The Long-Distance Relationship
- The Issue of Family Separation and Its Effects on Somali Integration in Sweden
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Abstract

Statistics regarding Somalis’ integration in Sweden, indicates that this group have a hard time to become integrated, currently being characterized by high levels of unemployment, low levels of education and as being residentially segregated. Today, many Somalis reside in Sweden separated from their family. This due to the contemporary asylum framework, which does not recognize Somali identification documents as valid evidence for proving ones identity, when applying for asylum based on family ties. The decision from the Swedish Board of Migration, and its rejection of Somali identification documents as evidence for proving ones identity, can arguably be seen to illuminate the fact that Somalia is not seen as a legitimate nation-state. This view can therefore have effects on the concerned Somalis sense of national identity and citizenship.

This study investigates what consequences these two factors, stemming from the contemporary asylum framework, have on the affected Somalis ability and willingness to integrate, and if it can be seen as resulting in a state of anomie among the concerned group.

This has been done by interviewing Somalis that have been subject to the contemporary asylum framework and the outcome of family separation. The findings from these interviews have then been analyzed in relation to a conceptual framework and theoretical figure, which illustrates an interrelation between the concepts of citizenship, identity and integration, furthering integration in terms of a symmetric relationship between the three concepts, while possibly resulting in a state of anomie, in case of an asymmetric relationship between the three concepts.

The findings from this study indicate that the contemporary asylum frameworks denial of Somali identification documents can not be seen to have affected their sense of national identity and citizenship substantially. However, the issue of family separation can be seen to hamper the ability to integrate among affected Somalis, and can instead be seen to result in a sense of exclusion and un-representation among them, creating a state of anomie among this group.

**Key Words:** Somalis, Sweden, Family Separation, Identity, Citizenship, Integration, Anomie
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List of Abbreviations

EU...........................................................................................................................................The European Union
EUROSTAT........................................................................................................The statistical office of the European Union
SFI...........................................................................................................................................Svenska för Invandrare
UN...........................................................................................................................................The United Nations
UNHCR.............................................................The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
1. Introduction

1.1. Introduction and Problem Formulation
Among two million Somalis are believed to be residing outside their country of origin, many of them as refugees, due to the collapse of the nation-state of Somalia more than 20 years ago (Lewis, 2008: 1). Among 50 000 of these Somalis are approximately residing in Sweden (Sistek, 2011: 1). The current situation of the Somali nation-state, as lacking a legitimate government (Lewis, 2008: ix) is often encapsulated in the terminology of a “failed state” (Karns & Mingst, 2010: 274), a situation with devastating outcomes for citizens residing both in, and outside Somalia.

The Somali state can be seen to have “failed”, in two different, but also interrelated, ways. First, by being unable or/and unwilling to acknowledge its obligation of protecting its citizens, by providing them basic features of welfare and security (Lewis, 2008). Secondly, it has as a consequence of this, been unable to get internationally recognized legitimacy (Lewis, 2008), needed for a state to maintain its autonomy and sovereignty (Hettne, 2000: 37). In the case of Somalia, one can see this as evidence of what Björn Hettne (2000:37), with reference to Charles Tilly (1975), sees as “decreasing stateness”, resulting in the weakening of citizenship.

One example of this weakening of citizenship is the inability for Somalis to be issued internationally recognized identification documents. The lack of a legitimate state, consequently results in the lack of a legitimate authority, able to issue internationally recognized identification documents (Landinfo, 2009: 10). This has resulted in many countries, including those adhering to the Schengen agreement, e.g. Sweden, to deem Somali passports issued after the fall of the government in 1990/91, invalid (Ibid.). Hence, they are not recognized as travel documents, since they cannot be seen as accurate evidence of a person’s identity (Ibid.)

John Torpey (1998), shows that this link between an internationally recognized citizenship and entitlement to internationally recognized identification documents, is more than a formality. Torpey (1998: 249-250), argues that since the creation of internationally recognized identification documents, establishing the national belonging of citizens is vital when crossing internationally recognized boundaries and facilitates movement between nation-states, identification documents shall be seen as a way for states to secure and surveil their citizens within the international system of nation-states (Torpey, 1998: 241). Consequently, following this embodiment of citizenship in internationally recognized documents, states now have
monopolized the authority to determine legitimate means of movement (Torpey, 1998: 239-240). Arguably, this can be seen as a form of biopolitics, a link that will be further developed below in the conceptual framework part of this study.

This “monopolization of movement” and its consequences for Somalis, unable to be issued legitimate identification documents, has become amply clear within the context of the contemporary Swedish asylum framework, portrayed by Somali family members’ inability of being granted asylum based on family ties with a resident in Sweden. The Swedish Board of Migration has in accordance with two rulings from the Swedish Migration Court of appeal (UM 8296-09 (2009-11-27) and UM 1014-09 (2010-01-04)), decided not to recognize any Somali identification documents issued after 31st of January 1991, as evidence for proving ones identity (Migrationsverket, 2011a). In practise, this has resulted in a catch-22 situation for Somalis, denying them the right to be reunited with their family member(s) (Lindström, 2011), a right that is seen as a universal Human Right (Lundberg et al., 2010: 322).

