on the situation and circumstances in which they were constructed. Turning to constructionism takes away the straitjacket of trying to find one basic social process in the material. One problem remains, though: the issue of contextualising the presentation, a problem that is partly solved by taking an abductive stance, but which needs more thorough discussions on the assumptions made in symbolic interaction and its view of the actor and on its relation to structures and discourses of power.

I will, in my discussions on the situation the asylum-seeking refugees are in, use both the concept of structure and of discourse. For the purpose of the presentations in this thesis, structure relates, for example, to what laws and regulations there are, while discourse in this thesis is discussed from the point of view of how these structures are legitimised and naturalised and how discourse can help us understand contradictions and contingencies in practices and structures. Structure in this sense relates to what is or at least seems ordered, while discourse relates to how structure is made to seem ordered.

of the material world. The deconstructive analysis can be traced to the tool in Grounded Theory of open coding, making possible multiple readings of the material. Again in Clarke's words:

All readings are temporary, partial, provisional, and perspectival – themselves situated historically and geographically. There are no essences – we are postessentialist. (Clarke 2005: 8)

With an orientation towards action, processes and negotiations in Strauss's formulations, Grounded Theory can represent instabilities and contingencies and it is always possible to see '*...how things could have been otherwise*' (Hughes 1971 in Clarke 2005: 9). Variation has also always been central to Grounded Theory.

The relationality towards the situation also has its roots in the symbolic interactionism of Blumer and Strauss's works. Through, for example, Blumer's conceptualisation of race as collective positionality and Strauss's work theorising on 'universes of discourse', Clarke can go beyond the usually conceptualised bounded concepts of organisations, institutions or social movements towards a more open and fluid framework based on a discourse framing action. Such a view opens up to a more problematically-bounded situation.

Analysis of the situation needs to be made in a Foucaultian tradition in the way discourse:

...not only sets limits and restricts that which can be said about a phenomenon but also, in the positivity of power, empowers certain agents to speak and make representations, while also disempowering others from doing so. (Clarke 2005: 160)

Discourse in this sense sets the conditions of possibility for the agents participating in it and is produced as a representation of social worlds and by the conflicts and contradictions within them. The realisation about how the situation was described by the participants in this study and from reading documents, news, reports and academic literature pointing to conflicts and contradictions in the interpretation of the situation has meant that such a definition of discourse is needed. To understand the situation there is a need to see what interpretations are empowered and which are disempowered.

Clarke also points to how traditional Grounded Theory is struggling in some ways against being pushed around the postmodern turn through a lack of reflexivity, oversimplifications and a search for purity. The lack of reflexivity stems from a naïve notion of giving voice to the informants by presenting their perspective, while the researcher should be invisible in this process. Relating to oversimplification there is also an orientation towards emphasising commonalities and coherence, striving towards a single

discourse have been added to a more traditional employment of Grounded Theory, I wish to make a few concluding remarks on the presentation.

First it points to the methodological, analytical and meaning making features of abduction, those of constantly comparing and searching for knowledge by comparing between different levels of information, from the very concrete to the more abstract. The second point made is that the constant comparisons are also related to comparisons between objects, incidents and categorisations, which are very much focused upon in the tradition of grounded theory. These comparisons are related to both methodology as well as to everyday life. The comparisons are often made in dualisms. There are many such underlying dualisms in the presentation so far and to follow. The dualisms that appear are relational, but in the presentation might seem to be dichotomous dualisms. Some of the dualisms which I have already touched upon and compared are in a sense objective versus constructionist approaches to social science in the specific case of Grounded Theory.

There is also a presentation of the empirical findings and the theorisation around them, in which the situation for the asylum-seeking refugees in Sweden and how they manage this situation will be discussed from the point of view of a dualism between disempowerment and empowerment and from the point of view of agency and its limitations or, if you will, agency in relation to structure and discourse.

Thirdly my discussions in this thesis are on the searching for meaning that goes on in the asylum-seeking refugees' management of their situation, as they are seeking empowerment. This seeking to understand and explain needs to be considered through the whole research endeavour. Methodologically this is also what goes on, to try and understand by interpreting actions in context: what goes on in the situation of asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan in Sweden and how they manage it. The field notes are notes of constructions of such meaning in the meeting between researcher and informant. They are constructions of interpretations of actions taken and about to be taken by themselves and the actions of others and how different statements and actions can be interpreted within the situation. In that way the search for meaning goes hand in hand with the research process, in which I interpret the situation and actions related to it, using methodological and theoretical tools to make this comprehensible.

Following this presentation of theoretical and methodological assumptions and starting points I will now present the research as it has progressed, looking at issues of entering the field with a description of the field, data construction, coding procedures and memoing for analysing the material, as well as the pacing of the realisation of the research process.

Initial data collection was based on these contacts with asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan with whom I had contact through my earlier job as a Swedish teacher at a reception centre in the north of Sweden. The contacts slowly evolved from these initial contacts with a family (husband and wife), to their friends and later also to contacts made through Swedish classes at a reception centre and through Swedish classes at municipal level. In all cases except one (the Swedish classes at the reception centre) the contacts came from the personal networks of my informants and thereby it was easier to gain trust with new informants. As a result of the close connections and information sharing between asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan in the area in which I did my field work, my name and work became known and this has also made it easier to approach people in the field.

To gain trust in the field has been of immense importance from the start of the field work and continued to be an issue throughout the progress of field work. Many steps have been taken not to compromise this trust and sometimes this might have led to slowing down the pace of data collection. I do, however, feel that my patience in the field has proved fruitful and the trust built up was a strong resource in the field work.

I had to make choices about how to carry out my observations and informal conversations in the field. I started out with a plan to make observations with informal conversations, interviews and biographies. The plan was to use the observations and informal conversations to get acquainted with the field and to start the analysis of field notes to make more focused questions for an interview situation possible. I noticed that the interview situation was not the best way to approach the field and the questions arising from the initial field work. The formality of conducting interviews did not feel at all comfortable in the situation the asylum-seeking refugees are in, in which they are exposed to tough interview situations during the investigations into the grounds for applying for asylum. Instead, situations where I have my agenda presented as a researcher, but behave more like a visitor, and participate in informal conversations on a wide range of things, have been preferable. It has been easier to gain and keep trust in that way in order to be able to ask the questions I needed to ask and to observe parts of their daily life. Another problem with the interview situation has been getting 'rich' answers to questions I have asked, due to a language barrier. I had to decide early on not to use interpreters, as the informants did not trust interpreters or like being interpreted. Nor has a tape recorder been used, as it would also have conflicted with the concentration on informality. This has led to a somewhat slower but necessary pacing of data collection.

I have 38 separate field notes comprising approximately 90 written pages of about 177 hours of conversations and observations. The first field note is dated 2004-11-16 and the last 2008-08-14. The field notes are different in

Remember that human beings are unlikely to relish being treated as objects from which you extract data. Reciprocities are important, and listening and being there are among them. Some researchers may command access on the basis of their authority and the prestige of their projects. Many other researchers cannot. Instead we gain access through the trust that emerges through establishing on-going relationships and reciprocities. Ignoring such reciprocities not only weakens your chances of obtaining telling data but, more over, dehumanizes your research participants- and yourself. (Charmaz 2006: 110)

Gaining access to the informants in this study was dependent on the trust and the close relationships created with them during field work. As theoretical sampling not only involves finding the 'right' people to speak to and observing the 'right' arenas, but also being able to pose the questions that emerge in the analysis, this trust and the close relationships with the informants were essential. One of the questions that would have been difficult to explore were it not for this trust and the close relationships was that of how the informants as a group handled the situation they were in.

At the same time there is clearly a possibility that the research process could have taken other routes had I had access to all emerging lines of inquiry (for example had I had easier access to asylum-seeking women from Afghanistan). This would, in Glaser's eyes, be a serious problem as his aim is to find the single main concern and basic social process of the people researched. Charmaz and Clarke have a different approach to this specific issue and more clearly see that it can be possible to follow more than one line of research and emerging conceptualisations.

Glaser's assumption that 'all is data' is a useful tool and starting point for theoretically sampling for new arenas for collecting data. The sampling for complementary data from sources other than the notes from the participant observations and conversations could be seen as triangulation. This triangulation, the use of multiple methods, should not be seen as a way to validate one's findings, though, but rather:

The combination of multiple methodological practices, empirical materials, perspectives, and observers in a single study is best understood, then, as a strategy that adds rigor, breadth, complexity, richness, and depth to any inquiry. (Denzin and Lincoln 2005: 5)

That 'all is data' and triangulation in the sense described above serves to give me both an opening to use whatever material that finds its way into my theoretical sampling and, at the same time, a tool to make an emergent theory more explicable and able to meet different evaluative criteria. The theoretical sampling of data related to the construction of a sensitising concept has come from the field notes together with reflections from representations of the situation and actions of asylum seekers described in the media, reports and books, as well as following written contributions

similar circumstances. And lastly, is the Grounded Theory useful? As a test for 'being useful', Charmaz asks if people can use the knowledge in their everyday lives, how it has contributed to knowledge and to make the world better.

For the criterion of credibility to be met in accordance with Charmaz' evaluative criteria I present quite a thick description of the analyses I have made, visualising the analysis by using excerpts from field notes. I also try as much as possible to show how the analyses were made and in what circumstances, situating myself as a researcher in the field and in the analysis. For originality I point to how action instead of passivity has been analysed in a field that to a large extent has previously been seen as a situation of passivity, how participant observations and constructionist grounded theory is able to analyse the field in this way and how the field can be situated through analysing more theoretical layers of the situation. Hopefully the study also gives resonance and makes sense to the people involved, although I have chosen to concentrate on how actions can be empowering and how it is possible to speak of empowerment in the situation. Choosing to speak of actions of empowering and seeking empowerment might for some give a simplistic image of what is going on in the field. The usefulness of the study is difficult to evaluate at this point. It cannot be said to be directly useful for the asylum-seeking refugees in the study, although it might be useful for altering the image of asylum seekers and presenting a situation from which the asylum-seeking refugees' management of their situation makes sense.

Considerations of power, context and ethics

When considering issues of power and context I find Burawoy's (2000) discussion of four dimensions sensitising the researcher to questions of power and reflexivity useful. The first dimension is on '*...the extension of the observer into the world of the participant*'. This extension of the observer into the world of the participant is common to all participant observation. The most important problem when carrying out research in the field is in the relations of domination distorting the mutuality of exchange between researcher and informant. The second dimension concerns the '*...extensions of observations over time and space*' by which he means that ethnographers '*...spend extended periods of time following their subjects around, living their lives, learning their ways and wants*'. With this dimension one has to be attentive to the power relation of silencing in which some informants are stressed at the expense of others. The third dimension is about '*...extending out from micro processes to macro forces*'. That is to connect the findings of the site to the '*...geographical and historical context of the field*'. The face of power to be attentive to in this dimension is that of objectification. Objectification means that by describing these forces in context, we give

much chosen one or several more specific theories to use in my approach to the field and in my analysis, but rather used a methodology which I hoped would bring new understanding both to the field of the management of the situation of asylum-seeking refugees in Sweden, but also as an example of global power relations at work. Looking at the results of my study in this sense, the methodology used was quite appropriate to reveal at least some of the processes for managing the situation and also to demonstrate certain structurally-constraining relations.

However, the connections between the model of seeking empowerment and the structural relationship between disempowerment and empowerment need to be sorted out in the light of some, or a few already existing theories on uneven globalisation in order to be explored further. This is where the insights from Burawoy's extended case method come in to discuss the possibility of empirical data (results) in the daily lives of people living globalisation to 'ground' and/or to improve our knowledge and our visualisation of this knowledge of processes of uneven globalisation. This is where my approach runs the risk of straitjacketing the world through the face of power of normalisation.

The faces of power of domination, silencing and objectification related to participant observation and contextualisation of the field are also related to the research process in this study. There are certainly problems with my approach in many aspects, both in relation to faces of power of both domination and silencing. My control over the material and what I write down or note in my field notes of informal conversations and observations is unquestionable. That I take part in the construction of knowledge, in that I write down my interpretations of what has been said and done is clear. The way I try to deal with this problem is to implement a grounded theory that realises the constructionist approach to data and analysis, in which I the researcher am co-producer of knowledge in the field. On the other hand, to be credible in my analysis I try to show the links between data and theory and provide enough 'evidence' to make my analysis credible.

As this research also stresses the importance of the situation, there is a danger of objectification, in the sense of giving durability to structures and discourses that I propose are related to this situation. The danger of dichotomising dualisms instead of showing the relationality between the concepts discussed in a dualism is one such example. A research project such as this also runs the risk of strengthening the division between an 'us' and 'them': between the Swedish, non-refugee such as myself, and the studied asylum-seeking refugee coming from somewhere else, in this case Afghanistan. It might strengthen the idea of the refugee as different to non-refugees. I hope that this report will show that although the lives and backgrounds of the asylum-seeking refugees are definitely very different from the lives of those of us who have been born and lived most of our lives

A co-constructive approach to both the data constructed in the field, analysis and theorising, as well as to ethical issues relating to field work, analysis, theorising and reporting would be preferred. Realising the situatedness and context of power relations, the research process in a co-constructive dialogue between the researcher and the researched would be a way to 'really' deal with issues of power and ethics. In this research, while keeping the dialogue on issues of respect and ethics in meetings with people during field work, the dialogue within the analysis and theorising has been a construction in the mind of the researcher.

Whilst realising and trying to stay humble towards my position of power, it is true that I have also been positioned in less powerful positions in relation to my informants and the situation. In saying this I do not want to imply that the overall power position has not been mine, but only point to the fact that informants in this study having agency enough to change the course of research at the same time as situational factors, have both favoured and disadvantaged me the researcher.

As much as I believe it important to scrutinise the assumption between research and the assumed autonomy of participants in research, I have asked myself and the study questions which are related to the principles of what are the beneficial consequences of the study, how informed consent can be in the research process, how can the identities of the participants be disguised, what are the consequences for the participants during research and after publication and how will I be able to 'truthfully' present a world view, result and theory, which the informants can feel comfortable with (adapted from Dahlgren, Winkvist et al. 2004)?

On the individual level, participation in the study, hanging out with and speaking to me might have given them an important break from their everyday actions while waiting and a vent for their engagement in thoughts about their life while waiting. Sometimes I have also functioned as a source of information and discussion partner on both their individual cases and politics of asylum more generally. On a very few occasions I felt that I was intruding upon their privacy, but more commonly I felt that I sometimes put too much consideration into not intruding upon their privacy, making it a balancing act between intrusion and disinterest. Making a point of meeting people on several occasions also meant that I could wait and put my questions as they came up in conversation, not force them upon my informants. The research process thus might have been beneficial for the participants of this study on the individual and group basis of having someone taking an interest in their situation. The report itself is perhaps more beneficial through promoting a critical discussion on the impact of globalisation and the politics of international refugee migration and, more specifically related to Swedish circumstances, showing the agency of the asylum-seeking refugees at the same time as it presents the limitations to their agency in the situation they are in.

Field work

To start this section and to give a feeling of the context in which data was constructed with the asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan I refer to this excerpt from an informal conversation which I described like this in the field notes:

During the interview I spoke mostly with one man, but there were more people present. During the conversations there were between three and seven people in the living-room. The TV was on during the whole conversation. He who presented me to the group was also there and actively participated in the conversations. A lot of the conversations and discussions between the people present were in Pashtu. Conversations and discussions I for obvious reasons did not participate in.⁶

This hopefully gives a feeling for how I described the construction of data in the field, of how the context of the conversations were, as I describe them here, very informal and often with a group of people, how the conversations were often (almost always) accompanied by the TV, how I was presented to new people by people I knew from before (people from the 'collective' of asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan), and how language played a crucial role in how much information I could get and in the pace of the construction of data. In this particular conversation I was able to ask the question of what life as an asylum seeker is like, for example what is good and what is bad and from the answer we can see that it is mostly bad.

It is a bad life, not to get permanent residence permits, it gets bad. Waiting, nothing to do... Go to the doctor, they don't do anything... They have to wait for a long time... They are treated differently before and after getting residence permits... They cannot travel, they have to inform the Migrations office if they want to travel.

Life is problematic... To always be nervous... To not know what is going on... To all the time think of one's family... To not be able to sleep... To think of the situation in Afghanistan.⁷

At the same time the man I spoke mostly with earlier in the same conversation described life in the small town where the reception centre was located in other words:

⁶ Field note 12, 2006-07-18

⁷ Field note 12, 2006-07-18

dinner, or a cup of tea with biscuits or asked if I wanted a cup of coffee at a café or restaurant.

For the main part, field work took place in three reception centres. These were situated in sparsely populated areas and some way from the main towns of the region in the mid-north of Sweden. In all cases the asylum seekers were housed in housing areas in apartments in the village/small town, which had been standing empty since people had moved out of the houses. In the two smaller reception centres the asylum seekers to a large extent were living side-by-side with the people already residing there. At the larger and older reception centre, around which a large part of the field work would take place, although living in existing apartments the asylum seekers were more isolated from the rest of the small town in a housing area with only a few so-called Swedish families. All the reception centres were referred to as camps by the asylum seekers themselves.

We communicated as best we could in Swedish, as interpreters were not a choice in this field work. The observations I made, supported by Öberg (2007), are on how Swedish is spoken between the asylum seekers and, in this case, also with me. We created a simpler version of the language, for example using only the present tense and many foreign words from other languages, making it a form of 'asylum-Swedish'. In many cases just facial expression and gestures would suffice. It is quite amazing in both Öberg's and my case how we have been able to construct stories together with the asylum-seeking refugees without having a common language to base them on. And these constructions of communication and constructing a common language go on all the time at the reception centres among the waiting asylum seekers. Language has not been as much of a limitation as I thought it might be. Although I realise that thicker narratives and biographies from my informants were difficult to construct, for the purpose of following everyday conversations and what they do in their day-to-day life it was not much of a limitation. Actually the efforts made to seek a common way of creating meaning using the Swedish language as a base is a way of seeking empowerment to be able to communicate with people outside the immediate group.

Why it came to be that informal conversations and participant observation came to be the main form of constructing data in the field was that the informality of the situations described above was key to answering the questions I had. The dialogue and meeting with them in their everyday and slowly getting acquainted with the processes and thoughts of the informants were the ways that I was able to construct the descriptions and the theorising on seeking empowerment that follow. As I mentioned before, the formality of the interview situation could not produce the same information as the activities taken by the asylum-seeking refugees in this study either individually or as a group. The excerpts from my field notes exemplified in

At the same time, being a man put me in a more difficult position to approach women informants. This was due partly to having to negotiate my way around the field, as I described above, but also because there were not that many female asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan at the reception centres I visited. There are not as many female asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan in Sweden as there are male asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan. Although there were female asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan staying in the reception centres, mainly together with their families, I was not able to approach them more than on the one occasion when I met a grown-up daughter of a family at the school. More importantly though than for my research I found that the situation of a minority of women also led to their isolation, an isolation which the efforts of the couple show that they contend and seek to change.

Another example of negotiation during field work was to do with privacy and integrity in the social community of the group. It is clear that when speaking about other asylum-seeking refugees the conversations have been somewhat held back. I have not wanted them to know to whom I have spoken and how much I have spoken with other people and I never discussed anything said to me in confidence by another informant. It seemed as though the informants were also holding back for the same reasons, out of respect for each other. In some instances, when I have got to know some of them better, they have been more outspoken, though, and when I have got to know a group of friends they have found it easier to relate to each other in conversations. At the same time as they keep to their privacy it is also clear that the asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan have quite a clear picture of who they are, where they are and what they do, at least those I have been in contact with through the reception centre.

Coming back to the limitations of the field work and of not being able to approach women in the same way as men, the key informants in this research are usually young men with other young men being noted in the field notes. Although the married couple described above, who after years of waiting actually received their permanent residence permits under the 'temporary law', are an important part of the field work, the young men who only got temporary residence for one year and other young men arriving after the 'temporary law' and getting negative decisions constitute the main part of the field work and accordingly the field notes. Appearing in the field notes are also young men who have been granted residence permits in Sweden, but for most it is a struggle for recognition of their claims. It would not be easy to categorise the informants in this study and no efforts to do so have been made. Although I acknowledge the importance of personal and group background and a background of experiences for an individual understanding of where the asylum-seeking refugees can draw strength to resist from and are thereby empowered, I have not made an effort to

Theory and pointing to developments of the same methodology towards constructionism and situational analysis, I discuss how the research process went from a more objectivist implementation towards a constructionist implementation. I also discuss how a constructionist grounded theory sensitive to issues of power by introducing the concept of discourse was necessary to accomplish the analysis in this research. In that way not only the analysis itself has been emergent, but also the implementation of methods has been emergent and changed through the research process.

I present how the research was done more practically, emphasising field work and field notes, making a special note on the importance of memos in analysing the data. I also emphasise the importance of trust in gaining access to the field and how I had to negotiate my way around the field and how I, for example, found that participant observation was the better method and dropped the plan to do interviews. Further I discuss how realising that 'verbifying' my coding of the material, concentrating on action, made the analysis easier. For the analysing and theorising I would like to point to the importance of pacing and creativity, which were achieved in the process of coding, both to open up the material but also to put it together again in constructing a sensitising concept, making sense of a part of what is happening in the field of study. In the pacing and for creativity, the writing of memos was perhaps the most striking and fruitful effort made in the analysis, with a freedom to explore ideas that saw their way into the final report. All the explorations made in this presentation come from ideas initialised in memos taken in the process of research. I also discuss how data and theory meet through sensitising concepts leading to the concept of seeking empowerment. In the realisation of the research I also point to the evaluative criteria of credibility, originality, resonance and usefulness.