As a volunteer for the Red Cross refugee group, I have personally met and discussed this issue with a number of Somalis. A common element in many of these visits is that Somalis are unable to understand the legal framework, and therefore cannot comprehend why they cannot be reunited with their families here in Sweden. Their faces mirrors feelings of surprise and despair, when we tell them that as of now the Red Cross cannot do much to help, since we also have to work in accordance with the legal framework. Frequently after these visits, have I thought about how this may feel for those Somalis, and if their self-image and their view of Sweden may be negatively affected by this experience.

The problematic nature of this scenario can also be seen as transcending the issue of family separation, by illuminating another issue linked to the entitlement of internationally recognized identification documents, namely; what it means, in both practical and psychological terms, for a person to hold a national citizenship, or in the case of Somalis, to be deprived of it, and how this may be linked to a sense of national identity deprivation. With reference to Torpey, (1998) and the discussed link between citizenship and entitlement to identification documents, the decision from the Swedish Board of Migration cannot solely be seen as visualizing Somalis lack of legitimate passports, but also as an expression from Swedish authorities of their apprehension, considering Somalis as lacking national citizenship. Following this, the question if this objective apprehension is mirrored in the subjective understanding among Somali family members residing in Sweden, and if this may result in a feeling of un-representation and exclusion, is appearing as another possible consequence of these regulations.
The statistics regarding the Somali immigrant group in Sweden presents a dark picture when it comes to Somalis’ integration in Sweden. They are characterized by high unemployment rates, low education and as being subject to residential segregation (Sistek, 2011: 2). Since, the literature on Somali integration in Sweden is very scarce, it is hard to present any general answer to why the statistics look as they do. This issue will be developed further in chapter four of this study.

However, in my understanding, both the issue of family separation and identity shaping in line with the Swedish authorities’ view of Somalis’ lacking a legitimate state might be seen as parameters that may relate to their sense of exclusion and lack of integration in society. This reasoning will be developed further in the conceptual framework part of this study, visualizing how the concepts of citizenship, identity and integration can be seen as theoretically interrelated when applied in this context, furthering each other in the case of a symmetric relationship between the three, plausibly facilitating the process of integration. Contrary, an asymmetric relation between them will here be seen as constituting a possible state of exclusion related to the concept of anomie, here understood in a slightly different way compared to its conventional meaning of “normlessness”. Anomie is here to be seen as linked to a feeling of exclusion, resulting from not being part of what Émile Durkheim refers to as the societal “nomos” (Marks, 1974: 359).

While the literature on Somali integration in Sweden is very scarce, the issue of the contemporary asylum laws concerning Somali family reunification in Sweden has been a hot subject in media debates since the implementation of these rulings. However, to my knowledge, this issue has not been subject for any academic publications. Neither has anyone investigated how the outcome of the legal framework, in terms of Somalis lacking a legitimate citizenship, may affect their subjective identity and what effects this may have on their integration, regarding a possible feeling of exclusion.

In the literature overview section in chapter three, it will be evident that both the issue of family separation and how ones subjective identity is affected when arriving in a new country, affects the situation for immigrants in their new society by corresponding to their well-being and willingness to become part of their new society. Hence, a study that seeks to explore both of these issues in regard to the outcome of the contemporary legal asylum framework and its consequences for affected Somalis in Sweden, seems relevant and is hitherto an issue that remains to be explored.
1.2. Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

By using Somalis whom are personally affected by the legal framework as a case, the objective of this study is to investigate if the current legal asylum framework, (with the outcome of family separation and portrayal of Somalis as lacking a legitimate state, and consequently a national citizenship), makes Somalis feel excluded, in the sense that they are denied rights that are given to other immigrant groups and not least to ethnic Swedes. Moreover, this study will investigate how this possible sense of exclusion may affect Somalis’ ability and willingness to become integrated into the Swedish society and instead plausibly result in a state of anomie among the concerned group.

This study takes its point of departure in the contemporary Swedish asylum framework, here understood as a form of biopolitics, and its outcomes, illuminating the practical consequences for Somalis seeking to be reunited with their families in Sweden. In accordance with Roger Andersson (2007: 63), noticing a rarely discussed link between system integration and social integration, this study approaches the Somali integration process from a more social psychological point of departure, focusing on the link between the subjective understanding of identity and how this becomes contrasted and shaped within a larger societal context, especially in relation to positions held by institutions and authorities.

As previously mentioned, based on the reasoning behind the conceptual framework and theoretical figure (outlined in chapter 3), this study sees the concepts of citizenship, identity and integration as interrelated, furthering each other in the case of a symmetric relationship. In such a case the process of integration will be facilitated. Thus, in the case of an asymmetric relationship between the three concepts, the ability and willingness to integrate may be hampered, and can possibly result in a state of anomie.