Considerations of power, context and ethics have also been discussed and introduce how power and context are involved and affect the research and the world through issues of domination, silencing, objectification and normalisation. I also discuss ethics through issues of autonomy, no harm, beneficence and justice and how these criteria can be criticised, but also how I have related to them in this research by discussing issues of the difficulties of informed consent in the field work as well as addressing the question of doing no harm.

The importance of issues in the field work was presented as part of the realisation of the research process, but also separately from the point of view of how and under what circumstances I met the asylum-seeking refugees participating in this study. I stress the importance of the informality of these meetings, the variation of places and circumstances in which these took place and how communication worked well although there were language problems. Important also were the negotiations that had to take place to gain and maintain access and trust during field work, and I note how this trust

Situational Frame

The aim of this chapter is to frame the understanding of the situation that the asylum-seeking refugees find themselves in by introducing how the situation is perceived by the asylum-seeking refugees and by showing, from the analysis, how I interpret the situation as one of temporality. So far the situation has been contextualised in the chapter on the background and it will later be discussed in terms of disempowerment, but to come closer to a situational analysis of the circumstances in which the asylum-seeking refugees in this study find themselves I want to point to how the asylum-seeking refugees try to make sense of the situation. Trying to understand the situation has been a continuous effort throughout the research process. It has been crucial in my attempts to take the role of my informants as well as for the presentation of the situation in my research.

I argue that the situation is one characterised by temporality and, to get closer to an understanding of the difficulties of making sense of the situation, most importantly for the asylum-seeking refugees but also for analysing the situation in research, we need to approach the situation from a point of view of discursive fields related to this situation. The difficulties in understanding the situation and the temporality and contingency found in it point to there being other forces affecting the situation identified in the analysis. I will point to how the role of a national discourse with a preferential right of interpretation and, in the case of Swedish migration politics, tendencies towards paternalism, would be able to construct a frame situating the field of study and the outlined background to the same.

Such an approach to situating the circumstances in which the asylum-seeking refugees find themselves will add to the understanding of the field of study as presented in the background. The situational frame as it is presented here relates both to the background to the field of study presented earlier and to how the analysis of the situation is constructed as disempowering. The connection to more abstract theories of national discourse, racism and paternalism, together with the outlined background, frame the understanding of the situation as temporal and disempowering.

In this way the chapter sets the stage for the presentation of the empirical findings presented in this thesis.

Understanding the situation

To try and understand and explain the situation one is in and to look for one's place in it is central to making the situation comprehensible. There are many instances and examples where through reflection, trying to describe their situation and through comparisons the asylum-seeking refugees have made visible their desire to interpret the situation they are in. The category

The Migration Board has a 'law' on who gets to stay and who does not. For example Iranians get to stay but people from Afghanistan do not. It is that 'law' that decides who gets to stay and who does not. Sweden has looked a lot to the political situation.

Concerning asylum-seekers from Afghanistan it is very difficult to get away from Afghanistan. People have fled for example over the Aegean Sea, where many have died on the way. They speak of broken families. They mean that it is more difficult to cheat about their origin or come back [to Sweden] if they have to go home. It is not like with the others, for example from the former Soviet Union, who can come and go.

They cannot understand why people from Afghanistan do not get asylum.¹⁰

In this excerpt we see the need to understand and to explain their situation, through description and comparisons. They compare their situation with other groups they do not think have the same need (or at least not no more need) to be granted permanent residence permits. They have made observations and interpretations of these groups' needs from the information and experience they have. They have compared them with their own to be able to understand and explain their situation. At the same time they also consider the role of international politics on Swedish policies on asylum in commenting that '*Sweden has looked a lot at the political situation*', showing that they also process information and interpret at the international level. To me this shows the importance of discussing these issues on a more knowledge-based level with the asylum seekers so as not to patronise them when challenging these issues openly. They do observe, and through the asylum-seeking process understand and map how different things are connected.

This is another example showing that the asylum-seeking refugees follow the Swedish debate on asylum.

We talked a lot on who gets to stay and who does not. Who should be allowed to stay and who should not. I mentioned apathetic children. They said and had heard from people from former Yugoslavia that when they got negative decisions they made themselves ill, took pills... They also talked about other nationalities. One of them said that if apathetic children get to stay, more children will get ill.¹¹

¹⁰ Field note 12, 2006-07-18

¹¹ Field note 4, 2005-06-19

project of staying as meaningful, although the emphasis on repatriation is high from the Swedish authorities. Despite the meaningfulness of the project, they all the time have to consider other possibilities. Brekke also addresses the issue of the threat of being repatriated as always with them even if it is not talked about. He also describes the efforts of working towards integration on the part of the Migration Board as being half-hearted, except from some individual migration officers.

What this ambivalence and uncertainty by the authority in power does to the individual asylum seeker is to create a dependence on this ambivalence and uncertainty in the system, leading to a situation in which the asylum-seeking refugee is dependent on the whims of the system. More generally the system and migration policy are disempowering, but open up for empowerment when, for example, the official interpretation of the situation and of the individual's reasons for staying changes. These changes, made on a 'whim' are connected to the uncertainty of both the outcome and the time frames to be expected, leading to a situation of temporality.

The asylum-seeking refugees in this study are exposed to a life which is only temporary, which makes it all the more difficult to manage life because the conditions and situation are changing all the time. One example of this is that their status as 'real' refugees changes over time, both as the situation in Afghanistan changes and is interpreted by the international community and the Swedish authorities and because of changes in asylum and refugee policy and law. These changes in the status attributed to them create a situation of temporality that is the frame in which seeking empowerment takes place. The dependency of the asylum-seeking refugees on the decisions of others makes them exposed to changes in these decisions. When seeking empowerment they have to consider the temporality of the immediate situation.

Temporality and discontinuity are important factors in the disempowered situation. They show in several ways. The most telling is how the 'official' interpretation of the situation for asylum seekers changes due to new policies and, in this instance for example, by two new laws during the research period. One was the new Aliens' Act (from 2006-03-31), while the other was a political compromise, the temporary law on impediments to the enforcement of refusal of entry (from November 2005 to March 2006). Some of my informants have lived through all these changes and their cases have been administrated through them. The policies towards asylum seekers from Afghanistan and the assessment of the situation in Afghanistan have also changed over time. Although the emphasis both from the international community and from Sweden has been one of repatriation, there have been some instances suggesting that for the individual refugees it has been possible to get permanent residence permits.

whom they interpreted as having similar backgrounds. Something else contributing to this temporality, or as Brekke describes it 'being lost in time', can be seen in another quote borrowed from an interview with a young man from Afghanistan:

Even in school I suffer. I have been here for 10 months now, but when someone new arrives, he is put in the same class as me! There is no progression! They should separate us. When I tell them this, they tell me to wait until I get my residency. 'Then you will attend a bigger school'. (Brekke 2004: 24)

The temporality of not knowing when to expect the decision on residence permits and waiting for other decisions on whether and when one can expect to see a doctor, whether and when one can expect to get a work permit, whether and when one can expect a place in school, or whether and when one can move to another apartment, is dependent on decisions from the authorities. Brekke makes an important contribution to this analysis of temporality when speaking of the relativity of waiting. The relativity of waiting points to the fact that their experience of waiting is also dependent on comparisons with other asylum seekers.

Making comparisons of one's own situation to that of others, both with people in similar situations but also with people in general, including comparisons between oneself and native-born Swedes, is an important part of making sense of the situation. I have found that comparing situations between people with seemingly similar backgrounds is sometimes talked about with reference to being more worthy of having one's reasons for staying taken seriously than others and that others even cheat and lie to get ahead in the system. This would be disempowering for the group of asylum-seeking refugees. In this instance the interpretation of the comparisons made of the period of waiting, the relativity of waiting, also leads to a feeling of being dependent on an unjust system.

Temporality and being limited in planning and preparation are shown in an excerpt taken from a conversation with a woman who had received her permanent reception permit together with her husband, but who was now waiting for somewhere to live.

It was good to speak to her again. But she is not having such a good time; it is hard for her in [the small town] now. She has no friends. The last time I spoke to her, she could be together with her neighbour (from Afghanistan), but they have moved on to the municipality where they were placed (they have received permanent residence permits). Now she has got nothing to do.

I asked her if she sews anything now and she had actually bought a sewing machine at the supermarket with a discount (cheap), but she has not

an understanding of how the temporality and disempowerment of the situation can be situated within more global theories of domination and racism.

Globalisation and the postcolonial condition

Although it is argued that through globalising processes the world is getting better for many people, uneven economic, political and social processes of globalisation are maintained and are naturalised by discourses legitimising and naturalising these uneven processes of globalisation. Through discourse, in practice and in text, the global economic, political and social systems and the uneven positions that follow within the global system are created, maintained and transformed. Postcolonial studies strengthen our understanding of uneven globalisation. By deconstructing practices, symbols and texts used by dominant groups, analysis of discourse can bring forth an understanding of postcolonial conditions and give a platform for subordinated groups to resist dominant discourses. The goal is to visualise practices of domination between the centre and periphery and undo the 'binarisms' of colonial thinking (Hoogvelt 2001).

Postcolonial studies do not only concentrate on the post-colonial conditions of the subordinated in subordinated places in the world, but is also important for the understanding of the dominant in dominant places in the world. In this sense, the field of Swedish migration politics is connected to the construction of a Swedish national identity, an identity constructed in relation to 'others', that is, a construction of an 'us' as opposed to a different 'them' and in relation to different theories on racism in Sweden (see discussions in Jonsson 1993; Pred 2000; Mc Eachrane and Faye 2001; Brune 2004; de los Reyes, Molina et al. 2006).

Such distinctions, as they are central to an understanding of the reception of asylum seekers and refugees in Sweden. Actions, through practices and discussions, taken towards migrants coming to Sweden can be discussed through discursive elements of Swedish migration politics as they relate to European and international discourses on migration. One central question related to discourse concerns the preferential right of interpretation. Who has the preferential 'right' and the power to interpret and set the agenda for those who come to Sweden to seek asylum? And more importantly what does it do to the space of action of the asylum-seeking refugees? What limits their struggle, their seeking empowerment?

References to linking the field to a context of uneven globalisation and post-colonial theory can be found in Linda Helgesson's (2006) research on life-strategies of town youth in Mozambique and Tanzania, Erika Sörensson's (2008) research on making a livelihood in backpacker tourism in urban Indonesia and Ulrika Schmauch's (2006) concentration on post-colonial theory and theories of racism in her research on the invisibility of

On the social transformations in the 'North', Castles speaks of how forced migration has increased the social and cultural diversity of these societies and the growth of transnational communities. With the coincidence of the growth in forced migration to the 'North' and the downturn of the economy (marked by the oil crises of 1973) resulting in economic restructuring, deindustrialisation, privatisation and deregulation, all, in his words, resulting from globalisation, refugees have been seen as unwelcome threats to '*...jobs, living standards and welfare*' (Castles 2003: 20). This has resulted in a competition among political parties for who is toughest on 'illegals'.

This link between refugee migration and global economic development shows how migration and also refugee migration are connected to global forces of inequality. It also shows how global economic processes have led to transformations and restructuring of the economies of the 'North' as well as transformations in people's opinions about immigrants, including refugees.

National discourse, racism and paternalism

Looking at the situation of the asylum-seeking refugees in a context of national discourse with preferential right of interpretation and tendencies towards paternalism, it also means that we go from sets of structures that are uncertain, ambivalent and contradictory and at most times disempowering but with openings for empowerment, to a world view that makes it harder to see these openings for empowerment. In what follows we run the risk of objectifying the forces of nationalist discourse and paternalism, thereby giving them durability at the same time as we run the risk of straitjacketing the world so it suits our purposes. Anyhow, despite recognising the individual's and the group's opportunities for empowerment has already been considered, there is also a need to put the limitations of the situation in relation to theories of global forces that legitimise and naturalise the situation refugees find themselves exposed to.

To make the connection between the temporality of the situation to national discourse is to show the link between the disempowerment through dependence and inhospitality through the temporality of the situation to the discourse of Swedish asylum policy and nationalism. This is as important or more important for the asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan than, for example, what 'really' happens and the situation on the ground in Afghanistan. Quite arbitrarily, the situation for the asylum-seeking refugees can be changed by speaking of and defining the situation in Afghanistan differently over time. The question of what the situation is really like in Afghanistan is disputed and there are reports interpreting the situation quite differently from the Swedish migration authorities and government. Even if the Migration Board uses the same reports, describing the situation in much the same way as for example the UNHCR do in their reports, or the Swedish

these asylum-seeking refugees are subject to repatriation, for example to Iraq, Somalia and Afghanistan. These are also groups that from a point of view of nationalist discourse are seen as difficult to integrate into Swedish and European society. In this perspective Swedish migration politics that focus on repatriation and thus being unwelcoming that the informants in this study are subjected to is given an explanation on the national level, but also on a European and international level, which leads us into a discussion about global unevenness based on racism.

Against this background, feelings of not being welcome in Sweden can be understood at the individual level, but they can also be related to what is going on globally using globalisation theory. The feelings of not being welcome can in this way be related to both socio-economic factors of globalisation, including class relationships between nation states, and discursive factors related to race and gender. The preservation of the construction of the Swedish nation state can thus give an understanding of why the asylum-seeking refugees are not welcomed to or in Sweden and of what creates dependence and a situation of temporality. In this way the inhospitality of the situation and not feeling welcome can be theorised at national and global levels. The experiences of not being 'worth' as much can also be traced back to colonialism using post-colonial theory.

Following the context of the situation as embedded in nationalist discourse, Ed Mynott (2002) discusses class and race in relation to nationalism and immigration control. The conclusion is that immigration controls are always racist.

Although controls *formally* discriminate on grounds of nationality, racism has fundamentally informed the construction of immigration controls. The ideological justification for control has been a racialised nationalism, and the practice of control by the state has been directed at racialised groups. (Mynott 2002: 13, emphasis in original)

Historically the strengthened immigration controls of the US and the EU can be traced centuries back in Western Europe, of which Mynott says:

In western Europe, the process of racialisation of particular groups of immigrants which was pioneered in the late nineteenth century and reformed in relation to black and third world peoples during the long boom, is occurring anew with refugees and asylum seekers as its core subjects. (Mynott 2002: 20)

The point here is that the idea of the nation state to this date has always been racist, building on images of others of different races both within the supposed common nation and outside the borders of the same.

The nation state as being racist needs to be understood from the point of view of situating racism historically through capitalism and colonialism. At the same time as the economy of capitalism took hold of large parts of the

idea of a particular, chosen and superior identity. It is clear, however, that it is precisely such a utopian Swedish identity which is recreated in the media. Muslim and Swedish are constructed as opposites, the Swedish girl threatened by the 'dark' man. The media thus creates a nationalistic expression based on ethnicity, which can be perceived as a resistance against globalisation and hybridisation (Brune 2004).

The challenges to a perceived national identity are also met by symbols directed to xenophobic voters, in the words of Harding (2000):

Refugees are at the mercy of disabled governments with stern faces – and so is the anti-immigration voter, who regards cuts in cash hand-outs to asylum seekers as a sign that the party of power has his interests at heart. But that is all that it is: a sign. (Harding 2000: 59)

My interpretation is that this symbol is in line with maintaining the discourse of the nation state as legitimate. The nation state needs to respond to the threats of globalisation, and such an attitude to strangers signals that there is still some capacity to decide what happens inside the borders of the nation state in response to the transformation of state power in the global system.

In her discussion on globalisation and the crisis of postcolonial conditions, Minoou Moallem (2005: 155-156) speaks of '*...a war over representation and position between dominant and dominated ethnicities as well as hegemonic masculinities and emphasized femininities*'. In patriarchy and the dominant power of masculinities today, femininities seem to need to be even more emphasised. In the dominant's struggle to remain in power in the hierarchies of class, race and gender, emphasising both masculinities and femininities seems to be one way of achieving continued dominance.

Starting from a global level, the imperialism of the West as the dominant class needs an image of the 'other', Muslim men, as a foe to justify and to rationalise both armed struggle against terrorism and the civilising mission of the ideology of free democracy of capitalism and neo-liberalism. To make this image stronger it uses the image of Muslim women as victims of Muslim men. Many Western feminists are complicit in the discourse of the victimisation and pacification of Muslim women.

The tropes of the Muslim woman in general and the Afghani woman in particular as the ultimate victims of a timeless patriarchy defined by the barbarism of Islamic religion and in need of civilizing have become very important components of Western regimes of power and knowledge. (Moallem 2005: 161)

Not only does it supposedly sweeten racial structure by diluting it in the substance of class formation; it renders individuals personally responsible - and so the agents of state-fashioned social structure literally irresponsible - for whatever racial distinctions linger. (Goldberg 2002: 233)

I see a connection between this process of racelessness and privatisation of race and the individualisation of the asylum-seeking refugees, and the national discourse of fairness and individuality. This is a discourse which means that, in connection with the quote above, the asylum-seeking refugees are rendered responsible for proving themselves to be 'real' refugees and literally frees the Migration Board of all responsibility by pointing to a system of individuality and individual justice, disregarding the subordination of asylum-seeking refugees as a group. Marfleet (2006) also concludes that from the 1980s refugees have been confronted with the contradiction between having to prove their cases individually on the one hand and on the other being treated as a group. In addition they are seen as a threat to the countries of the West and treated on the assumption that most asylum seekers are inauthentic and evade migration controls and therefore should be seen as 'illegals' and opportunists.

One of the results of these discourses of nationalism through racism in relation to gender is paternalism. To be able to convincingly keep the discourse on repatriation, one cannot directly relate it to the interests of one's own society, as that would be against an image of solidarity or caring for others. There needs to be a discourse of repatriation in which repatriation is also beneficial for the asylum-seeking refugees themselves and the country they have come from, if not immediately, at least in the foreseeable future. Paternalism, though, does not necessarily have to be related to being beneficial for the asylum-seeking refugees themselves or their own country. We have already touched upon discourses of bogus and illegal asylum seekers and there is also a tendency today to relate the problems of the asylum-seeking refugees applying for asylum in Sweden to the problems of the 'ordinary' man and woman from Afghanistan who have not fled the country. If those who stay can make it, why cannot those who have decided to leave? At the very least, Sweden cannot be expected to let people come just because they are poor and because they might get into trouble because of the extremely dangerous situation in Afghanistan. Again there is a contradiction between being treated as a group while the system says that each case is handled individually.

However, from whatever angle one considers this discourse it is always aimed at the problems of the 'other'. The 'others' are problematic and both they and the ones following the debate need to be reminded of this. The right to make these interpretations is never in the hands of the asylum-seeking refugees, but in the hands of other people deciding on their status as refugees. There is paternalism in this, which in the view of this study the

thus hard to integrate. On the other hand they are also needed to develop their own world. With a little bit of help from development assistance, they should develop their world in and from where they are in the image of the developed world.

The preferential right of interpretation gives Sweden, as part of the developed world, the power to exercise paternalism over those who apply for asylum and protection. Swedish migration policy, which I describe as disempowering, breaks down and constrains the asylum-seeking refugees' possibilities to exercise power over their own lives. The asylum-seeking refugee is treated as a nuisance, whom one wants to get rid of, sometimes to prove him or her to be a liar and thief, but if that is not possible then to prove that the asylum-seeking refugee interprets his or her reasons for staying as not objectively correct. The disempowerment of the asylum-seeking refugees is thus, among other things, based in our, the rich world's, preferential right of interpretation, an interpretation whereby Sweden, as a country in the rich world, can both 'objectively' interpret international conventions and as 'objectively' describe and decide on the situations of the asylum-seeking refugees. This preferential right of interpretation provides the possibility of exercising authority and patronising the refugees.

The discussion on preferential right of interpretation and paternalism are based on the 'objective' truth being presented by the Swedish Migration Board as standing against the 'subjective' truth of the individual refugee. The contradictions perceived are based on the Swedish authorities' preferential right of interpretation and the asylum-seeking refugees not having the right to define the situation. The example here is that the Swedish authorities argue for the possibility, according to both Swedish and international law, to send people back to Afghanistan, while at the same time this interpretation is contested by the asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan themselves, as well as many organisations and individuals taking the side of the asylum-seeking refugees.

Repatriation, as the main part of the politics of immigration, also uses symbols, directed at the Swedish public, to describe the Swedish reception of refugees as humane and fair. In an example given by Johansson (2005) in regard to repatriation, of the distinction between voluntarily leaving Sweden after negative decisions and being sent back by force, there is a symbol of repatriation as being a voluntary option in the repatriation efforts of the Swedish state, in an attempt to legitimise repatriation. There is nothing voluntary about leaving Sweden if you are not granted residence permits: the choice can only be between leaving Sweden without the use of force or being removed from Sweden by force. Another example from my study is the word interview. When described to me the interview sounds like more of an interrogation than anything else, thus giving the word interview a new meaning. Such imprecise wordings used by the authorities might lead to

to a situation of regulated and restricted immigration for which only a few of the asylum seekers can be viewed as real refugees.

I, in my interpretation of the situation, point to the difficulties there are in understanding the situation. There are many obstacles to understanding the situation and although there are efforts made to make sense of the situation, it is difficult to construct a comprehensible and coherent understanding and presentation of it. The uncertainty, ambivalence and contradictions found within the situation lead me to address the situation as contingent and as one of temporality.

The temporality of the disempowering situation created through dependence and inhospitality is not sufficient for an understanding of the situation though. The contingency of the situation of temporality which contains uncertainty, ambivalence and contradictions also needs to be situated. I chose to situate the situation by introducing a discussion on national discourse, racism and paternalism as a way to understand more about the global process involved in creating the situation.

This chapter has also situated the field within a context of globalisation, introducing the concept of postcolonialism to better understand how structures of uneven globalisation are maintained discursively and how the postcolonial condition also underlies the process of migration and the reception of immigrants and asylum seekers in Sweden. Uneven globalisation and postcolonialism present how wealth and mobility are distributed unevenly among people in the world and how the privileges of some undermine the powers of others.

I point to how the connection between nationalism and racism is historically situated in relation to European domination and colonialism and how asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants are subject to these discourses of nationalism and racism and also to discourses of gender. I make a special point on the individualisation of racism, in which the discourse of treating every asylum case individually could be understood as a way to individualise the discrimination against individual asylum seekers by pointing to weaknesses in their individual argumentation for their need of protection, instead of speaking of arguments made by them as a group. This is a way to keep it from being race- or group-orientated through discursively treating each person's reasons for asylum individually.

The domination of Swedish nationalist discourse subjects asylum seekers and refugees to paternalism. Paternalism is reflected in the way Sweden has had a self-image of providing a humane, solidaric and fair reception to asylum seekers and refugees. This self-image is harder to keep today with repatriation being the main method for dealing with refugee migration. At the same time repatriation is legitimised through speaking of voluntary return and the fairness of the Swedish legal system in treating asylum applications. Preferential right of interpretation gives the Swedish

Disempowerment

What is waiting? To wait implies action. At the same time it is not action, but rather inaction while waiting for something to happen: something to happen which makes waiting stop. The things one does while waiting are not waiting in themselves, but actions to make the waiting worthwhile, tolerable and/or actions to make the waiting stop. I have found that with the asylum-seeking refugees' wait for a decision about whether they get to stay in Sweden or not, only a positive answer is acceptable in reality, as return is not an option. The waiting period will be filled with actions managing this situation of waiting and actions to try and strengthen one's position regarding the possibility of staying and avoiding being sent back. Waiting thus has a beginning and an end, but no content in itself. It needs other activities, thoughts and feelings to fill the void. Waiting, though, is important as it sets the conditions in which other activities can take place, what thoughts can be thought and what feelings arise. Waiting sets an unstable and temporary base for possible actions. It also creates a dependence on circumstances out of reach. If there were no dependence there would not be any need to wait. The conditions while waiting can be very different and the importance of what one is waiting for can be very different, but generally the inactivity of waiting can be perceived as disempowering in relation to what one waits for which in this case is for the whole of life's situation.

Not knowing what to expect, not knowing from what base to plan the future and waiting for decisions out of one's hands: such waiting is the essence of the disempowerment of waiting, waiting for something as essential as decisions on what future life will give in terms of where to live and safety for oneself and one's loved ones. Such waiting is disempowering, but also the base from which seeking empowerment comes. I wish to show how waiting can be seen as a void that needs to be filled with something, with actions, thoughts and feelings. Waiting also implies anticipation and in the case of the asylum-seeking refugees, hope. Linked to the emotion of hope is despair, and life while waiting is filled with hope as well as despair. Hope is built on the fact that the waiting is worthwhile and meaningful in view of the circumstances. Even if permanent residence permits cannot even be anticipated, they are hoped for with the aim of living a better life.

The relationship between the disempowering and empowering structures and actions is no easy one, where different actions and spoken words can be easily related to either one or the other. One described incident can hold many different interpretations on what is disempowering and what is empowering. Therefore the headings based on the categorisations made according to the method used, include incidents described in excerpts from the field notes, which might point to a certain interpretative category, but

of everything they owned and their house was burnt down. Another time they were robbed, but the house was not burnt.

The two months long flight using smugglers was also very difficult. To travel in overcrowded cars at night in closed cars so that they could not be seen from the outside, locked in rooms (where they at one point had to give their cup to a small boy to pee in), sleep outside in cold weather (August, September, October), change of smugglers in every country.

Fleeing probably through Russia (they heard Russian spoken). They do not know what other countries they passed through.

The man had to carry her on his shoulders as they passed a river. It was during the escape that the man for the first time got problems with his heart. It was very unpleasant she says.

On all the difficult things she says; to be sent back does not really matter. Die or not to die (she shrugs her shoulders). It is easily noticeable that she is really upset by all this, for him too. It is really difficult for them to tell this story.¹⁵

These are only some stories of life before and during the escape, a period that is imprinted in the stories of the asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan I have met and as such something they always carry with them during their waiting.

This chapter takes as its starting point the situation after coming to Sweden and applying for asylum, while waiting for decisions. The situation will be presented as one of disempowerment. Disempowerment will be discussed through dependence, inhospitality and through the emotions of hope and despair. It will deal with dependence on the Swedish authorities and different officials involved in the process, as well as dependence on other asylum seekers. Dependence will also be discussed from the point of view of forced inactivity, isolation, dependence on allowances and of not knowing what happens. Inhospitality deals with the asylum-seeking refugees meeting a restrictive immigration policy and policies on repatriation, the contradictions they find in the system, comparisons they make with others and how they perceive that they are not treated fairly and are treated as inferior. The emotions of hope and despair contain several emotions related to the disempowering situation.

¹⁵ Field note 4, 2005-06-19

dependence on others, such as migration officers and administrators, solicitors and interpreters. Dependence will also be discussed as inactivity, isolation, having no or only little control and not knowing.

Back to the situation for the young men with expired temporary residence permits. Four months later the situation for these young men was driven to an extreme when one of their friends phoned me to ask when I was coming to his town next.

I said I was thinking of going there next week and asked if he was free. He said he would be free from work [work practice] Monday or Tuesday, he did not know.

That is, if he was still there... The police had begun fetching Afghans with deportation orders...¹⁷

We decided to meet the same day instead as he was close by. We met at one of the friends' apartments to have some tea and to talk about their situation, before doing some errands and waiting for the train. It came to be quite an emotional, as we thought then, last meeting.

We went down to the park, where [A] took a picture with [B] and me, with a view over the lake. As it was perhaps the last time we would meet. It was also because of this that, [B] said, that he phoned to ask if we could meet. It could be the last time.

When we came back to the train station, it was still some time before the train would leave, so they asked if we should have a coffee. I said I did not need to, but they wanted to. [A] offered me coffee as I had forgotten my wallet in my hurry to get the car. We drank our coffee and they had a bun with it. And we spoke. We said good bye, a little extra this time, as [B] stepped on to the train.¹⁸

At this point it really felt as if we were not to meet again. The situation of being sent out of the country was now one of extreme exposure. They therefore had started making their plans to avoid being fetched by the police and sent to Afghanistan. In the time leading up to this, there had been a lot of not knowing what was to come. This made them look for information on what had happened to other fellow asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan to try and figure out what was going to happen to them, as early

¹⁷ Field note 31, 2007-07-31

¹⁸ Field note 31, 2007-07-31

that he could not go to Afghanistan. When I spoke to him in July, he did not know if he would still be there when I came home (I was on vacation when I phoned him).

[...]

I phoned him last week, without any answer and a couple of days ago I got an answer by text message that he no longer was in the country. He excused himself for not answering, sent his regards to my family and wished me good luck.²¹

This story does not end on a happy note, as the stories of many of my informants have not. There are exceptions, where they have got permanent residence permits and as such reached that goal, but many problems still followed them. What this 'ending' clearly shows is that it is not an ending. Whether the decision is one of permanent residence in Sweden or its opposite, a deportation order, the situation of being a refugee continues. For this study, though, I focus on the situation of waiting while being an asylum-seeking refugee.

What this story has shown is how exposed and dependent the asylum-seeking refugees are at the hands of the Swedish Migration Board and at the hands of a restrictive Swedish asylum policy. Over the year in which the asylum-seeking refugees in this story were temporarily allowed protection in Sweden, the situation altered in that interpretations, policy and practices of the Swedish authorities changed from allowing them to stay to finding ways to send them back. In this story we have also seen that dependence can be found in not knowing what will come next or what will happen to them. We can also see the control they are under in the way they try to avoid being caught by the police and also feelings of resignation are expressed. The story also shows a strong resistance to this situation.

Dependence on others is connected to the process of applying and waiting for decisions, and I take excerpts from the field notes showing how the uncertainty of the process of applying for asylum in Sweden can be compared with a Kafka-like experience (Öberg 2007). On the question of information from the Migration Board on the processes, this is what I was told by one of my informants:

Information on the asylum process, they get in the interviews. They can read a book on the Swedish asylum process, but in the information it says that it should take a maximum of four month for the interview... The

²¹ Field note 38, 2008-08-14

between and the activities of other parties in the process play a role in the situation for the asylum-seeking refugees, which in this case was a disempowering role.

The role of the solicitors and interpreters and how they are sometimes perceived is described in the following excerpt.

On the asylum process: The solicitor does nothing. He receives information from them and passes it on (to the Migration Board), but does not write anything of his own.

At the first interviews they did not get an interpreter in Dari or Pashto, but in Farsi. Therefore there were misunderstandings. They are angry with the officer handling their case for telling them that there were no interpreters in their language. The first interview was very long. First for him and then for her, who was very tired and got an head ache from waiting.²⁴

This excerpt is taken from a conversation on how they had received a negative decision on their application and had seen many mistakes and misinterpretations in the basic data as referred to in the decision. This does not seem to be an exception to how the investigations are handled, having both difficulties with solicitors not doing their job and a lack of good interpretation and translation. However, there are also many highly competent solicitors and interpreters working within the system, but as this excerpt implies there are problems with this situation and an answer to why that may be:

Then they in the same breath said that the solicitors do not do anything! They are the Migration Board's solicitors.²⁵

The difficulties in the process also point to the problem of not understanding what is going on in the process due to language. Although many of my informants have quickly learnt basic Swedish, it is still difficult. It is especially difficult in situations where they need to understand quite difficult information, for example in interviews with the administrators of their applications. In these they normally have interpreters, but the informants are not satisfied with them. There are very few interpreters in their language or dialect, and they feel that it is difficult to communicate and be understood. The informants also describe how the interpreters have problems

²⁴ Field note 4, 2005-06-19

²⁵ Field note 14, 2006-10-24

occasion in which my informants wanted some privacy to be able to show hospitality towards me as a guest.

In my contacts with a married couple where I was the guest, it is clear that they were not comfortable if they could not be good hosts. When they shared the apartment with a woman and her child, they had to negotiate with them to be able to have the apartment for themselves during my visit.

They now live by themselves after the woman and child they shared the apartment had moved. She said that this time they would not give up. They are now going to live by themselves and they do not want anyone else moving in there again.

They have themselves also had to move earlier because the woman they were living with had visitors during the night.

She thought that it was difficult to always have to think of others... When it comes to watching TV, cooking.²⁷

This excerpt shows some of this dependence on others: always having to consider others and not getting to be alone as a family, as in this case with a couple living together with others. As there is a lot of movement at the reception centres, sometimes they might also get to live with someone they really do not like and some combinations do not work.

Outside the home this was also expressed when we, the couple together with my own family, went off to make kebabs and have a picnic. It took some time to look for somewhere where we could be by ourselves. This might seem normal for any family outing, but the difference is that in such a small place and with quite a lot of asylum seekers, they felt that they had to be hospitable to those they knew, and to be honest there were some they did not like very much.

Another example of the difficulties of being put together with other asylum seekers, apart from different dislikes and differences in ways of living, is possible conflicts between individuals or groups as described in the following excerpt.

He talks about living at the 'camp' that some combinations do not work. People from Afghanistan cannot live together with certain other groups, because then there are conflicts. He tells me that he helped a friend change apartment, when the friend did not like where he lived. He and his friends

²⁷ Field note 13, 2006-08-06

This excerpt also shows how they are empowered by social contacts, in this case a good friend he met at the reception centre, someone to share things with. In many cases, though, my informants said that they did not tell each other about the situation or reasons for applying for asylum, but that they always helped out as much as they could with what they have experienced and know about the process.

The woman of the married couple that I was in contact with expressed how she did not have many friends. Sometimes she made friends, but as their situations and statuses changed they moved. She did not have any stable social life at the reception centre. She was in contact with families in other parts of Sweden and in Finland who came on occasional visits and she could visit them. For her, visiting was difficult though due to the cost of travel from the north of Sweden to the south. When they got their permanent residence permits they wanted to move south, to both get away from a place of bad memories and get closer to her friends. It was easier for her husband, who both had prospects for a job and had friends both at the reception centre and in the region. Together they decided to wait for a place near families they knew. They got to know these families at the reception centre. Again, regarding being isolated when waiting for the process to run its course, the story above shows how the asylum-seeking refugees could make friends and how they created a network of social contacts under limited conditions, networks which are then useful in planning for the future.

Another story is of a young woman, who was closely checked by her parents. She was allowed to go to school, but not to involve herself with men. She went to school for the morning session, but stayed in the afternoon as well as she did not want to go home.³¹ This can be seen as a strategy of both the young woman herself, creating a space of action and independence outside the home, but also of her parents, who gave her this opportunity without jeopardising their need to feel in control, as one of the teachers at the school had said she would see to it that their daughter stayed in school.

As a source of recreation some of the informants drank beer or other alcohol and at least on one occasion isolation was also indicated by this, as one informant told me that he liked to drink beer occasionally, but as his friends/co-habitants did not like it, he had to go out and sit in the woods to drink.

*He tells me that he sometimes drinks beer and that he likes it. He cannot drink at home, as the others do not like it. Instead he goes to the woods to drink. He tells me that he has been drinking until he got drunk and by the way he tells me this it seems as if he liked it.*³²

³¹ Field note 21, 2006-11-29

³² Field note 28, 2007-05-31

he is going to go to some courses, one on computers and one in something else. He does not want to be inactive. He has because of different decisions on the way (he came already in September 2002) lost his jobs due to the different negative decisions lost his working permits.³⁵

Similar situations were shared by others as well, but what was showing in these cases was that they tried to get a new occupation or turn to other activities so as not to be forced into complete inactivity, which I will return to under Actions of empowering and more specifically under Keeping oneself occupied.

Keeping oneself occupied and possibilities for keeping oneself occupied also entail disempowerment arising from being exploited and feeling exploited in job training. The informants who were on job training had to balance the feeling of being exploited and that of coping with the situation by seeking empowerment through having something to do.

Yesterday he spoke of a friend who has got a temporary residence permit and does job training at a restaurant and he has a difficult time. He has had his temporary residence permit for seven months but has not been offered a place to live outside the reception centre. He has got his family in Afghanistan and thinks a lot about them. He does not like doing job training at the restaurant. The boss is no good. They work for long hours every day and only get to eat once and only pasta. But he continues to do job training to have something to do.³⁶

This negotiation between the good and the bad of what is offered or supported by the Migration Board returns in many field notes, both concerning the school and, as in this case, job training. For the most part, due to the situation they are in, these things (in principle any activity) are empowering, but never completely so as, for example, in the school they might have to negotiate a negative atmosphere, conflicts and boredom as described in the following excerpt.

He said that he had stopped going to school, because it did not suit him anymore. It was only ABC and then new people came all the time. He thought it was too slow, he already knew that part. He studied at home now instead. He does not do anything else, he does not do job training for example. He just sits at home, and as it turned out plays some pool.³⁷

³⁵ Field note 30, 2007-06-13

³⁶ Field note 20, 2006-11-28

³⁷ Field note 28, 2007-05-31

experiences doing this study. As I said earlier, the extra activities were welcome interruptions to the otherwise struggle to keep themselves occupied by finding their own activities, and at times these activities during their time in waiting could be useful. At the beginning there were more leisure activities organised and/or sponsored by the Migration Board at the smaller reception centre where I worked as a teacher than I later found during the study, especially at the larger and older reception centres. If this was due to changes over time and/or between places and people I am not sure, but in the area in which I have been meeting the asylum-seeking refugees and in general activities initiated by the Migration Board have been decreasing. Importantly, though, there are exceptions, for example a project involving the Red Cross and university students meeting younger asylum seekers is one.

On the agency of refugees Halleh Ghorashi (2005) writes that restrictive refugee policies of the welfare state, in this case those of the Netherlands, have made the asylum seekers dependent and passive. She writes on the relationship between the refugee and the state that their dependence on the state for their subsistence:

...creates a hierarchical relationship between the giver and receiver. It also develops a strong sense that refugees should be 'grateful'. The one who do not fall within this category are considered manipulators. In this context, these negative images of refugees become part and parcel of the dominant discourse of the society in a way that seems almost impossible to change. (Ghorashi 2005: 186)

This hierarchical relationship is what the dependence on allowances and somewhere to live shows. Related to the quote is that, in general, the asylum-seeking refugees are seen as being 'grateful' and behaving as can be 'expected' from a refugee. I later return to this and will describe this as an empowering factor for these asylum-seeking refugees, as they seem to have the 'right behaviour'.

One of the more direct visualisations of dependence is the control they are under during their stay as asylum-seeking refugees in waiting. This is manifested in the rules of what the asylum seeker needs to do to get the allowance and in their duty to report before travelling somewhere. In its extreme form the control is manifested in the police coming to fetch people who have been refused entry or who are going to be sent to the first country of entry in Europe. The asylum seekers' finger prints are recorded at entry into the EU and therefore they are also controlled over borders. Even for those not directly threatened, the symbolic threat of the police is visible in the community of asylum seekers. The control and threat of expulsion also makes the asylum-seeking refugees reflect on what to do if they are rejected.

Emphasising the situation that the asylum-seeking refugees find themselves in as disempowering, I will now also present how the situation can be perceived as disempowering through inhospitality inherent in the reception of asylum seekers in Sweden.

Disempowerment through inhospitality

Inhospitality can be seen in the light of restrictive asylum policies and the concentration on containment and repatriation. In this sense the asylum-seeking refugees are met by a system wanting to restrict their right to immigrate and resettle. It is easy to see how this leads to talk, thoughts and feelings of not being welcome. Coupled to this is also a strong sense of contradictions in how the system works.

On the subject of not being welcome there has been a tendency in Europe, the EU, to see asylum seekers as not really refugees. Refugees have been spoken of only as either 'economic' migrants or as a threat to stable societies by introducing criminality and even terrorism, while the 'real' refugees have been seen as passive victims of circumstances. As the discussion in this thesis shows, refugees are neither economic migrants nor passive victims. Rather, the pictures painted of asylum seekers and refugees are produced for our own purposes.

Restricted entry and reception policies are introduced to protect the society from 'bogus' asylum seekers. The effect of these policies is that refugees in general are seen as untrustworthy, until otherwise proven. (Ghorashi 2005: 193)

The asylum-seeking refugees have to manage a situation in which they are not welcome. They have to prove themselves to be 'real' refugees in the interpretations made of the refugee conventions and even so it is commonly felt that it would be preferable if they were somewhere else and that some other country should deal with their applications or arrangements should be made so that the refugee can 'safely' return. These are the contradictions inherent in the reception of refugees: the right of protection should be maintained while at the same time emphasising repatriation leads to a situation of not being welcome.

The informants are supported in their assumptions of contradictions in this quote by Marfleet (2006):

Since the 1980s all refugees wishing for recognition in countries of the West have been confronted by an apparently contradictory asylum regime. On the one hand, they have been required to demonstrate *individually* their fear of persecution. On the other hand they have been treated increasingly as collectives – as groups to be aliens who pose a general threat to their potential hosts. (Marfleet 2006: 154, emphasis in original)

In this case the asylum-seeking refugees' cases should be treated individually, which is strongly stressed within the Swedish system. At the

contradictions are hard to understand and lead to feelings of frustration and despair.

To give another example of perceived contradictions and not understanding why they are not treated as real refugees, the next excerpt shows how they make sense of their situation⁴⁴, compare it to how other groups are treated and what reasons they might or might not have for seeking asylum.

Concerning the question of who gets to stay many comparisons came up. One example is that they compared their situation with those coming from Iran. Iran has got a good economy. And in Azerbajdzjan...

People from Afghanistan do not have to lie about their situation. Everybody knows how the situation is there.

The Migration Board has a 'law' on who gets to stay and who does not. For example Iranians get to stay but people from Afghanistan do not. It is that "law" that decides who gets to stay and who does not. Sweden has looked a lot to the political situation.

Concerning asylum-seekers from Afghanistan it is very difficult to get away from Afghanistan. People have fled for example over the Aegean Sea, where many have died on the way. They speak of broken families. They mean that it is more difficult to cheat about their origin or come back [to Sweden] if they have to go home. It is not like with the others, for example from the former Soviet Union, who can come and go.

They cannot understand why people from Afghanistan do not get asylum.

[...]

Why do they do not get to stay? It is about politics, the involvement of the US...

And what does it mean that the situation in Afghanistan is no good, and that they cannot be sent back, but still they do not get to stay? ⁴⁵

⁴⁴ See also how this excerpt was used to understand how the asylum-seeking refugees understand the situation.

⁴⁵ Field note 12, 2006-07-18

During his time in Sweden he has also had a down period, could not sleep. He got medicine against that, but taking it made him feel drunk. He does not remember anything and everything gets strange when he takes it. He has still got that medicine.

He has been thinking of taking many pills (as I understand it implying taking his own life), but his thoughts go to his younger brother and younger sister who are still living in Afghanistan with their aunt. What would become of them?⁴⁷

Health and health problems, both physical and psychological, are common and, as described here, also very much present in the stories of the people I have met.

There are signs of inhospitality and outright hostility showing that they are not wanted or welcome by some in Sweden.

She mentioned, talking about the cold weather, that when she spoke to a woman in the queue at the supermarket about how it was cold, a man standing behind them in line had said something like: 'now if it's so cold, go home'.

In connection with this she said that of course she would want to go back to Afghanistan if and when it gets better. She misses 'home'.⁴⁸

On an occasion like this she was reminded that she was not wanted in the country where she had applied for asylum, yet another demonstration of not being welcome as hers and her husband's applications for asylum had been rejected twice. At the same time as this example of not feeling welcome, which ought to lead to feelings of resignation and despair, hope was expressed. Hope was based on expectations of being granted permanent residence permits after making a new application in accordance with the 'temporary law': that they would also be granted permanent residence permits, as it were. At the time of this conversation, though, hope was based on an expectation, however uncertain. The uncertainty was at this time expressed with hope, but with despair just around the corner. The fact that they had felt unwanted in Sweden for some time and were not able to go back had left them in a situation between hope and despair. A feeling of hope at this time is always accompanied with an expectation for worse, for despair. In that way, these emotions go hand in hand. Until this moment

⁴⁷ Field note 27, 2007-05-30

⁴⁸ Field note 7, 2006-04-09

*thing during the interview, when he told them about his situation. There they had said that they understood his situation, that it was difficult and that he ought to be allowed to stay, but that did not happen,... two negatives.*⁵⁰

The contradictions here seem to be between the official juridical mechanism and that of individual officers where the individual officers show a personal understanding of the problems of the asylum-seeking refugee in a personal meeting with him or her (in this case him). In those cases not showing the hard, cold face of the bureaucracy, which is one part of a bureaucratic process, where it is obvious that the migration officers are not to be mistaken purely as representatives of a bureaucracy. They are people as well, and as such they might show an understanding of individual situations without it being the point of view of the bureaucratic legal system. For the asylum-seeking refugee between hope and despair such a contradiction might leave him or her even more disorientated about how his/her case is handled and how to understand the decisions which result. This kind of disorientation can be seen in Norström's (2004) discussion on differences between the 'logos' and 'praxis' of the reception of refugees and how a decision in an individual case goes on in something of a 'black box'. What the excerpt also shows quite clearly is that these feelings were displayed more vividly than usual.

Contradictions such as the contradiction of not getting permanent residence permits and being told to go back, while repatriation could not be enforced by the Swedish authorities are part of the disempowering situation of the asylum-seeking refugees. In many cases repatriation had to be voluntary as the situation in Afghanistan was interpreted as not allowing the Swedish authorities to send people back to Afghanistan against their will. The asylum-seeking refugees came back to this contradiction of not getting residence permits although the situation in Afghanistan was deemed too dangerous to send anyone there.

This contradiction of not getting permanent residence permits and the inability to send them back was resolved with the 'temporary law', giving some of my informants' one-year temporary residence permits. About a year after these asylum-seeking refugees were granted temporary residence permits, there was a change to the interpretation of the situation in Afghanistan, making Sweden able to start forcing people back to Afghanistan, relying on an agreement (2007) with Afghanistan and the UNHCR, which the Swedish migration authorities interpreted as allowing the possibility of sending people back by force. They could do this by relying

⁵⁰ Field note 34, 2007-08-29

made between the governments of Sweden and Afghanistan and the UNHCR on support for asylum seekers returning from Sweden. Regarding the man's original claims of threats to himself and his family in the home province, the Migration Board now saw no reason to decide on that, as the threats were connected to circumstances in the home province and the Migration Board saw no reason why the family would not find protection from these threats in another part of the country. This reasoning was also based on the assumption that the family still in the home province in armed conflict should move to the capital, thereby disregarding the dangers involved for them.

The lesson learned from the decisions of denying these two asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan residence permits is that the Migration Board in these cases makes quite some effort in its elaborate decision-making process so as to deny them taking up residence in Sweden and to be able to repatriate them.

The asylum-seeking refugees' struggle to get recognition for their claims for protection in Sweden is thus negated by an authority that goes to some lengths to keep them out, not surprisingly creating a situation of not being welcome. The Swedish policies on refugee migration are related to and embedded in international policies on refugee migration and in particular in discourses and practices of refugee migration within the EU.

Responding to these contradictions and inhospitality, the asylum-seeking refugees who are threatened with deportation on many occasions ask the rhetorical question: *Why did we flee in the first place, if we did not have to?* It is also self-evident to them that they cannot return: they have fled from a situation to which they cannot return.

From disempowerment through inhospitality we take with us the contradictions perceived and felt and the situation of not being wanted, not being welcome. The asylum-seeking refugees respond to this inhospitality in actions to try and change their situation.

Between hope and despair

The situation described so far, which is mainly disempowering, creates a mix of emotions of being unwelcome, disappointment, resignation and frustration. Although these emotions are the easiest to find that perhaps could be summarised as emotions of despair, the related emotion of hope is, however, constantly present. This leads me to introduce the section on emotions as being something between hope and despair. Hope, because they still believe in the meaningfulness of leaving Afghanistan and seeking asylum in Sweden and to despair of their situation of waiting for decisions and receiving negative decisions.

To be between hope and despair is connected to the temporality of the situation, the way the situation changes over time, for example depending on

together with many of the other asylum-seeking refugees from different parts of the world, filled with expectation and motivation to learn Swedish and about Sweden. On many occasions these ups and downs have had to do with decisions being made by or being awaited from the Migration Board. Both waiting for decisions and receiving negative decisions on their application have led to moments of despair. This despair they have been trying to avoid showing to me, although as their share of disappointments grew, they also showed more resentment against some aspects of the process.

There has also been hope, as when the 'temporary law' came, together with decisions regarding cases of asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan being given residence permits. Finally the couple also got their positive decisions, enabling them to stay in Sweden as permanent residents. This expectation of a positive result and the actual positive result gave new energy and motivation to learn more Swedish, go to school, and move to another place in Sweden with better possibilities for a social life and better prospects for the future. Unfortunately, even after receiving the positive decision, they went into a new period of despair and disappointments while awaiting help with being placed somewhere in Sweden as it took a long time. During this waiting period, staying in the reception centre run by the Migration Board, they had to move to a more depressing (bigger and older) reception centre with lower living standards, and less and not such good contact with the migration officers at that reception centre.

Other emotions related to despair and the inhospitality described in the last section, such as feelings of being unwelcome, come from feeling misunderstood and that Swedish authorities do not understand their difficult situation. They feel that the lack of understanding is manifested in the refusal of their applications for asylum. Some of the asylum-seeking refugees, especially those in job training, feel used. They feel that they are doing regular work and that the employer uses their cheap labour.

Most of the time, such emotions are not expressed. There are exceptions, though, which a story by one of the teachers at the school for asylum seekers told me, of a young man from Afghanistan, who tore down the map of Afghanistan, illustrates.

The teacher told me of a young man from Afghanistan who they had as a pupil, who, when he saw the poster of the map of Afghanistan had torn it down from the wall. The teacher thought he had done this to be mean to his friend, but when he was confronted with this, it showed that he was ashamed of his country, whilst crying and upset.

Sometimes feelings come to the surface, even if the pupils (asylum-seekers) are very good at hiding their problems at school. They are most often quite

expressed in many ways, so is the emotion of hope. The temporality of the situation involves being between hope and despair.

Writing the sections on disempowerment through dependence and inhospitality and on the emotions of hope and despair and the simultaneous reading of Öberg's (2007) account of life for asylum seekers living at a reception centre have made me feel the same resignation I felt when I wrote this memo:

Memo written at approximately 23.00 and after bedtime.

Coping, a new code!? To just barely manage one's situation. To create strategies (or not) to cope with an 'impossible' situation.

This is also linked to the fact that I do not find any specific Basic Social Processes..., which seems to be the mark of good GT. I rather find marks of the situation itself, like for example this code. For that matter maybe this code could be a process? To cope-coping...

The feeling for the time being is that they do not do anything, that the situation is hopeless. Obviously that cannot be it as they precisely cope with the situation.

Coping could be a part of what they do while waiting.⁵³

In my interpretation, this was a decisive point in my research, leading me to questions of from what aspects could the situation just described be coped with and resisted? What do they do to achieve this? And also what could possibly be empowering in this situation?

⁵³ Memo 37, 2006-11-06

Actions of Empowering

It is through the meeting between disempowerment and empowerment that actions of empowering can be constructed to make meaning of the actions taken while waiting. I have found four sub-categories, which are characteristic of empowerment. They are 'to be occupied', 'to have a social network', 'have access to information and communication' and also 'to have the "right" behaviour'.

The relation and separation between the two main categorisations used to describe the situation is no simple one. They describe both structure and action, as can be seen in the lexical meanings of the words made here into concepts. At the same time it is important to keep in mind that disempowerment and empowerment are in a dualism that is relational. This means that although they are described as opposites, the concepts of disempowerment and empowerment are relational and situational. The relation between the two depends on the circumstances of the situation and there cannot be one without the other.

The lexical meaning of 'disempowerment' is: '*A state of powerlessness; the act of depriving a person or group of power*' (Oxford English Dictionary Online 2009). In my interpretation and use of the word the state of powerlessness relates to the seemingly static and structural disempowering factors putting refugees in a state of powerlessness. The asylum-seeking refugees are not powerless, although they are very limited in their power to change the circumstances of the decision on their applications for asylum. They are in a situation which greatly limits their powers, but where there are both empowering factors and actions taken in the direction of more empowerment: seeking empowerment.

The act, or acts, of depriving a person or group of power, though, can more easily be related to a situation where the acts of others limit the powers and space for actions of refugees. Acts in this sense should not be thought of as willed actions by individuals or groups, but rather point to the idea that it is in the practices of human beings through discourse that structures are reproduced and changed. We also have to take into consideration that seemingly disempowering practices can have empowering consequences and vice versa.

The lexical meaning of 'empowerment' is the opposite of disempowerment: '*The action of empowering; the state of being empowered*' (Oxford English Dictionary Online 2009). The case of a state of being empowered must be questioned on the same ground as the state of powerlessness, and in the case of refugees a state of being empowered is quite farfetched. The action of empowering, on the other hand, is very much in line with the discussion to come. Again, though, the actions need not be

conditions, which also include not having to be afraid that anything life threatening may happen to them, make it possible to at least have a base from which to be able to be reflexive about one's situation.

Other empowering structures which have already been mentioned earlier are activities organised by others than the Migration Board aimed at the asylum seekers, such as activities organised, for example, by adult educational associations, organisations like the Red Cross, or, in one case, student groups at a university.

These organised activities are very important in the lives of the asylum-seeking refugees I have met. My observations are strengthened by Brekke (2004) when he looks at the daily life of the asylum seekers. Their activities are often connected to the project in which he makes his study. Some of his informants create routines through their participation in the project, while others come up with other things to do through their contacts with the project. On social contacts he also writes that although the informants in his study seem to spend a lot of time on their own, they all have social networks. Teachers and administrators in the project become contact points with Swedish society. Another point he makes is that they live in isolation from Swedish society. Except for the activities within the project, Brekke draws a picture of quite passive asylum seekers. I have found that, although projects and organised activities are certainly good, the asylum-seeking refugees also create activities outside these. They are not totally dependent on them for activating themselves.

I would like to launch this section on actions of empowering with a story of a celebration of Ramadan. Perhaps it is an exceptional story in the day-to-day lives of the asylum-seeking refugees in this study, but still it points to things also activated in their day-to-day lives.

I will use an excerpt from my field notes to describe this. It is from notes taken on a visit made when they were celebrating the end of the fasting during Ramadan. The festive occasion lasted for three days of which I stayed for a day and half, staying overnight.

I first visited the couple, husband and wife. I came at about three in the afternoon. As usual I was greeted with a lot of little things to eat and a dinner and now as it was a celebration, there was even more. We sat and spoke together until about seven in the evening, when the husband and I went to his friends (who I had met before) where I also stayed overnight.⁵⁴

Although this is a very special occasion, repeated once a year, apart from creating a break from the situation they are in it also shows how they do

⁵⁴ Field note 14, 2006-10-24

Access to information and different means of communication are also important empowering factors for keeping in touch with what is going on and to search for and maintain social contacts.

The TV was on as usual, both at the couple's place and at the friends', with a constant jumping between the channels, mainly between the Afghan channels, especially a private channel transmitting directly from Afghanistan over the whole world. So far it is free to watch, but it will cost money in the future.

One of the friends said that with the new channels they get much better information on what goes on in Afghanistan. News is given in both Pashto and Dari (and English) every hour. It is easier to keep up with what is happening in Afghanistan. It was more difficult with only for example BBC.⁵⁶

The last part of the excerpt shows one way of how my informants keep in touch with what is happening in the world, but also in Sweden, as many of them also follow Swedish TV and news. The internet is another source of information and recreation, as well as being used for communicating with others. The asylum-seeking refugees have access to computers and the internet through, for example, the school and the library and one or two have access at home, which they share with their friends. The internet as a more direct tool for communication with other people is also used to create e-mail accounts to be able to keep in touch with people all over the world. The most important means of communication, though, seems to be the mobile phone. Öberg makes this observation.

The mobile phone is one of the most important belongings for the people at the camp. There is a phone box in the area, but only one box is not enough for six hundred people. Especially for the young men the mobile phone is central. They always carry it with them, they are always accessible. Their mobile phones for the most are out, beside the ashtray on the table, and kept under constant watch. It is as if they all are watching out not to miss even the smallest breaks – a text message or a phone call – in the monotonous everyday life. (Öberg 2007: 25, my translation)

The observation made in the quote above on the use of the mobile phone as a tool for a break from the difficult and dull everyday is certainly true. The mobile phone, though, also serves as a very important communication tool, both between friends at the reception centre and between the asylum-seeking refugees and friends and relatives in Sweden and the rest of the

⁵⁶ Field note 14, 2006-10-24

Brekke (2004) brings up an interesting discussion on 'return – just not an option', in which the thought of repatriation is always there, not as an alternative, but always present. This is an important finding, both in the way he finds it as something always present in the stories of his informants, but also as something that they do not readily speak about. In my study 'return – just not an option' was very apparent. Some of the asylum-seeking refugees, when receiving negative decisions and exposed to being forced by the police to leave Sweden for Afghanistan, either prepared to go to into hiding or to leave the country. And some I know also had to follow this through. Also in the group of asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan there are those who have been transported to Kabul in Afghanistan after the decision that some areas of Afghanistan were safe and that there were internal alternatives to seeking refuge outside the country.

On being sent back to Afghanistan and on the question of whether he knew anyone who had been sent back to Afghanistan from for example Germany or Norway from where Afghans are being sent back he says that he does not know of anyone and that nobody returns to Afghanistan. One looks for some other place to flee to. Nobody returns. Why would one flee the first time if one did not need to!?⁵⁷

In this excerpt it is made obvious that nobody returns. This is a thing which is spoken about as something that goes without saying. 'Nobody returns' is stressed on several occasions when asked what they are going to do when they get negative answers on their applications for asylum and are threatened with being sent back at some point. For them there is no question that they have fled from something that they cannot return to. But what happens when the Swedish view is that the person is not in need of asylum, protection and a better place to live, at least not enough to grant the person permanent residence in the country? On such an occasion the person and his or her choice to seek asylum can be viewed as being declared incapacitated in his or her capacities to choose where and how to live, a situation which ought to damage the meaningfulness of the project to get to stay in Sweden, but instead it leads to more activity and resistance, as for example in demonstrations for their rights as asylum seekers, to try to change the mind of the authorities.

Participating in demonstrations arranged by different pressure groups for the rights of asylum seekers and refugees in general was one way of searching for the meaningfulness of the project and joining others in the resistance. These demonstrations could be followed on the website of the

⁵⁷ Field note 28, 2007-05-31

empowerment. In this case empowerment stems from the structures of having an association dealing specifically with issues of people coming from Afghanistan and from having an organisation like the Swedish Committee for Afghanistan with a long history of cooperation with the country of Afghanistan. But also, from what has appeared in the media and from me speaking to people involved with asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan, asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan are also seen as nice hard-working people by many people. This last remark lies behind me speaking of having the 'right behaviour' as an empowering factor.

During the protests I talked to some of the young male asylum-seeking refugees I was in contact with about the agreement (2007) on repatriation between the governments of Afghanistan, Sweden and the UNHCR was questioned.

We spoke about the agreement between Sweden, the Afghan government and the UNHCR which said that it was ok to send people from Afghanistan home (voluntarily as they and I had understood it). In the agreement the Afghan government and the UNHCR say that they can take care of those who come back. One of them thinks this means that this is a lie. He was very irritated. They have not had time or been able to take care of those who have already been made to go back. He mentioned the number of 70,000 (from the neighbouring countries). He said to this that the Taliban would now receive 400 new followers if those being exposed to forced repatriation were really deported.⁵⁹

The four hundred new followers of the Taliban would then be those, in his calculation, asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan who were at the time threatened with being forcibly repatriated from Sweden, pointing to the contradiction of sending him back to the uncertainty of making a living in Afghanistan, and he commented that the only way to make a living in Afghanistan for returnees was to join a criminal gang, deal in drugs or join a mob of some kind. This was a situation that in his interpretation would lead to repatriates joining the Taliban, thus creating an even more difficult situation in Afghanistan than already existed.

In an attempt to resist this situation and the agreement between the governments of Sweden, Afghanistan and the UNHCR, some of the asylum-seeking refugees had also written to the government in Afghanistan to get an answer from them on the deportations. At other earlier instances I know that some asylum-seeking refugees had written to the Swedish government and

⁵⁹ Field note 31, 2007-07-31

of origin, integration in the host country or resettlement in a third country, assume that mobility ends and that it is only temporary. This assumption, Monsutti says, is not correct: instead mobility can be a life strategy. A point made in Monsutti's article is that we should look at the asylum-seeking refugees not as mere victims, but also as people having access to different kinds of resources. These are resources, which in my analysis might empower them. *'The refugees are not mere victims, they have social, economic and political assets that they are able to mobilize. Mobility is one of them'* (Monsutti 2008: 72).

In view of the meaningful project the observation that the refugees have resources to mobilise is also shown in the actions taken towards not giving up hope of some day getting to reside somewhere safer and not being sent back to somewhere they do not want to be. The main asset relating to the quote above in my analysis is the asset based in social relations stretching from the closest friendship group to friends and relatives living in different places around the world, friends and relatives from before they left Afghanistan and friends and relatives they have met and/or communicated with while in flight and while waiting in Sweden.

The asset I have found most useful in the situation as described here is the use of their social network and actions connected to that. Mobility in the sense of this situation is mostly seen as an emergency plan, to be used if everything else fails, at least when it comes to continued international migration. Within Sweden they are sometimes able to move around, using their network of friends and family, for longer or shorter periods of time. The ability to hide from the Swedish authorities is built on social contacts.

With reference to Antonovsky and the concept of a sense of coherence, Brekke (2004) discusses the asylum seekers' situation through incomprehensibility, which points to the fact that the challenges that were met were random and chaotic, which made it difficult to comprehend the asylum process. Regarding manageability, the asylum seekers were not in a position to influence the outcome of their application for asylum, and in their everyday life they felt that they were not in control, so they felt powerless in contact with the Swedish system. Brekke writes that to regain control his informants had to act as if they already knew the decision on the application. On the concept of meaningfulness Brekke states that:

On the one hand the basis of their situation, the flight and following existence in exile was highly meaningful. They presented their stories as if they had little or no choice but to flee. Getting away from their homeland and seeking protection and residency in Sweden was absolutely a meaningful project. This made the potential for a strong motivation to cope with their situation and integrate in Sweden. However, for many it seemed to remain a potential due to the prevailing uncertainty.

A negative decision would drain the meaningfulness of their project. (Brekke 2004: 56)

felt meaningful. Going to school gives them something to do, but the level of education is not that good and they do not feel that they make progress. Doing job training, on the other hand, also gives them something to do, but to get job training one has to find a place on one's own, which is not that easy, and when taking part in job training many express how they feel used as cheap labour.

There are few meaningful activities to participate in, so to kill time the men I met and spoke to might play some pool or table tennis at the meeting place for the asylum seekers at the reception centre, watch TV and listen to music, drink and smoke and hang out with friends. Excerpts from the following field note can describe what a day can be like.

I came to the school at around nine. There was an unusually large amount of participants at the school. It later came to light that both the morning and the afternoon groups went in the morning. There was no school in the afternoon.

[...]

I contacted [A] and [B] by text message and asked if we could meet.

[C], [D] and [E] from Afghanistan were at school. I spoke quite a lot with [C] after the lessons were finished. He sat with his book that he translates page by page and he has now got to about page 70. He is really persistent and the book he reads is not the easiest. He even finds typing-errors here and there.

[...]

...He [C] means that he no longer can describe himself as a practising Muslim, as he does things which are forbidden in the Koran, like drinking alcohol. He earlier for example said that today, this sunny summer's day would be perfect to go down to the waterside and have a couple of beers.

[...]

[C] had gotten three days off from the job training at a neighbouring small town, because there were not that many people around because it was a national holiday.

[A] came by the school on his way to the solicitor. He said he would phone when he was done, but he never phoned.

When [B] gets back from the supermarket we go up to their apartment, where [C] and [B] share a room and [G] from Zimbabwe has his own room and [H] from Russia sleeps in the living room.

[B] starts cooking and [C] and I speak for a while. They have a keyboard in their room and I ask if it is he who plays, but no it is [B] who tries to learn how to play. He wants to learn how to play the guitar.

After a while [G] comes home.

[...]

[B] and [C] are finished preparing dinner. [G] stays to eat.

[...]

[B] for some reason is trying to learn to eat with chopsticks.

After clearing the table we go down to the pond, where [B] wants to go swimming. The rest of us stay out of the water. He jumps into the water and as I said he swims quite well. The others cannot swim. One of them says that he can swim if the water is only a metre deep. He immediately pulled out his book and dictionary to read a little. He always brings a book and dictionary so that he can read. [G] finds a ball and someone to play with. I take out my note book, but do not get to write much before it is time to play some volleyball. I have time to play for a short while, but have to go to meet [I] at the restaurant where he works. [B] joins me to show me the fastest way to the station.

[B] once again says when we leave that he must find a job for the summer when there is nothing to do. The school is closed... When we go [C] and [G] asks if they should join us, they have nothing to do either...

I leave them with the aim to go to the restaurant, but change my mind. There is not enough time to go see [I]. Instead I walk directly to the station, tired and with a headache in the 'heat'... [At about 17.30]⁶³

In one way or the other this excerpt contains details about most of what they do to occupy themselves. This was one of the first days of summer in early June and energy might have been higher than usual. Still, I argue that these

⁶³ Field note 29, 2007-06-05

language and to get the latest news from different sources in addition to watching Swedish cable TV. Another use of the TV is that the TV is almost always on as a diversion in the background. They all also have CD players and radios. Some go to the school or library to surf the internet. Other sources for recreation and diversion are playing sports, going swimming, playing pool and for some smoking and drinking are sources of recreation and a diversion, as we have seen in the excerpt above. It is important to note that when I speak of these things to do as observations made when in the company of the asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan, it is for the most part men I am speaking of as I was able to be a part of the male circle of friends and their activities, but was not able to follow women and their activities.

For most of the informants learning is very important, in the provided school as well as from other sources. Except for a wish to learn more Swedish they want to learn, for example, English, to play the guitar, the piano and more. This is also a way to self-improve, but, I feel, just as much an indicator of wanting to have something to do, to have projects running all the time. To occupy time by having things to do is often also described as a way to break off from thoughts on one's own situation and the process one is in.

In order to speak of the importance of keeping oneself occupied, we need to get back to participation in the organised activities as an important activity. Going to school to learn Swedish is the first activity they get engaged with and most of my informants take advantage of this opportunity. From going to school, many later do job training or express a wish to do job training. Although many take part in these organised activities it is not as straightforward as to think that they are always empowering for the asylum-seeking refugees. In their activity though, they can divert their attention to something other than their own situation and can learn new things.

There are drawbacks, as we have seen, which they have to negotiate. When it comes to school, the working environment is not always the best and is often not suited for each of the individuals. The job training is most often, with a few exceptions, working in a restaurant/pizzeria. At first they learn things, but later they do the normal work and even do long and late hours, without pay. Many prefer to do job training, even with this background, to have something to do. The informants also stress the obligation for people to work, although they also feel used and in principal feel that the use of free (cheap) labour is wrong. In the negotiation there might also on occasion be smaller benefits, like eating some meals at the restaurant, getting cigarettes and perhaps being able to use the job training to negotiate for further benefits and in the end a paid job. Doing job training and the wish to do job training, to get a regular job and the drawback of doing job training are discussed in many field notes.

The conversation upon which this excerpt is based also partly took place at one of the restaurants in the small town. At this restaurant he knew the owner and the people doing job training there and therefore could offer me coffee and a biscuit for free. As such the involvement in job training through the contacts made there at least gave him some benefits and a somewhat enlarged space for action.

In relation to how the situation of asylum seekers is described as one of passivity, my interpretation also says something about and concentrates on the activity in their management of the situation. In Brekke (2004) it can be seen that our analysis on the management of the situation differs. Partly this is related to the material at hand, but also partly related to how data has been collected (constructed). Where he has interviewed his informants on separate occasions, I have talked and spent time with my informants over time. Where he has seen reflectivity, passivity and waiting, I have also seen action and a search for acting in resistance to passivity and just waiting. His view can be visualised in the following quote:

In the interviews I asked the asylum-seekers what they did during a normal day and on weekends. The stories they told naturally included the organized courses that were the focal point of this study. These were central elements of activity in day-to-day lives dominated by reflection, passivity and waiting. (Brekke 2004: 26)

The importance of organised activities and having something to do, which are also stressed in this study, is clear in this quote. It is also clear that if I had not taken another route than that of 'just' interviewing I would have got the same answers indicating a life of doing nothing. But when following them and speaking to them in their daily life and of situations in their daily life, it has been made clear to me that they also resist this situation of passivity and 'just' waiting. The concentration on passivity and activity is probably a result of different approaches to the lives and situation of asylum-seeking refugees, but probably also a methodological difference.

The importance of activity and to be occupied can also be discussed in relation to time. In a study on asylum seekers living in reception centres in the Netherlands the importance of time is presented. Time is discussed through long waiting periods, restrictions, insecurity, uncertainty and boredom. In the study they also relate to past trauma and to the difficulties faced in the reception of asylum seekers in the Netherlands (Dupont, Kaplan et al. 2005).

As a result AZC residents must develop elaborate coping strategies in order to "kill time", past, present and future. (AZC – "Asielzoekercentra", Asylum Seekers Centre.) (Dupont, Kaplan et al. 2005: 28)

It would perhaps be strange to call this empowering, but on the other hand it gives a break and it is a way to kill time. Killing time can also be understood through the organised activities, as in the following excerpt.

I asked him why he had started school again. He said that it was good, to have something to do. It is not good just to sit and having nothing to do, and to think. One got so tired from that.

He also said later that it is good to have a lot to do. The best he said, was to work a lot. Work and sleep. If one worked a lot, one did not have to think so much. When one works there is no time to think of anything else.⁶⁷

Here it is quite clear how he uses having something to do, to forget about the situation: it results in not having to think so much.

The importance of keeping oneself occupied points to three functions, which have been touched upon. Firstly there is the importance of keeping oneself occupied, to kill time, to get a break from the situation for a while. The other is to try and learn things by keeping themselves occupied.

They both had started to learn a little English. They had photocopied a Swedish-English book on grammar and took sentences from there. So they learnt English from Swedish. One of them, it showed, had learnt some.

The other also tries to learn to play the piano, but it is difficult when one does not know the songs in the exercise book. He asked if there was any DVD on how to play.

At their home there were a number of books on how to learn Swedish and dictionaries that they had borrowed from the library.⁶⁸

This is a picture of the eagerness to learn new things, although it is also expressed how difficult it is to learn in the situation they are in. Although the situation at times seems desperate, they still try and improve their situation by learning. This says something about the desire to stay above the surface and not drown in their difficult situation. These learning activities, such as learning languages, showing interest in the world and playing instruments, among other things, are all meaningful as well as a way of staying occupied.

The third aspect is the importance of keeping oneself occupied through social contacts. One meeting point for the asylum-seeking refugees was the

⁶⁷ Field note 33, 2007-08-09

⁶⁸ Field note 28, 2007-05-31

One of the things going on in the social networks is that they help each other out. Although not talking about their individual circumstances concerning their application for asylum, they help each other out with advice and information about how an interview is conducted and how they can prepare. They also help each other out when it comes to living quarters. If someone is placed in an apartment he does not like, it is possible to get help to move. The best source for information about the asylum process is through friends and acquaintances. Help with translations and interpretation is sometimes also provided within the group, when it does not concern the more official contacts with the Migration Board.

Before the interviews they speak among themselves about the interviews. But not regarding their own cases, which might be very different and personal and one does not speak to each other about what one says about one's situation in the interviews.⁷⁰

It would later be revealed that among closer friends they are more open about their situation and what they said in their applications, but the observation that they are still reluctant to share the information with the bigger group was still there. Regarding these social contacts it seems as if many of my informants want to keep their integrity and privacy even amongst their closest friends at the reception centre. In the excerpt above it is shown that they keep a distance between themselves to protect their integrity. Keeping integrity intact seems to be an important part of their presentation of themselves, but as I later discovered, among closer friends too more delicate information concerning their situation and activities is shared. Although reluctant to share the most private information, they still help each other to prepare for what would be asked in the interviews, what documents to take and what the process is like.

Help is also given on more day-to-day issues like helping each other out with living arrangements and cooking. A simple example of this is the following excerpt.

At their place it was very nice, neat and tidy with TV, internet and stereo. As usual they were very hospitable with tea with snacks and later on dinner. As always I asked them how they learnt to cook, as they all say that in Afghanistan they could not cook. In Afghanistan it was the women who cooked. One of them said that they learn from each other; those who have been in Sweden longer teach those who have recently arrived. He himself learnt from others who had been in Sweden longer than him, and now he

⁷⁰ Field note12, 2006-07-18

Migration had made a statement one could read at Migration Board's homepage. I said I would look that up as well.⁷²

As special cases, and related both to within the group of people from Afghanistan and those outside, are the organisations working for the rights of asylum seekers. With the decision by the Migration Board and migration courts that it was safe to repatriate (by force if not voluntarily) to Afghanistan there have been many protests and demonstrations, including hunger strikes, which have been supported by both organisations particularly concerned with refugees from Afghanistan and others, including political parties.

Within the group of people from Afghanistan (either asylum seekers or not) smaller groups of friendship networks are formed. In these groups they seem to have closer connections and for example know more about each other than within the bigger group. At times these groups seem to be substitutes for the closer family lost or left behind. An example of this is the activity around a medical emergency for one person in a group, where his closest friend took it upon himself to arrange for the friend to get medical care and for other persons close to the friend to get the relevant information. In this special case he also used a contact outside the closest group, me. He knew that I was sometimes in the town where the person was hospitalised and asked whether, if that were so, I could visit him there. Unfortunately I was not there at that time. This same person also visited at the hospital later. This case was also taken up outside the closer group, as other acquaintances went to visit at the hospital.

He phoned me this morning. Apparently [A] had to go to [big town] urgently yesterday. He had first gone to [another big town] and then on to [the big town]. He says that parts of the body do not work and that [A] cannot speak. He spoke to the doctor, but they did not know really.

He asked if I was in [the big town], but I am not.

He said that his wife was not at home either, she is down south or abroad, he did not really know. But she knows what has happened, according to him.

He was coming to my town later, but was in a hurry. He would perhaps go to [the big town]. He promised to phone and tell me how things were.⁷³

⁷² Field note 16, 2006-11-02

⁷³ Field note 22, 2006-12-18

reception centres makes them more exposed to there not being any other (or very few) women to be with at times leading also to inactivity.

She says that it is like being in prison to be in [small town], as it is now. She has got nothing to do. She does not feel like going out to just to take a walk, without having something to do. To the question if she could go to second hand shop (Red Cross), she said that it is not nice there. It is just going in there to watch, one just wants to leave again. She does not have any other contacts in the small town.⁷⁶

Although the situation for the men is better, still the number of fellow asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan only amounts to between 10 and 20 persons at the reception centres I have visited. Other things exposing the women more to isolation from a network of social contacts are some of the traditions, where they do not participate in the same social spaces as men.

The organised activities provide both meeting places and people to create social networks with. The teachers at the school are such an example of giving support to their pupils, the asylum seekers. At the school I visited this was shown in their open door policy and their readiness to answer questions and explain different things to them, but also by caring and listening to their different problems.

The teachers seem very involved with the students and ask them if there is something bothering them and such. Like in the example with the woman teacher and a young woman from Afghanistan, who she asked today in the afternoon how she was, when she thought she looked tired. The young woman did not want to talk then, it was a 'woman's' problem of some kind. She (the young woman) said that maybe she would to talk on Monday.⁷⁷

They also get help from the teachers in other ways, for example through asking for translations of prescriptions or of letters from their solicitors or from the Migration Board.

Some of the asylum seekers come with small notes, asking for translations. The teachers have plenty to do during breaks or when the students work by themselves. Some ask, but it seems that many more have questions, but keep them to themselves. There are not many occasions to get the attention from the teachers (who do what they can, but with more than 100 students

⁷⁶ Field note 18, 2006-11-12

⁷⁷ Field note 21, 2006-11-29

the internet, supports their communication with a wider social network. The initiative though comes from them.

The importance of the social network cannot be more stressed. It is difficult to know the extent to which the social network is used and supports them while waiting and in their actions of empowering. Both the empowerment and disempowerment of social contacts needs to be looked into more than has been done in this study. What I would like to stress in summing up the importance of the social network is the importance of both close friends and relatives and more distant friends and relatives. I am not only stressing the access to these social networks, but perhaps even more so the actions to search for new contacts and maintain old ones.

Related to the search for and maintaining of a social network is the representation they make of themselves as individuals and as a group. Some of these aspects have already been discussed through the evaluations they make between community and integrity in their evaluations of how much to tell different people of their own situation and that of others. I have also discussed how I have interpreted the asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan as having the 'right' behaviour and we have seen how they relate to work and occupation. These things and more on the representation of self will be taken up in the next section.

Representing the self

On hospitality: Giving protection to a guest, even if it means risking one's own life. Rather die, than say where the person is.⁸⁰

I discussed earlier how disempowerment was related to inhospitality. The above was said when someone received a negative decision on their application. This was perhaps the most striking action of representations of themselves, a representation made in direct opposition to the inhospitality of the situation. The conversation took place during the time between a negative decision on their first application and an announcement about the decision on their appeal that they, husband and wife, were now waiting for. Most of the conversation at this time was around trying to understand why they did not get to stay and that they were really tired of waiting. As we can see this relates directly to not being welcome in Sweden. In the same quite emotional and open conversation the following statement was also made.

A yes is always a yes and a no is always a no, even after death.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Field note 4, 2005-06-19

⁸¹ Field note 4, 2005-06-19

Using humour in this way to create an understanding of the situation and as a way to communicate uncertainties among friends is empowering, strengthening the social contacts and finding a vent for closed-in feelings. The situation of temporality and the feelings of uncertainty in themselves though are disempowering. But relating to these feelings in this way can create a base for empowerment.

The use of humour is often cynical, related to disagreement with and disbelief about the situation they are in. I have also found that some of my informants use religion and other personal beliefs to cope with the situation, thus creating a base from which to search for meaning. This base and search for meaning have also resulted later in actions to control the situation and challenge it, seeking empowerment. In all this there is a search for the known, that is, to look for something one recognises and knows in one's self and one's experiences.

The representations of themselves are reflections of how they want to be and be seen, as well as a source for searching for meaning. In the search for the known there are examples of seeking tradition and religion, and both these things can be demonstrated in the following excerpt from the field notes.

Yesterday and today there was a lot of secretiveness and closed doors so as not to mix men and women. The woman had to stay in the kitchen. I could not even say thank you and good bye, because there was another man there for lunch.

We, the couple and I, talked about Islam and the Koran, which they defended against the Bible. It seems as if they have become more religious (especially the woman), or is it just that they show more now.⁸³

The first part of this excerpt points to actions that were identified as being in line with their traditions. Traditions that meant that men and women did not eat together and that the woman should not be present when the man entertained guests. The second is a comment on the fact that during the time I had known this couple it seemed as if they resorted more to religion than they had when I first got to know them, which can also be seen in an excerpt from a later conversation with the couple.

A comment about the meal is that now and a few times earlier on he prayed after the meal, earlier in the company of another man, but now also when it

⁸³ Field note 14, 2006-10-24

A central point in the self-representation as mentioned above is to be hospitable. Self-representation is strongly related to presenting a polite, reliable and hospitable face, so much so that today I take these traits for granted in my informants and also in approaching new informants. I now 'know' that it is not a good idea to eat a big meal before a visit. In all but a few cases there have been meals and/or snacks offered and it is 'mandatory' as a gesture of politeness to enjoy this hospitality. When I have asked about these things they have stressed the importance of this hospitality. To be polite, reliable and hospitable seems to be something they are comfortable with and is described as something they know from traditions back home, which are sometimes described when they talk about this.

Despite the fact that they presented themselves as not being very good cooks, they still offered a meal. This, because, as one of them said: This is the way to do things, one does not feel good if a visitor leaves without having had something to eat and drink and one serves the best the house has to offer. Otherwise it feels shameful. It does not feel good.⁸⁷

On being reliable and being polite and the management of feelings I refer this excerpt from field notes:

Earlier in the morning we had talked about showing feelings. I said that I felt like people from Afghanistan kept their feelings on the inside and said that they were ok, when in fact they were not. He said that this is true. They are taught as children not to show feelings. He does not think that this is good. Although he does not think that it is good, he is that way himself. Most often he is able not to show his feelings, but sometimes it shows. Once at a meeting with a municipal integration administrator he was asked how he felt. He had said that he was all right. She had said that, it shows that you are not. He had answered her: No, but what can we do about that... Why show, so that others also get sad?⁸⁸

To manage one's representation of self in the management of difficult situations could perhaps be seen as stoical and a way to take pride in one's acts towards others.

Although it is expressed as disempowering to have one's psychological powers lowered, the way it is talked about is a way to dissociate oneself from such a self and to relate back and take pride in a known self, which has a better grasp on things. The problem of not being at one's best is expressed

⁸⁷ Field note 24, 2007-03-18

⁸⁸ Field note 34, 2007-08-29

authorities, and sticking to one's principles are other ways of representing oneself in searching for meaning and relating to the known self.

Another important part of self-representation and of the meaningfulness of the project is justifying one's own reasons for applying for asylum, often by a comparison with other groups. In the comparisons made between themselves and other groups of asylum-seeking refugees it is clear that they try and justify their own reasons for getting to stay. This is sometimes done with the same misunderstandings or disqualification of others' reasons that they feel that they themselves are victims of. Instead of pointing to a restrictive system towards immigration, they point to people taking advantage of the situation. In that way they reinforce the image of asylum seekers as bogus, not really in need of protection, protection that they themselves are in need of but do not get. This reasoning I see as taken from the general discourse described earlier in which it is with suspicion one should look on people who seek refuge in Sweden and the rest of the EU. It seems as if the asylum-seeking refugees in many aspects have picked up on that. When they make these comparisons, though, it is much more urgent than for most, as for them it can be seen as a fight over the scarce resource of refuge. Asylum is what only a few get and therefore one needs to prove one's situation is worse than others.

Self-representation has a lot to do with how the person searches for the known self and how he or she wants to be seen by others. It is clear that in many examples of how they present and represent themselves, they take pride in what they do and in their meaningful project. In their representations they respond to the situation they are in and it is perhaps not so strange that I have found that they want to relate to themselves as hospitable, reliable and polite in the face of an unwelcoming and contradictory asylum process. It is also made obvious that they, through their representations, take pride in themselves and that they are not letting the situation get them down that easily.

I want to turn the effect of the situation on its head and relate this element of not letting the situation get them down that easily to this quite exceptional content from a conversation.

On the train he had said he knows all the people from Afghanistan (and many others for that matter) at the camp. He has helped when they have come. With interpretations, guiding through shops and such. He also helped some people from Kurdistan and Iran with interpretations.

He also said that he had many good memories from the camp and the small town, in the form of friends. But it was mixed with memories of the bad situation with the Migration Board and his own situation. He had felt good in the small town in the beginning.

of view of the importance of doing something they find meaningful, like learning different things and growing as persons.

While engaged in activities the asylum-seeking refugees engage in social contacts, both searching for new contacts and maintaining old. The importance of these social contacts as a source of empowerment is clear through how they help each other out in different ways. To keep in touch and to create new contacts the internet and the mobile phone are important as they and their friends and relatives are on the move or live far away.

The activities that the asylum-seeking refugees engage in also demonstrate how they represent themselves. These representations are visualised in how they are eager to understand the situation they are in and in their search to represent themselves from the point of view of what feels comfortable and known to them. They do this, for example, through humour and by engaging in traditions. The representation of the self involves representing themselves as hospitable and reliable, as well as demonstrating a strong resistance and integrity towards the situation.

In what follows I will discuss questions such as: What is the relation between these actions of empowering and seeking empowerment? How can the concept of empowerment be deployed to understand these activities? And how can we understand seeking empowerment through agency, change and the limitations of spaces of action?

To do this I will integrate the empirical findings of the situation as disempowering and the management of it as actions of empowering with theories that can illuminate how the disempowering situation leads to activity in the form of actions of empowering and how I interpret this as seeking empowerment.

Seeking Empowerment

I argue that the situation described creates the need for seeking empowerment from and within the situation. Seeking empowerment in that sense is born out of the situation the asylum-seeking refugees in this study are in. In that way there is a need to discuss how the mainly disempowering situation can lead to actions of empowering and seeking empowerment from the point of view of empowerment and how agency, in this case referred to as seeking empowerment, is related to resistance and change and to emotions as triggering the actions and thoughts of the situation.

Bengt Starrin's (2007) presentation of the attitude of empowerment in contrast to paternalism gives me an opportunity to apply the concept of empowerment. The paternalistic way of thinking builds on the assumption of subordination. It assumes that people in general and people in exposed situations in particular are not capable of knowing what is best for them and that this is for experts and authorities to know and decide on. In short this could describe the situation the asylum-seeking refugees are in: a situation which is studied in academia (the experts) and decided on among officials and politicians (the authorities). This situation has been discussed within a framework of forces driving towards this paternalism, visualised with a preferential right of interpretation, with a background in national discourse on migration, refugee migration and asylum seekers and in a wider context of nationalism and global forces of racism in relation to gender.

The empowerment way of thinking distances itself from the assumption of subordination and instead concentrates on the horizontal relations between people. The empowerment way of thinking deals with the difficulties of resolving a situation where a person is violated, humiliated or otherwise reduced (Starrin 2007). It is the resolving of this situation that has been discussed as constituting actions of empowering and will be put into context here.

The relation between disempowerment and empowerment contains structure and agency, as well as discourse and practices. Even though structure and discourse is there beforehand, so to speak, action is needed to maintain and/or to change it. And at the same time all social actions create structure and discourse. This means in this presentation that the situation of disempowerment versus empowerment contains structure and agency, as well as discourse and practices. What is disempowering or empowering is dependent on the context of when, where, what and how. This is also why seemingly obvious situations of disempowerment at times hold possibilities for empowerment.

The issue of change, in this case in relation to empowerment, will be approached through the individual's ability to change circumstances in

motivation to act, while the external means firstly that they seek education and secondly help from others. In this sense the external coping strategies correspond to what I discuss as actions of empowering, that are related to internal processes of emotions and through the meaningful project. Another of her findings is that '*Externalised coping strategies indicate the actions participants took in order to re-establish a higher level of agency through their different coping strategies*' (Healey 2006: 267) .

In relation to this space of action and the creation of it we have to look at what triggers this creativity in the individual. What makes change possible from the individual's point of view in relation to society? What triggers the actions of empowering?

To do this I will present how the concept of empowerment in reference to empowerment as the establishment of power to resist relates to the struggle for recognition from a subordinate position. Seeking empowerment will then be discussed through how challenges to the act trigger reflexivity and changed actions and how, when perceived legitimate expectations and claims are refused, a struggle begins. Emotions will then be discussed as playing an important role in all social relations and it will be shown how emotions are stirred by inhibitions to the act, triggering reflexivity and actions of resistance. Finally emotions will be related to stress, coping and appraisal of the situation and to the relation between the emotions of hope and despair and shame and pride found in this research.

Empowerment

Empowerment expresses both the aim and the means behind resisting the disempowering forces that keep the asylum-seeking refugees subordinated and gives them more influence over their lives and a bigger space of action. Actions of empowering help the asylum-seeking refugees to resist the mainly disempowering situation. I have called this seeking empowerment, following my sensitising concept of 'searching for': searching for ways out of the situation and managing the situation while suffering it. Empowerment came up as a word in one of my memos and I thought that it was not based in any previously read theory or rather there was no direct link to such a theory. In retrospect, revising the literature, I now acknowledge that the link to theory was closer than I first realised.

The concept of empowerment is often connected to the American civil rights movement, the women's liberation movements, liberation movements in the third world and different self-help groups. Today the concept is associated with groups which are seen as weak in society. Empowerment as described in the literature (Askheim and Starrin eds. 2007) seems to be something carried out by professionals and researchers upon people in difficult situations. It is focused on the participation of the sufferers of a situation and on empowerment as a working tool to help 'them' from the

actions that can be taken can be more or less constrained by conditions and circumstances, and whether people know what is best for them or not, is not the issue: the power and space of action needed to be able to interpret, make choices and act on situations, are.

The different positions described by Askheim are empowerment as the establishment of the power to resist, as a market-orientated approach or as a therapeutic position. The position of empowerment as the establishment of the power to resist breathes the same air as my own definition, in that the focus is on the relationship between the individual and the structural conditions of society. It is about raising consciousness among people about the structural conditions limiting their power. People's place in the world is not taken for granted, but is a result of human activity and as such can also be changed. The position more closely linked to a market-orientated view takes as its starting point the independent free individual. The individual is seen as the one who is the most competent to act rationally and choose among services offered in his or her own best interest. The market's mechanisms are, in this view, the best to provide for these needs. The therapeutic position limits empowerment to an individual psychological process of consciousness rising.

Interestingly there is a convergence in the focus on the individual as the person who can know what is best and choose in his or her own best interest between the neo-liberal market-orientated view and the radical left's concentration on the establishment of power to resist. From the neo-liberal point of view it is about a focus on the consumer, with the market as the best service provider. From the left it is about a critique of an over-paternalistic state in favour of pluralism.

My use of the concept of empowerment is in line with the view of establishing power to resist and about the individual's efforts to challenge the powers limiting their space of action. However, in my use it is not about raising consciousness among the asylum-seeking refugees, but about their own actions from a subordinated position. I will now discuss the efforts to challenging the power limiting their spaces of action and what triggers such actions of empowering.

Seeking empowerment through emotions in and of the situation

The creativity in seeking empowerment arises from the emotions that the challenges from the relation between disempowerment and empowerment evoke. To support this reasoning I rely on two theoretical assumptions. One is that challenges and obstacles to a person's 'normal' activities start a process of reflection, and the other is that emotions generate a need for knowledge. These help us to understand the creativity behind the actions of empowering and why searching and seeking is so fundamental for managing

The stories of trying to get the right information through to the Migration officers in charge are marked by their dependence on these individual Migration officers' competence when handling their asylum application, the competence of interpreters and solicitors and in many cases on support from contacts with other people coming from Afghanistan, asylum-seeking refugees as well as people granted residence permits and other contacts within the Swedish community. To get the information on the situation of asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan as a group through to the Swedish authorities are visualised through the participation in demonstrations against the repatriation of asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan. The demonstrations are also based on contacts made between the asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan themselves, supported by the Afghan community in Sweden, and Swedish associations and politicians supporting their struggle.

The search for recognition can in this sense be understood through the importance of social relations. To have a social network is discussed as something empowering within the situation and I have found that the asylum-seeking refugees search for and maintain social contacts. The creation and maintenance of a social network empowers the individual asylum-seeking refugees and make the struggle for recognition and seeking empowerment possible. I have shown how the informants in this study search for and maintain social contacts through how they help each other out within the group of asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan at the respective reception centres, how they seek contacts with people outside this community, both within the Afghan community and the Swedish community, as well as how they search for and maintain contacts through their transnational networks. The importance of the social network is especially important in a crisis and for security in a situation where one is apart from family and friends.

At the same time as the social relations through these networks are presented as empowering, the asylum-seeking refugees are dependent on quite restricted possibilities to search for and maintain social contacts as presented in the disempowering factor of isolation from family, friends and the Afghan and Swedish community. Also problematic are the relations with Swedish society in the form of authorities represented through immigration politics and the Migration Board, upon which they are dependent and which they find inhospitable.

People react when coexistence is problematic and threatened. Looking at emotions can give us clues as to how the individual relates to other people and to society. Emotions play an important part in all social interactions (Dahlgren and Starrin 2004). As we get clues on how people relate to society, we also get clues on how society relates to the individual. Again, looking at emotions gives us the possibility of connecting the individual to society as

This could be the link between the emotions stirred by inhibition of the act, leading to emotions then thinking which can lead to actions of change and resistance. In view of the actions taken by the asylum-seeking refugees from Afghanistan in this study they do '*reach a point of going against the whole world*', the world in this sense being the disempowering situation of dependence and inhospitality, framed by temporality, Swedish national discourse, racism and paternalism. The going against the whole world in this case refers to seeking empowerment from the point of view of establishing power.

The emotions I have found in this study of disappointment, fear and anxiety, resignation and frustration, resentment and feeling unwelcome I relate hope and despair to disempowerment. In such a discussion I have found it useful to look at Richard S. Lazarus's (1999) definition of the emotion hope in which despair is always lurking around the corner. Before filtering down to the emotions of hope and despair, let us take a look at Lazarus's conceptualisation of emotions and to coping and stress. Stress and emotions he relates to challenging situations.

It should be obvious that certain emotions – for example, anger, envy, jealousy, anxiety, fright, guilt, shame, and sadness – could be called *stress emotions*, because they usually arise from stressful, which refers to harmful, threatening, or challenging, conditions. (Lazarus 1999: 36, emphasis in original)

Lazarus also stresses that although we think of many emotions as positive, they are connected to stressful situations. For example, of the emotion of hope, he says that '*...hope, more often than not, stems from a situation in which we must prepare for the worst while hoping for the better*' (Lazarus 1999: 36). I find that stress is a part of the asylum-seeking refugees' everyday life arising from different emotions within the individual. Importantly, which is also implied here, emotions can cause stress. Thus when, in my material I find the informants hopeful about their situation, in Lazarus's definition this emotion in itself can be stressful as it involves preparedness for the worst.

The preparedness for the worst also corresponds to how the informants in this study are prepared for taking alternative action if and when they are refused residence permits and threatened with expulsion. Hope lies in the project of seeking asylum and the actions of empowering taken to achieve this end and to manage the situation while waiting being meaningful.

In connection with the concepts of stress and emotion Lazarus also discusses coping as creating a unity for analyses. He says that the three concepts create a conceptual unit, in which emotion is the super ordinate concept because, as he says, it includes both stress and coping. Another important concept is appraisal. In Lazarus's reasoning emotions are products of reason. This he explains as being emotion that arises in accordance with how we appraise an event. He says that: '*In effect, the way*

how unhappy they are with their situation. By interacting with each other there are also examples of resorting to traditions and religion and resorting to things that feel known and comfortable to their individual character and also in their interactions with others.

Coming back to the role of emotions in social relations, Scheff (1990) points to the emotions of shame and pride being particularly connected to the quality of social relations. Just as with hope and despair, where there is pride there is also shame. According to Scheff (1990), shame is the dominant emotion and signals threatened social relations. These threatened social relations are discussed here through the important but ambivalent social relations with the Swedish immigration authorities. These social relations are immediately threatened by the inhospitable reception the asylum-seeking refugees get when arriving and applying for asylum. Social relations are also threatened by dependence on the authorities as well as the community of asylum-seekers, the Afghan and Swedish community. Taking pride in how they represent themselves is thus related to social relations in the way that these representations are achievements managing a difficult situation, as described above. Often these representations of the self relate to being able to be giving, hospitable and reliable in this difficult situation.

Perhaps the most striking representations of the self expressed in resistance to the situation were the representations against the inhospitality and temporality of the situation, shown by them taking pride in protecting a guest even at the cost of their own life and commenting on how *'a yes is always a yes and no is always a no, even after death'*. Taking pride in themselves as being hospitable and reliable was a way in which pride was shown in the situation.

Pride can also be taken from the fact that they have managed to live through many difficulties before coming to Sweden to apply for asylum and from the fact that they manage the difficulties entailed in waiting for decisions on their asylum applications in Sweden. The memories and experiences from before and after coming to Sweden can be both disempowering and empowering. To leave one's country to seek a better future is showing force and taking action to better one's life and gives meaning to the whole project, however difficult it is.

Generally, many of the situations described by refugees are viewed as trauma and are generally seen as not beneficial for psychological health. On the other hand, in my meetings with asylum-seeking refugees they also seem to draw strength and pride from the fact that they have lived through and been able to reach so far in the process of seeking a better life. Such emotions of pride could be viewed as empowering, just as much as many of the experiences of, for example, disappointment are disempowering. The fact that experienced trauma can have both good and bad consequences was also found by Akram Omeri, Christopher Lennings and Lyn Raymond (2004) in

Emotions in this sense play an important role in social relations and I discuss how the pairs of emotions, hope and despair, and pride and shame, can help us understand how the asylum-seeking refugees in this study seek empowerment through reflection and through their actions. Hope and despair are discussed through looking at how even though there can be hope, hope also comes from a situation where one has to be prepared for things not turning out as one hoped for. That way the emotions can be related to the situation being stressful and needing to be coped with.

Pride and shame are emotional responses to a situation where social relations are threatened. The social relations of the asylum-seeking refugees to the Swedish authorities are disempowering through dependence and inhospitality and in that sense threatened to begin with. Such weak social bonds should, according to the literature, lead to a situation of inferiority and shame on the part of the asylum-seeking refugees, but in my analysis I focus instead on from where pride can be drawn. Pride can be found in the way they represent themselves as giving, hospitable and reliable and through how their experiences of difficulties before coming to Sweden and after mean that they can draw strength and pride from the fact that they have managed and still manage this situation.

The main finding of this chapter is that the actions taken by the asylum-seeking refugees in this study can be understood through interactionist theories pointing to the importance of social relations and emotions. That they seek their own empowerment through their actions of empowerment can be understood as reactions to a situation which limits their space of action. In this way I show how the difficult and disempowering situation leads to activity through the challenges involved rather than to an assumed passivity.

Concluding Discussion

The contribution of this thesis to the understanding of how asylum-seeking refugees manage their lives and under what circumstances has been presented as being a case of seeking empowerment from a mainly disempowering situation. Seeking empowerment comes from resisting a situation which limits the asylum-seeking refugees' spaces of action. The challenges, resistance and inhibitions of the actions taken by them result in emotions triggering actions of empowering. The concept of empowerment is discussed from the point of view of establishing power to resist and is related to resistance from a subordinated position in which the person is violated and reduced. From this inferior position a struggle for recognition arises when perceived legitimate expectations and claims are refused.

The management of this situation by seeking empowerment takes its starting point in actions of empowering. The actions of empowering are discussed through the categories of keeping oneself occupied, searching for and maintaining social contacts and through representing the self. To keep oneself occupied involves killing time but also engagement in meaningful activities. Searching for and maintaining social contacts involves the importance of these contacts for empowerment and how these contacts are found and maintained face-to-face, by mobile phone and through the internet. Representing the self involves the importance for the asylum-seeking refugees of understanding the situation and their place in it. It also involves representing themselves as hospitable and reliable, demonstrating resistance to and integrity in the situation. These actions of empowering are discussed with the meaningful project of applying for asylum in Sweden as a background. The meaningfulness of the project is discussed through noting how return is just not an option and through looking at the activities of demonstrating and resisting decisions denying them residence permits.

The study thus presents a management of the situation that is active and not passive. The presentation of the asylum-seeking refugees as active does not contradict earlier research presenting a picture of passivity in the situation and management of the same, something that I also identify as disempowering in my description of the situation in this thesis. Instead of contradicting such findings, this presentation's main emphasis on activity and how the situation demands activity is complementary.

Reports and research into the reception of asylum-seekers in Sweden presented in the background to this study have for the most part concentrated on a situation leading to passivity. An assumed passivity is, for example, based on the low level of occupation in the regular labour market, but also on the somewhat low level of participation in the organised activities by the Migration Board. The official view is that asylum-seekers should be

these actions are constructed through an understanding of them as seeking empowerment.

By using interactionist theories for analysing the creation of a self and how this self and society itself change through how challenges (inhibitions) to one's actions stir emotions, I want to show that the disempowering situation triggers action. Some of the actions are about keeping oneself occupied even if only to kill time, to make time pass while waiting, to try to relieve the stress arising from thinking of what has happened and what will happen with family and friends, whether one will get a residence permit or not, how one is struck down, with bad health and so forth. That is, trying to relieve a situation which is disempowering leads to feelings of resignation, frustration and despair. Other actions are related to emotions of hope and pride. The emotions of hope and pride, together with the empowering structures of being able to keep themselves occupied, having access to information and communication and being supported by a social network make possible activities by seeking empowerment from and within the disempowering situation.

Another contribution of this study is the focus on the situation which creates the challenges and inhibitions to one's habitual and routine practices leading to the creative action of seeking empowerment. In other words asking the question of what they are seeking empowerment from. Alongside the emphasis on activity, then, is the importance of the situation related to these activities. I show how it can be seen as a mainly disempowering situation of dependence and inhospitality characterised by temporality. This situation needs further situating through a more thorough study of the discursive formations framing this situation. At the same time as the management of the situation is presented as one of resistance through seeking empowerment, the situation itself, although described and discussed in this thesis, is difficult to make sense of. There are many uncertainties and temporalities in the situation, making it necessary to see it in the light of discursive processes related to the more visible structures of global refugee migration. By performing a situational analysis, including discourses related to nationalism and racism resulting in paternalism, I take a small step in the direction of understanding the situation more thoroughly.

Seen in this way the study does not give any easy answers on how we might improve the situation of the asylum-seeking refugees waiting for decisions or support their seeking empowerment through, for example, making their interpretation as valid as that of the Swedish authorities. Sweden could spend more money and use more resources on keeping the asylum-seeking refugees occupied in meaningful activities, helping them to improve their situation by learning something new, creating meeting places for the asylum-seeking refugees to meet among themselves and with people residing in Sweden and by creating a transparent and predictable system for

Sammanfattning

Den här studien tar sin utgångspunkt i möten med internflyktingar i Angola och asylsökande flyktingar i Sverige. Ur dessa möten har frågan om hur de hanterar sin situation vuxit fram. I de asylsökandes fall får de inte omedelbart skydd genom permanenta uppehållstillstånd. De måste istället få sina skyddsbehov prövade och är därigenom beroende av andras beslut. I Sverige kan asylsökande få vänta i årtal innan de får sina definitiva beslut. Det är denna väntan som står i centrum för denna studie. I mina möten med både internflyktingar i Angola och asylsökande flyktingar i Sverige har jag blivit medveten om hur människor i utsatta situationer fyller sina liv med strategier för att förbättra sina liv.

Centralt för den här studien är också att den poängterar de asylsökande flyktingarnas aktiviteter och aktörskap i motsats till en förmodad passivitet. Vad som framkommer är att latent stärkande processer som möjligheter att hålla sig sysselsatt, ett socialt nätverk, tillgång till information och kommunikation och "rätt beteende" tillsammans med det meningsfulla i att överhuvudtaget söka asyl skapar en bas varifrån de asylsökande flyktingarna söker "empowerment".

Syftet med studien är att ge ett bidrag till förståelsen av hur asylsökande flyktingar hanterar den situation de befinner sig i. Detta görs genom en fältstudie av hur asylsökande flyktingar från Afghanistan i Sverige hanterar sin situation. Frågor som lyfts fram är: I vilken kontext sker de asylsökandes handlingar? Hur upplever de sin situation? Vad gör de för att hantera sin situation? Hur kan deras handlingar förstås genom teorier kring individen i förhållande till samhället och dess förändring?

En bakgrund till studien visar att afghanska flyktingar kan illustrera dynamiken och reaktionerna kring flyktingmigration i ett globalt perspektiv. Bland annat visar bakgrunden på att det endast är ett fåtal ur den totala flyktingpopulationen från Afghanistan som överhuvudtaget tar sig över gränserna till "Nord" för att söka asyl. De flesta flyktingarna blir kvar i närregionen, i detta fall Iran och Pakistan. När flyktingarna väl kommer till länderna i "Nord" och mer specifikt till EU och Sverige möts de av en återvändningspolitik. Länderna i "Nord" har dessutom en politisk agenda vilken prioriterar att flyktingarna ska stanna i sin närregion hellre än att söka asyl i "Nord".

När de asylsökande kommer till Sverige möts de av en politik och en idé om individualisering och rättssäkerhet i Migrationsverkets hantering av deras asylansökningar. Trots detta kan sägas att det svenska mottagandet av asylsökande och flyktingar karaktäriseras av förändringar beroende på hur många som söker asyl olika år, men också av förändringar som gäller hur många som lyckas få uppehållstillstånd i Sverige. Under den period som

asylmottagandet. Ogästvänligheten kännetecknas också av att de asylsökande flyktingarna i studien ofta upplever att de behandlas sämre än andra asylsökande och som mindre värda än dem som redan bor i Sverige. Situation karaktäriseras av disempowerment och leder till känslor av förtvivlan, men samtidigt också av hopp.

Samtidigt som situationen beskrivs som disempowering, så framgår det tydligt i studien att de asylsökande flyktingarna hanterar denna situation genom att handla utifrån den. Jag kallar det de gör för möjliggörande handlingar. I relation till osäkerheten kring sin situation söker de information och kommunicerar sinsemellan i sina sociala nätverk. Som ett svar på passivitet söker de möjligheter att hålla sig sysselsatta, och genom att representera sig själva på olika sätt söker de empowerment inom ramen för den utsatta situation de befinner sig i. En viktig bakgrund till de möjliggörande handlingarna är det jag beskriver som basen i det meningsfulla projektet, det vill säga det meningsfulla i att lämna Afghanistan och söka asyl i Sverige, givet att återvändande inte är något alternativ.

Begreppet "söka empowerment" analyseras utifrån de utmaningar, motstånd och hinder som de asylsökande möter och som begränsar deras handlingsutrymme. Begreppet visar också på hur de asylsökande flyktingarnas handlingar kommer av den underordnade situation de befinner sig i. Det motstånd som sker från denna begränsande och därmed underordnade position analyserar jag som ett sökande efter ett större handlingsutrymme. Ett utrymme som gör det lättare att göra motstånd i den utsatta situationen.

Teoretiskt diskuteras hur detta motstånd, sökandet efter empowerment, baseras på hur människor när de upplever utmaningar eller ett motstånd mot sina handlingar reflekterar kring dem. Nya och alternativa sätt att agera utarbetas utifrån detta. Jag diskuterar också hur emotioner kan hjälpa oss att förstå varför människor handlar, även i de mest utsatta av situationer. De emotioner som jag diskuterar är känslorna av förtvivlan respektive hopp, och skam respektive stolthet.

Slutsatsen av detta blir att de asylsökande flyktingarna söker empowerment genom sina möjliggörande handlingar, och att dessa kan förstås som reaktioner på en situation som begränsar handlingsutrymmet. Jag försöker visa på hur den utsatta situationen leder till handlingar och aktivitet - inte till passivitet.

References

- Ahmed, I. (1997). Exit, Voice and Citizenship. *International Migration, Immobility and Development: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*. T. Hammar, G. Brochmann, K. Tamas and T. Faist (eds.). Oxford, Berg.
- Appelqvist, M. (1999). *Responsibility in Transition: a Study of Refugee Law and Policy in Sweden*. Umeå, Umeå University.
- Askheim, O. P. (2007). Empowerment - olika infallsvinklar. *Empowerment i teori och praktik*. O. P. Askheim and B. Starrin (eds.). Malmö, Gleerup.
- Askheim, O. P. and Starrin, B. (eds.) (2007). *Empowerment i teori och praktik*. Malmö, Gleerup.
- Berger, P. L. and Luckmann, T. (1967). *The Social Construction of Reality: a Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York, Anchor books.
- Blitz, B. K., Sales, R. and Marzano L. (2005). "Non-Voluntary Return? The Politics of Return to Afghanistan." *Political Studies* **53**: 182-200.
- Blumer, H. (1958). "Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position." *Pacific Sociological Review* **1**(1): 3-7.
- Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Brekke, J. P. (2004). *While We are Waiting: Uncertainty and Empowerment Among Asylum-seekers in Sweden*. Oslo, Institute for Social Research.
- Brune, Y. (2004). *Nyheter från gränsen: tre studier i journalistik om "invandrare", flyktingar och rasistiskt våld*. Göteborg, Göteborgs universitet.
- Bruner, J. S. (2003). *Making stories: Law, Literature, Life*. London, Harvard University Press.
- Bryant, A. (2009). "Grounded Theory and Pragmatism: The Curious Case of Anselm Strauss." *Forum: Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research* **10**(3): Art.2.
- Burawoy, M. (1998). "The Extended Case Method." *Sociological Theory* **16**(1): 4-33.
- Burawoy, M. (2000). *Global Ethnography: Forces, Connections, and Imaginations in a Postmodern World*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

- Burgess, R. G. (1991). *In the Field: an Introduction to Field Research*. London, Routledge.
- Castells, M. (2004). *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture. Volume II: The Power of Identity*. Malden, Mass., Blackwell.
- Castles, S. (2000). *Ethnicity and Globalization: From Migrant Worker to Transnational Citizen*. London, SAGE.
- Castles, S. (2003). "Towards a Sociology of Forced Migration and Social Transformation." *Sociology* **37**(13): 13-34.
- Castles, S. and Miller, M. J. (2003). *The Age of Migration*. Basingstoke, Palgrave.
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis*. London, SAGE.
- Christians, C. G. (2005). Ethics and Politics in Qualitative Research. *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (eds.). Thousand Oaks, SAGE Publications.
- Clarke, A. (2005). *Situational Analysis: Grounded Theory after the Postmodern Turn*. Thousand Oaks, Calif., Sage Publications.
- Dahlgren, L. and Starrin, B. (2004). *Emotioner, vardagsliv & samhälle: en introduktion till emotionssociologi*. Malmö, Liber.
- Dahlgren, L., Winkvist, A. and Emmelin, M. (2004). *Qualitative Methodology for International Public Health*. Umeå, Umeå University.
- de los Reyes, P., Molina, I. and Mulinari, D. (2006). *Maktens (o)lika förklådnader: kön, klass & etnicitet i det postkoloniala Sverige*. Stockholm, Atlas.
- Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research. *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (eds.). Thousands Oaks, SAGE Publications.
- Dupont, H. J. B. H. M., Kaplan, C. D., Verbraeck, H. T., Braam, R. V. and van de Wijngaart, G. F. (2005). "Killing time: drug and alcohol problems among asylum seekers in the Netherlands." *International Journal of Drug Policy* **16**: 27-36.
- Dyregrov, K., Dyregrov, A. and Raundalen, M. (2000). "Refugee Families' Experience of Research Participation." *Journal of Traumatic Stress* **13**(3): 413-426.
- Engdahl, E. (2004). *A Theory of the Emotional Self: From the Standpoint of a Neo-Meadian*. Örebro, Örebro University.

- Faist, T. (2000). *The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Foucault, M. (1984). The Ethics of the Concern for the Self as a Practice of Freedom. *Ethics. Essential Works of Foucault 1954 - 1984*. P. Rabinow (ed.). London, Penguin Books.
- Freire, P. (1972). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Harmondsworth, Penguin Books.
- Ghorashi, H. (2005). "Agents of Change or Passive Victims: The impact of Welfare States (the Case of the Netherlands) on Refugees." *Journal of Refugee Studies* **18**(2): 181-198.
- Giddens, A. (1984). *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge, Polity Press.
- Glaser, B. G. (1978). *Theoretical Sensitivity: Advances in the Methodology of Grounded Theory*. Mill Valley, Calif., Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. G. (1992). *Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis: Emergence vs Forcing*. Mill Valley, Calif., Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. G. (1998). *Doing Grounded Theory: Issues and Discussions*. Mill Valley, Calif., Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. G. (2001). *The Grounded Theory Perspective: Conceptualization Contrasted with Description*. Mill Valley, Calif., Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. G. (2003). *The Grounded Theory Perspective II: Descriptions Remodeling of Grounded Theory Methodology*. Mill Valley, Calif., Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. G. and Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. New York, Aldine de Gruyter.
- Goldberg, D. T. (2002). *The Racial State*. Malden, MA, Blackwell.
- Hall, S. (1996). Who Needs Identity? *Questions of Cultural Identity*. S. Hall and P. Du Gay (eds.). London, Sage: 1-17.
- Hall, S. (1997). The Work of Representation. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. S. Hall (ed.). London, Sage.
- Hammar, T. (1999). Closing the Doors to the Swedish Welfare State. *Mechanisms of Immigration Control*. G. Brochmann and T. Hammar (eds.). Oxford, Berg.

- Hammar, T., Brochmann, G., Tamas, K. and Faist, T. (eds.) (1997). *International Migration, Immobility and Development: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*. Oxford, Berg.
- Hammar, T. and Tamas, K. (1997). Why do People Go or Stay? *International Migration, Immobility and Development: Multidisciplinary perspectives*. T. Hammar, G. Brochmann, K. Tamas and T. Faist (eds.). Oxford, Berg.
- Hansen, P. (2008). *EU:s migrationspolitik under 50 år: Ett integrerat perspektiv på en motsägelsefull utveckling*. Lund, Studentlitteratur.
- Haraway, D. J. (1991). Situated knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective. *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*. D. J. Haraway. New York, Routledge.
- Harding, J. (2000). *The Uninvited: Refugees at the Rich Man's Gate*. London, Profile and the London review of books.
- Healey, R. L. (2006). "Asylum-Seekers and Refugees: A Structuration Theory Analysis of their Experiences in the UK." *Population, Space and Place* **12**: 257-271.
- Helgesson, L. (2006). *Getting Ready for Life: Life Strategies of Town Youth in Mozambique and Tanzania*. Umeå, Umeå university.
- Hoogvelt, A. (2001). *Globalization and the Postcolonial World: the New Political Economy of Development*. Basingstoke, Palgrave.
- IOM (2010). "Facts and Figures." Retrieved 2010-08-21, from <http://www.iom.int>.
- Johansson, C. (2005). *Välkomna till Sverige? Svenska migrationspolitiska diskurser under 1900-talets andra hälft*. Malmö, Bokbox Förlag.
- Jonsson, S. (1993). *De andra: amerikanska kulturkrig och europeisk rasism*. Stockholm, Norstedts.
- Koser, K. (2000). "Asylum Policies, Trafficking and Vulnerability." *International Migration* **38**(3): 91-111.
- Kronenfeld, D. A. (2008). "Afghan Refugees in Pakistan: Not All Refugees, Not Always in Pakistan, Not Necessarily Afghan?" *Journal of Refugee Studies* **21**(1): 43-63.
- Lazarus, R. S. (1999). *Stress and Emotion: a New Synthesis*. London, Free Association Books.
- Lazarus, R. S. and Folkman, S. (1984). *Stress, Appraisal and Coping*. New York, Springer.

- Lennartsson, R. (2007). *Mellan hopp och förtvivlan: Erfarenheter och strategier i väntan på asyl*. Stockholm, NTG-asyl och integration.
- Loescher, G. (2003). UNHCR at Fifty: Refugee Protection and World Politics. *Problems of Protection: the UNHCR, Refugees, and Human Rights*. N. Steiner, M. Gibney and G. Loescher (eds.). New York, Routledge.
- Lundin, E. (2004). *Motstånd och kreativitet: George Herbert Meads bidrag till aktör-strukturdebatten*. Stockholm/Stehag, Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion.
- Lundin, E. (2008). "Motståndets betydelse." *Sociologisk forskning* (4): 47-73.
- Malmberg, G. (1997). Time and Space in International Migration. *International migration, Immobility and Development: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*. T. Hammar, G. Brochmann, K. Tamas and T. Faist (eds.). Oxford, Berg.
- Marfleet, P. (2006). *Refugees in a Global Era*. New York, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Marx, K. (1845–1846a). "The German Ideology: Part I: Feuerbach. Opposition of the Materialist and Idealist Outlook. B. The Illusion of the epoch." Retrieved 2010-01-04, from <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/german-ideology/cho1b.htm>.
- Marx, K. (1845-1846b). Den tyska ideologin. *Människans frigörelse – Karl Marx ungdomsskrifter i urval och översättning av Sven-Eric Liedman*. Göteborg, Daidalos.
- Massey, D. (1991). "A Global Sense of Place." *Marxism Today* **June**: 24-29.
- Massey, D. (1994). *Space, place and gender*. Oxford, Polity Press.
- Mc Eachrane, M. and L. Faye (2001). *Sverige och de Andra: postkoloniala perspektiv*. Stockholm, Natur och kultur.
- Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, Self, and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Migrationsverket (2007a). Ärende om hinder mot verkställighet av avvisningsbeslut. Rättsenheten, Migrationsverket. **2007-05-15**.
- Migrationsverket (2007b). Ärende om hinder mot verkställighet av avvisningsbeslut. Rättsenheten, Migrationsverket. **2007-11-22**.
- Migrationsverket (2006) . "Asylum seekers and refugees." 30 March 2006. Retrieved 2009-01-25 from <http://www.migrationsverket.se/english.jsp>.

- Moallem, M. (2005). *Between Warrior Brother and Veiled Sister: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Cultural Politics of Patriarchy in Iran*. Berkeley, Calif., University of California Press.
- Monsutti, A. (2008). "Afghan migratory strategies and the three solutions to the refugee problem." *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 27(1): 58-73.
- Mynott, E. (2002). Nationalism, Racism and Immigration Control: From Anti-racism to Anti-capitalism. *From Immigration Controls to Welfare Controls*. S. Cohen, B. Humphries and E. Mynott (eds.). London, Routledge.
- Norström, E. (2004). *I väntan på asyl: retorik och praktik i svensk flyktingpolitik*. Umeå, Boréa.
- NTG Asyl (2004). Tema Asyl. Equal, Svenska ESF-Rådet.
- Omeri, A., Lennings, C. and Raymond, L. (2004). "Hardiness and transformational coping in asylum seekers: the Afghan experience." *Diversity in Health and Social Care* 1: 21-30.
- Oxford English Dictionary Online (2009). "Disempowerment." Retrieved 2009-08-03, from http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/20002732?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=disempowerment&first=1&max_to_show=10
- Oxford English Dictionary Online (2009). "Empowerment." Retrieved 2009-08-03, from http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50074299?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=empowerment&first=1&max_to_show=10
- Papastergiadis, N. (2000). *The Turbulence of Migration: Globalization, Deterritorialization and Hybridity*. Malden, Mass., Polity Press.
- Peirce, C. S. (1955). Abduction and Induction. *The Philosophical Writings of Peirce*. J. Buchler (ed.). New York, Dover Publications.
- Pred, A. (2000). *Even in Sweden: Racisms, Racialized Spaces, and the Popular Geographical Imagination*. Berkeley, Calif., University of California Press.
- Regeringens proposition (2005). Ny instans- och processordning i utlännings- och medborgarskapsärenden. Utrikesdepartementet, Regeringen. **2004/05:170**.
- Regeringens skrivelse (2003). Migration och asylpolitik. Utrikesdepartementet, Regeringen. **2003/04:37**.
- Regeringens skrivelse (2004). Migration och asylpolitik. Utrikesdepartementet, Regeringen. **2004/05**.

Regeringens skrivelse (2005). Migration och asylpolitik. Utrikesdepartementet, Regeringen. **2005/06:18**.

Regeringens skrivelse (2006). Migration och asylpolitik. Utrikesdepartementet, Regeringen. **2005/06:18**.

Regeringens skrivelse (2007). Migration och asylpolitik. Justitiedepartementet, Regeringen. **2006/2007:58**.

Regeringens skrivelse (2008). Migration och asylpolitik. Justitiedepartementet, Regeringen. **2008/09:33**.

Richmond, A. H. (2002). "Globalization: Implications for Immigrants and Refugees." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* **25**(5): 707-727.

Rondahl, A. (2007). Social trygghet för asylsökande - finns den? Rättsvetenskap avancerad nivå, Örebro universitet. Institutionen för beteende- social- och rättsvetenskap.

Roxström, E. and M. Gibney (2003). The Legal and Ethical Obligations of the UNHCR: The Case of Temporary Protection in Western Europe. *Problems of Protection - The UNHCR, Refugees, and Human Rights*. N. Steiner, M. Gibney and G. Loescher (eds.). New York, Routledge.

Råhberg, R. (2004). Oviss väntan. Equal, Svenska ESF-Rådet.

Scheff, T. J. (1990). *Microsociology: Discourse, Emotion, and Social Structure*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Schmauch, U. (2006). *Den osynliga vardagsrasismens realitet*. Umeå, Umeå University.

Slavnic, Z. (2000). *Existens och temporalitet: om det samtida flyktingskapets komplexitet*. Umeå, Umeå University.

SOU (2009). Aktiv väntan - asylsökande i Sverige. Statens offentliga utredningar. **2009:19**.

Starrin, B. (2007). Empowerment som förhållningssätt - kan vi lära oss något av Pippi Långstrump? *Empowerment i teori och praktik*. O. P. Askheim and B. Starrin (eds.). Malmö, Gleerups.

Statistiska Centralbyrån (2004). "Migration 2004 - Immigration, emigration and asylum seekers." Retrieved 2009-12-20, from http://www.scb.se/statistik/BE/BE0101/2005M01A/BE0101_2005M01A_SM_BE68SM0501.pdf.

Strauss, A. L. (1987). *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Strauss, A. L. and Corbin, J. (1997). *Grounded Theory in Practice*. Thousand Oaks, SAGE.

Strauss, A. L. And Corbin, J. M. (1998). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. Thousand Oaks, Calif., SAGE.

Sörensson, E. (2008). *Making a Living in the World of Tourism: Livelihoods in Backpacker Tourism in Urban Indonesia*. Umeå, Umeå University.

U.S. Committee for Refugees (2004). "World Refugee Survey 2004." Retrieved 2010-05-21, from http://www.refugees.org/data/wrs/04/pdf/principal_sources.pdf.

U.S. Committee for Refugees (2007). "World Refugee Survey 2007." Retrieved 2010-05-21, from <http://www.refugees.org/article.aspx?id=1941&subm=19&ssm=29&area=Investigate&>.

U.S. Committee for Refugees (2009). "World Refugee Survey 2009." Retrieved 2010-05-21, from <http://www.refugees.org/article.aspx?id=2324&subm=179&area=About%20Refugees&>.

UNHCR (2005). "2005 UNHCR Statistical Yearbook Country Data Sheet - Afghanistan." Retrieved 2009-12-20, from <http://www.unhcr.org/464183592.html>.

UNHCR (2007a). "Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees." Retrieved 2010-05-21, from <http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.pdf>.

UNHCR (2007b). "UNHCR's eligibility guidelines for assessing the international protection needs of Afghan asylum-seekers." 31 December 2007. Retrieved 2010-09-11, from <http://unhcr.org/refworld/docid/477ce70a2.html>

UNHCR (2007c). "Tripartite Memorandum of Understanding Between the Government of the Kingdom of Sweden, the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)." 26 December 2007. Retrieved 2010-09-11, from <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4794c1832.html>

UNHCR (2008). "Asylum levels and trends in industrialized countries, 2007." 18 March 2008. Retrieved 2010-09-11 from, <http://www.unhcr.org/statistics/STATISTICS/47daae862.pdf>

Utrikesdepartementet (2007). "Mänskliga rättigheter i Afghanistan 2007."
Utrikesdepartementet, Regeringskansliet. Retrieved 2010-09-11, from
http://www.manskligarattigheter.gov.se/dynamaster/file_archive/080317/2eb6cd7f3c3b800c3e84bff43a50e219/Afghanistan.pdf

Utrikesdepartementet (2010). "Afghanistan." Retrieved 2010-05-21, from
<http://www.sweden.gov.se/sb/d/2520/a/13691>.

Whittaker, D. J. (2006). *Asylum Seekers and Refugees in the Contemporary World*.
London, Routledge.

Öberg, H. S. (2007). *Glömda: rapport från en svensk flyktingförläggning*.
Stockholm, Pocky.

FÖRTECKNING ÖVER LICENTIATUPPSATSER OCH DOKTORSAVHANDLINGAR VID SOCIOLOGISKA INSTITUTIONEN, UMEÅ UNIVERSITET

Licentiatuppsatser

- L 1 Hass, Rita
The Homophile Movement Conflict: Controversy and Change vt -68
- L 2 Linné, Agneta
Fruktsamhet och familjeplanering vt -68
- L 3 Cottino, Amedeo
Social differentiering och socialt byte: en referensram vt -70
- L 4 Román, Ola
Hastighetsöverträdelser i sociologisk belysning vt -72
- L 5 Åström, Torsten
Fem glesbygdsområden ur sociologisk synvinkel vt -72
- L 6 Ericsson, Thomas
Arbetsvärdering med poängsystem. Några lönebildningsteorier vt -88
- L 7 Södergran, Lena
Invandrar- och flyktingpolitik i praktiken - Exemplet Umeå Kommun vt -97
- L 8 Lindgren, Simon
Ungdomsbilder - Text och kontext i den norrbottniska mediediskursen från trettiotal till åttiotal ht -98
- L 9 Miettinen, Antti
Institutional Characteristics of Co-operatives Providing Welfare Services. Theoretical Study of Co-operatives and Their Members vt -00
- L 10 Tigervall, Carina
Tigerns avklippta morrhår. Vi och de Andra i den nya svenska filmen anno 2000 vt -03
- L 11 Sehlin, Staffan
Förebygger medling återfall i brott bland unga gärningsmän? En återfallsstudie av medlingsverksamheterna i Hudiksvall och Örnsköldsvik vt -09

Doctoral Theses at the Department of Sociology

- | | | |
|------|---|--------|
| D 1 | Cerha, Jarko
Selective Mass Communication | vt -68 |
| D 2 | Boethius, Inga
Individuellt och socialt betingande faktorer vid olika grupprocesser | vt -70 |
| D 3 | Cottino, Amedeo
Slavmarknad - eller om lagens effektivitet. En studie av den grå arbetskraften | vt -73 |
| D 4 | Åberg, Rune
Changes in work conditions as a result of changes in economic structure | vt -73 |
| D 5 | Sahlman-Karlsson, Siiri
Finska studenter i Umeå. Språkfärdighet och studieframgång | vt -74 |
| D 6 | Hedman, Eva
Boende och samhällsförändring | vt -74 |
| D 7 | Pettersson, Lars-Göran
Hushållens inkomst- och konsumtionsförhållanden regionala skillnader och urbaniseringseffekter | vt -75 |
| D 8 | Marklund, Staffan
Living Conditions and Social Policy in Rural Change | vt -75 |
| D 9 | Cigéhn, Göran
Stabilitet och instabilitet i partipolitiska sympatier | vt -76 |
| D 10 | Wolvén, Lars-Erik
Kabel-TV - Försök med ett annorlunda medium i när-samhället; sammanfattning och analys av resultaten från första försöksperioden | vt -76 |
| D 11 | Eriksson, Ingalill
Sociala relationer: Orsaker samt myndighetsåtgärder och sociologisk metod | ht -77 |

- D 12 Bergroth, Alf
Handikappade och åldringar i en glesbygdskommun.
Om effekter av socialpolitiska åtgärder vt -77
- D 13 Ålund, Aleksandra
Migration och sociala förändringsprocesser.
Om samtida jugoslaviska arbetsmigranter vt -78
- D 14 Drugge, Ulf
Domstolar som konfliktreglerare. En komparativ
undersökning av underrätternas konfliktreglerande
verksamhet ht -78
- D 15 Källtorp, Ove
Transformation of social structure in peripheral
village communities ht -78
- D 16 Höglund, Sten
Centralisering och reduktion av medlemsinflytandet
i en stor facklig organisation vt -79
- D 17 Höglund, Lars och Persson, Olle
Kommunikation inom vetenskap och teknik vt -80
- D 18 Berglund, Staffan
Resisting Poverty - Perceptives on Participation and
Social Development. The Case of CRIC and the
Eastern Rural Region of Cauca in Colombia vt -82
- D 19 Frick, Willy
Strukturömvandling och social utslagning - en analys
av sambanden mellan social struktur och social miss-
anpassning och utslagning under perioden 1860-1975 ht -82
- D 20 Lindblad, Anders
Lokal radio och tv - en analys av publikstruktur
och deltagande vt -83
- D 21 Dahlgren, Lars
Samhällsplanering och lokalsamhälle - en sociologisk
analys av den sociala samhällsplaneringens möjligheter
och begränsningar, illustrerad av tre ortsstudier i
Norrbottens län vt -84

D 22	Höög, Jonas - Arbetstillfredsställelse och frånvaro	vt -85
D 23	Lindgren, Gerd Kamrater, kollegor och kvinnor - en studie av köns-segregeringsprocessen i två mansdominerade organisationer	ht -85
D 24	Gisselberg, Margareta Att stå vid spisen och föda barn. Om hushållsarbete som kvinnoarbete	vt -86
D 25	Johansson, Mats Arbetararistokrater och arbetarbyråkrater - Om reformistiska och revolutionära tendenser inom den svenska arbetarklassen i början av seklet	vt -86
D 26	Schierup, Carl-Ulrik Danser de for traditionens skyld? Invandrere, kultur og samfund	vt -87
D 27	Svallfors, Stefan Vem älskar välfärdsstaten? Attityder, organiserade intressen och svensk välfärdsolitik	vt -89
D 28	Lindqvist, Rafael Från folkrörelse till välfärdsbyråkrati. Det svenska sjukförsäkringssystemets utveckling	ht -90
D 29	Ekström, Marianne Kost, klass och kön	ht -90
D 30	Ericsson, Thomas Systematisk arbetsvärdering: Ett lönesättningsinstrument i närbild	vt -91
D 31	Halleröd, Björn Den svenska fattigdomen	vt -91
D 32	Alalehto, Tage, Teknik och konflikt. LKAB 1946-1989	ht -92
D 33	Hägg, Kerstin Kvinnor och män i Kiruna. Om kön och vardag i förändring i ett modernt gruvsamhälle 1900-1990	ht -93

- D 34 Schrieber, Trine
Förhåbningar og skuffelser i kvindeerhvervene.
Kvindes møde med ny teknologi og organisatorisk
Forandring ht -94
- D 35 Hansson, Carl-Gösta
Fackliga karriärer. Boréa bokförlag. Umeå vt -96
- D 36 Waara, Peter
Ungdom i gränsland. Boréa bokförlag. Umeå vt -96
- D 37 Eriksson, Nils
The Psychosocial Work Environment and Illness
among Office Workers vt -96
- D 38 Augustsson, Gunnar
Etniska relationer i arbetslivet - Teknik, arbetsorga-
nisation & etnisk diskriminering i svensk bilindustri vt -96
- D 39 Stern, Peter
Prisoners of the Crystal Palace - Mapping & Under-
standing the Social and Cognitive Organization of
Scientific Research Field ht -96
- D 40 Eriksson, Helén & Gunnarsson, Elly
På tröskeln till omvårdnadsvärlden vt -97
- D 41 Löwander, Birgitta
Rasism och antirasism på dagordningen - Studier av
televisionens nyhetsrapportering i början av 90-talet ht -97
- D 42 Melin, Göran
Co-production of Scientific Knowledge - Research
Collaboration between Countries, Universities and
Individuals ht -97
- D 43 Stattin, Mikael
Yrke, yrkesförändring och utslagning från arbetsmark-
naden - en studie av relationen mellan förtidspension
och arbetsmarknadsförändring vt -98

- D 44 Nordenmark, Mikael
Unemployment, Employment Commitment and Well-being – The Psychosocial Meaning of (Un)employment among Women and Men vt -99
- D 45 Edlund, Jonas
Citizens and Taxation: Sweden in Comparative Perspective vt -99
- D 46 Appelqvist, Maria
Responsibility in Transition. A Study of Refugee Law and Policy in Sweden vt -99
- D 47 Nyman-Kurkiala, Pia
Att flytta bort och hem igen. Sociala nätverk i kedjemigration vt -99
- D 48 Hjerm, Mikael
My People Right or Wrong? A Comparative Analysis of National Sentiments and their Meaning vt -00
- D 49 Jacobsson, Mats
'Att blifva sin egen' - Ungdomars väg in i vuxenlivet i 1700- och 1800-talens övre Norrland vt -00
- D 50 Södergran, Lena
Svensk Invandrar- och Integrationspolitik. En fråga om jämlikhet, demokrati och mänskliga rättigheter vt -00
- D 51 Bihagen, Erik
The Significance of Class. Studies of class inequalities, consumption and social circulation in contemporary Sweden ht -00
- D 52 Strandh, Mattias
Varying Unemployment Experiences? The economy and mental well-being ht -00
- D 53 Slavnic, Zoran
Existens och temporalitet. Om det samtida flyktingskapets komplexitet ht -00

- D 54 Kadhim, Abdul M.
Svenskt kommunalt flyktingmottagande. Politik och implementering ht -00
- D 55 Bengs, Carita
Looking good. A study of gendered body ideals among young people ht -00
- D 56 Danell, Rickard
Internationalization and Homogenization: A Bibliometric Study of International Management Research vt -01
- D 57 Grape, Owe
Mellan morot och piska. En fallstudie av 1992 års rehabiliteringsreform ht -01
- D 58 Mellberg, Nea
När det överkliga blir verklighet. Mödrars situation när deras barn utsätts för sexuella övergrepp av fäder vt -02
- D 59 Nyman, Charlott
Mine, yours or ours? Sharing in Swedish couples vt -02
- D 60 Evertsson, Lars
Välfärdsolitik och kvinnoyrken. Organisation, välfärdsstat och professionaliseringens villkor vt -02
- D 61 Danielsson, Erna
Är delaktighet möjlig i en byråkrati? En fallstudie inom Försvarsmakten av det arbete som föregick försvarsbeslut -96 vt -02
- D 62 Nordlund, Anders
Resilient Welfare States – Nordic Welfare State Development in the Late 20th century vt -02
- D 63 Lindgren, Simon
Modernitetens markörer. Ungdomsbilder i tid och rum vt -02
- D 64 Olofsson, Anna
Waves of Controversy. Gene Technology in Dagens Nyheter 1973-96 vt -02

- D 65 Öhman, Susanna
Public Perceptions of Gene Technology – On the Edge
of Risk Society vt -02
- D 66 Sundström, Eva
Gender Regimes, Family Policies and Attitudes to Female
Employment: A Comparison of Germany, Italy and Sweden vt -03
- D 67 Mähle, Paula
Mapping Gender in Academic Workplaces: Ways of
Reproducing Gender Inequality within the Discourse
of Equality vt -03
- D 68 Karlsson, Peder
Forskarens socialisation: Kunskapssociologisk visit i
doktoranders livsvärldar vt -04
- D 69 Gustafson, Åsa
Sköra livsmönster. Om integrations- och normalise-
ringsprocesser bland bosniska flyktingar vt -04
- D 70 Grönlund, Anne
Flexibilitetens gränser. Förändring och friktion
i arbetsliv och familj ht -04
- D 71 Hult, Carl
The way we conform to paid Labour: Commitment to
Employment and organization in a comparative perspective ht -04
- D 72 Westberg, Annika
Becoming an Adult. Living Conditions and Attitudes
among Swedish Youth vt -05
- D 73 Tigervall, Carina
Folkhemsk film: med "invandraren" i rollen som den
sympatiska Andre vt -05
- D 74 Almqvist, Anna-Lena
The Care of Children: A Cross-National Comparison of
Parents' Expectations and Experiences vt -05
- D 75 Karlsson, Lena
Klasstillhörighetens subjektiva dimension: Klass-
identitet, sociala attityder och fritidsvanor vt -05

- D 76 Rauch, Dietmar
Institutional Fragmentation and Social Service
Variations: A Scandinavian Comparison ht -05
- D 77 Bolinder, Margareta
Handlingsutrymmets betydelse för arbetslösas upp-
levelser, handlingsstrategier och jobbchanser vt -06
- D 78 Schmauch, Ulrika
Den osynliga vardagsrasismens realitet vt -06
- D 79 Jonsson, Gun
Tanter och representanter. Dilemman i frivilliga orga-
nisationer: - en fråga om oligarki eller demokrati? vt -06
- D 80 Kvist, Elin
Stormarknadens nya maktordningar – Från kassörskor
och butikshefer till (o)demokratiska arbetslag vt -06
- D 81 Johansson, Gun-Britt
Synderskan och Lagen:
Barnamord i tre Norrlandslän 1830-1870 vt -06
- D 82 Larsson, Daniel
Exposure to crime as a consequence of poverty.
Five investigations about relative deprivation, poverty
and exposure to crime ht -06
- D 83 Åström, Fredrik
The Social and Intellectual Development of Library
and Information Science ht -06
- D 84 Bertilsson Rosqvist, Hanna
Lagom lika, lagom olika - en diskussion om makt, retorik
och bi-teoretiska/sexuella subjektiviteter vt -07
- D 85 Höckertin, Chatrine
Organisational characteristics and psychosocial working
conditions in different forms of ownership vt -07
- D 86 Grosse, Ingrid
Political parties and welfare associations ht -07

- D 87 Bask, Miia
A Longitudinal Approach to Social Exclusion in Sweden vt -08
- D 88 Andersson, Hans
Spelets regler. Raggning och flirt på krogen vt -08
- D 89 Nilsson Ranta, Daniel
Nödhelp på villovägar: implementering av en filantropisk
välfärdsidé, Norrbottens arbetsstugor 1903-1954 vt -08
- D 90 Samuelsson, Jenny
På väg från ingenstans. Kritik och emancipation av
kunskapsorganisation för feministisk forskning ht -08
- D 91 Bolin, Malin
The importance of organizational characteristics for
psychosocial working conditions and health vt -09
- D 92 Johansson Sevä, Ingemar
Welfare State Attitudes in Context: Local contexts
and attitude formation in Sweden vt -09
- D 93 Norberg, Anna
Samkönad tvåsamhet: Vardagsliv och
heteronormativa praktiker vt -09
- D 94 Törnqvist, Daniel
När man talar om knark – Drogdebatt i svensk
dagspress 1970-1999 ht -09
- D 95 Britt-Inger Keisu
Att peka med hela handen. Om arbetsvillkor och kön
bland första linjens chefer ht -09
- D 96 Björn Ahlström
Bullying and Social Objectives
- A Study of Prerequisites for Success in Swedish Schools ht -09
- D 97 Madelene Nordlund
Long-term unemployment scarring and the role of labour
market policies. The case of Sweden in the 1990s vt -10

- D 98 Anna-Britt Coe
How Social Movements Influence Policies: Advocacy,
Framing, Emotions and Outcomes among Reproductive
Rights Coalitions in Peru vt -10
- D 99 Adam Droppe
Konstitueringen av ett vetenskapligt object:
Exemplet det manliga klimakteriet vt -10
- D 100 Jonny Bergman
Seeking Empowerment – Asylum-seeking Refugees
from Afghanistan in Sweden ht -10

Fr o m 1994 utges en ny avhandlingsserie
**"Akademiska avhandlingar vid sociologiska institutionen,
Umeå universitet"**

- A 1 Schreiber, Trine
Forhåbninger og skuffelser i kvindeerhvervene.
Kvindes møde med ny teknologi og organisatorisk
forandring ht -94
- A 2 Eriksson, Nils
The Psychosocial Work. Environment and Illness
Among Office Workers vt -96
- A 3 Augustsson, Gunnar
Etniska relationer i arbetslivet - Teknik, arbetsorga-
nisation & etnisk diskriminering i svensk bilindustri vt -96
- A 4 Eriksson, Helén & Gunnarsson, Elly
På tröskeln till omvårdnadsvärlden vt -97
- A 5 Södergran, Lena
Invandrar- och flyktingpolitik i praktiken
(licentiatavhandling) vt -97
- A 6 Löwander, Birgitta
Rasism och antirasism på dagordningen -
Studier av televisionens nyhetsrapportering
i början av 1990-talet ht -97
- A 7 Melin, Göran
Co-production of Scientific Knowledge -
Research Collaboration between Countries,
Universities and Individuals ht -97
- A 8 Stattin, Mikael
Yrke, yrkesförändring och utslagning från arbets-
marknaden - en studie av relationen mellan förtids-
pension och arbetsmarknadsförändring vt -98
- A 9 Lindgren, Simon
Ungdomsbilder - Text och kontext i den norrbottenska
mediediskursen från trettiotal till åttiotal
(licentiatavhandling) ht -98

- A 10 Nordenmark, Mikael
Unemployment, Employment Commitment and Well-being – The Psychosocial Meaning of (Un)employment among Women and Men vt -99
- A 11 Edlund, Jonas
Citizens and Taxation: Sweden in Comparative Perspective vt -99
- A 12 Appelqvist, Maria
Responsibility in Transition. A Study of Refugee Law and Policy in Sweden vt -99
- A 13 Hjerm, Mikael
My People Right or Wrong? A Comparative Analysis of National Sentiments and their Meaning vt -00
- A 14 Jacobsson, Mats
'Att blifva sin egen' - Ungdomars väg in i vuxenlivet i 1700- och 1800-talens övre Norrland vt -00
- A 15 Miettinen, Antti
Institutional Characteristics of Co-operatives Providing Welfare Services. Theoretical Study of Co-operatives and Their Members (licentiatavhandling) vt -00
- A 16 Södergran, Lena
Svensk Invandrar- och Integrationspolitik. En fråga om jämlikhet, demokrati och mänskliga rättigheter vt -00
- A 17 Bihagen, Erik
The Significance of Class. Studies of class inequalities, consumption and social circulation in contemporary Sweden ht -00
- A 18 Strandh, Mattias
Varying Unemployment Experiences? The economy and mental well-being ht -00
- A 19 Slavnic, Zoran
Existens och temporalitet. Om det samtida flyktingskapets komplexitet ht -00

- | | | |
|------|---|--------|
| A 20 | Kadhim, Abdul M.
Svenskt kommunalt flyktingmottagande. Politik och implementering | ht -00 |
| A 21 | Bengs, Carita
Looking good. A study of gendered body ideals among young people | ht -00 |
| A 22 | Danell, Rickard
Internationalization and Homogenization: A Bibliometric Study of International Management Research | vt -01 |
| A 23 | Grape, Owe
Mellan morot och piska. En fallstudie av 1992 års rehabiliteringsreform | ht -01 |
| A 24 | Nyman, Charlott
Mine, yours, or ours? Sharing in Swedish couples | vt -02 |
| A 25 | Evertsson, Lars
Välfärdspolitik och kvinnoyrken. Organisation, välfärdsstat och professionaliseringens villkor | vt -02 |
| A 26 | Danielsson, Erna
Är delaktighet möjlig i en byråkrati? En fallstudie inom Försvarsmakten av det arbete som föregick försvarsbeslut -96 | vt -02 |
| A 27 | Nordlund, Anders
Resilient Welfare States – Nordic Welfare State Development in the Late 20th century | vt -02 |
| A 28 | Lindgren, Simon
Modernitetens markörer. Ungdomsbilder i tid och rum | vt -02 |
| A 29 | Olofsson, Anna
Waves of Controversy. Gene Technology in Dagens Nyheter 1973-96 | vt -02 |
| A 30 | Öhman, Susanna
Public Perceptions of Gene Technology – On the Edge of Risk Society | vt -02 |

- A 31 Sundström, Eva
Gender Regimes, Family Policies and Attitudes to Female
Employment: A Comparison of Germany, Italy and Sweden vt -03
- A 32 Tigervall, Carina
Tigerns avklippta morrhår. Vi och de Andra i den nya
svenska filmen anno 2000 (licentiatuppsats) vt -03
- A 33 Mählck, Paula
Mapping Gender in Academic Workplaces: Ways of
Reproducing Gender Inequality within the Discourse
of Equality vt -03
- A 34 Karlsson, Peder
Forskarens socialisation: Kunskapssociologisk visit i
doktoranders livsvärldar vt -04
- A 35 Gustafson, Åsa
Sköra livsmönster. Om integrations- och normalise-
ringsprocesser bland bosniska flyktingar vt -04
- A 36 Hult, Carl
The way we conform to paid Labour: Commitment to
employment and organization from a comparative
perspective ht -04
- A 37 Westberg, Annika
Becoming an Adult. Living Conditions and Attitudes
among Swedish Youth vt -05
- A 38 Tigervall, Carina
Folkhemsk film: med "invandraren" i rollen som den
sympatiske Andre vt -05
- A 39 Almqvist, Anna-Lena
The Care of Children: A Cross-National Comparison of
Parents' Expectations and Experiences vt -05
- A 40 Karlsson, Lena
Klasstillhörighetens subjektiva dimension: Klass-
identitet, sociala attityder och fritidsvanor vt -05

- A 41 Rauch, Dietmar
Institutional Fragmentation and Social Service
Variations: A Scandinavian Comparison ht -05
- A 42 Bolinder, Margareta
Handlingsutrymmets betydelse för arbetslösas upp-
levelser, handlingsstrategier och jobbchanser vt -06
- A 43 Schmauch, Ulrika
Den osynliga vardagsrasismens realitet vt -06
- A 44 Jonsson, Gun
Tanter och representanter. Dilemman i frivilliga orga-
nisationer: - en fråga om oligarki eller demokrati? vt -06
- A 45 Kvist, Elin
Stormarknadens nya maktordningar – Från kassörskor
och butikshefer till (o)demokratiska arbetslag vt -06
- A 46 Johansson, Gun-Britt
Synderskan och Lagen:
Barnamord i tre Norrlandslän 1830-1870 vt -06
- A 47 Larsson, Daniel
Exposure to crime as a consequence of poverty.
Five investigations about relative deprivation, poverty
and exposure to crime ht -06
- A 48 Åström, Fredrik
The Social and Intellectual Development of Library
and Information Science ht -06
- A 49 Höckertin, Chatrine
Organisational characteristics and psychosocial working
conditions in different forms of ownership vt -07
- A 50 Grosse, Ingrid
Political parties and welfare associations ht -07
- A 51 Bask, Miia
A Longitudinal Approach to Social Exclusion in Sweden vt -08

- A 52 Nilsson Ranta, Daniel
Nödhjälp på villovägar: implementering av en filantropisk välfärdsidé, Norrbottens arbetsstugor 1903-1954 vt -08
- A 53 Samuelsson, Jenny
På väg från ingenstans. Kritik och emancipation av kunskapsorganisation för feministisk forskning ht -08
- A 54 Bolin, Malin
The importance of organizational characteristics for psychosocial working conditions and health vt -09
- A 55 Johansson Sevä, Ingemar
Welfare State Attitudes in Context: Local contexts and attitude formation in Sweden vt -09
- A 56 Sehlin, Staffan
Förebygger medling återfall i brott bland unga gärningsmän? En återfallsstudie av medlingsverksamheterna i Hudiksvall och Örnsköldsvik vt -09
- A 57 Norberg, Anna
Samkönad tvåsamhet: Vardagsliv och heteronormativa praktiker vt -09
- A 58 Törnqvist, Daniel
När man talar om knark – Drogdebatt i svensk dagspress 1970-1999 ht -09
- A 59 Britt-Inger Keisu
Att peka med hela handen. Om arbetsvillkor och kön bland första linjens chefer ht -09
- A 60 Björn Ahlström
Bullying and Social Objectives
- A Study of Prerequisites for Success in Swedish schools ht -09
- A 61 Madelene Nordlund
Long-term unemployment scarring and the role of labour market policies. The case of Sweden in the 1990s vt -10

- A 62 Anna-Britt Coe
How Social Movements Influence Policies: Advocacy,
Framing, Emotions and Outcomes among Reproductive
Rights Coalitions in Peru vt -10
- A 63 Adam Droppe
Konstitueringen av ett vetenskapligt object:
Exemplet det manliga klimakteriet vt -10
- A 64 Jonny Bergman
Seeking Empowerment – Asylum-seeking Refugees
from Afghanistan in Sweden ht -10