By using the case of Somalis subjected to the contemporary asylum framework and the outcome of family separation, the objective of this study is to investigate if any of the links between the three concepts of citizenship, identity and integration, can be seen to be turned awry in this case. Furthermore, this study will investigate whether such a situation can be seen as deriving from the issues linked to the contemporary asylum framework, and what impact it may have on the ability to integrate for the affected Somalis, focusing on the effects that the contemporary asylum regulations may have on the links and relationship between the three concepts.
This study is set out to answer the following research questions:

- How do the contemporary asylum framework and the resulting family separation affect the possibility for affected Somalis to become integrated into Swedish society?
- What impact does the contemporary asylum framework, and the denial of Somali identity documents, have upon the Somalis’ sense of national identity?
- Can the contemporary asylum framework and the outcome of family separation, be seen as resulting in a state of anomie among the Somalis who are affected by this framework?

This study has been conducted in the form of a case study, the case being Somalis subject to the contemporary asylum framework with the outcome of family separation, and how this may affect their willingness and ability to integrate. In order to answer this, interviews have been conducted with nine Somalis that are residing in Sweden, separated from their families. Also, in order to present a contrasting picture regarding this issue, three interviews with Somalis residing in Sweden together with their family, have been conducted.

The findings from these interviews have then been analyzed in relation to the conceptual framework and theoretical figure presented in the third chapter. This in order to see if the findings from these interviews can be seen as indicating a sense of exclusion, in relation to the concept of anomie, and a lack of ability to integrate among Somalis, and if this can be seen as stemming from the issues linked to the contemporary asylum framework and the outcome of family separation.

1.3. Relevance

In recent years Somalis have been one of the largest immigrant groups seeking asylum in Sweden (van Heelsum, 2011: 9, 11). Right now approximately 50,000 Somalis are residing in Sweden (Sistek, 2011: 1), and the numbers are likely to increase in the years to come (Bornhäll & Westerberg, 2009: 5). However, they have hitherto been the immigrant group that is considered least integrated (Sistek, 2011: 2). As noted, Somalis are currently characterised by high unemployment, low level of education and residential segregation (Ibid.). This indicates that the Swedish society must implement policies that seek to facilitate
the integration among Somalis’, otherwise they are likely to be continuously characterized by differentiation and be seen as an economical and social cost for the Swedish society.

However, Somalis represent a rather specific case in comparison to other immigrant groups in Sweden, since they so far are the only ones who have become affected by this particular outcome of the contemporary legal asylum framework on a general level. The outcome of the contemporary legal asylum framework, resulting in family separation and arguably a possible feeling of identity deprivation, cannot be solely blamed for having created the current situation of poor integration among Somalis. This was an issue long before the implementation of the current framework. However, as will be visible in the literature overview in chapter three, both the literature on family separation and subjective identity deprivation can evidently be seen to affect integration negatively. Therefore, presupposing that integration is the objective, it seems commonsensical to ask whether the contemporary legal asylum framework and its consequences for Somalis are to be seen as a step in the right direction.

This together with the deficiency in existing literature regarding the relation between family separation, identity shaping and integration among Somalis in Sweden, highlights one aspect of why the undertaking of this study is relevant.

Moreover, this study is relevant because it seeks to investigate how a vulnerable group of people (migrants fleeing from war), are affected by a decision that possibly makes them feel even more vulnerable. In this case, both the issue of being separated from your family, and the *de jure* deprivation of your citizenship and possibly, your sense of having a national identity, are in my understanding issues linked to security and welfare and can be seen as having an impact on the ability and willingness to integrate. Arguably, this scenario can also be seen as illustrating the frailness, regarding rights based on national citizenship in an era where the role of state is changing (Scholte, 2005: 192-193), and illuminates that within certain contexts, people are still very much depending on their belonging to a nation-state in order to hold recognition.

The issue of Somalia illustrates that the nation-state cannot be seen as such a concrete creation as we may think. At the same time this issue visualizes that many of the rights and freedoms that we take for granted are actually exclusively linked to a legitimate belonging to a nation-state.

In my understanding, and with adherence to the literature regarding identity and integration, it seems obvious that the new country of residence for migrants shall try to work for integrating immigrants in the society, i.e. inclusion, providing them the right to citizenship.
on the basis of their value as humans. Reasonably, this can be seen as illustrating a need to rethink policies that are founded upon a world view characterized by interdependence between nation-states, since this can no longer be seen as applicable to all people and here can be seen as working as an apparatus that excludes people instead of including them.

1.4. Delimitations
Hereof, this study will not go into a juridical discussion, regarding if the Swedish board of Migration’s decision is justifiable and legitimate in accordance with international law. Therefore, it will not deepen the discussion and analysis concerning the various legal protocols that are to be seen as related to this issue. Moreover, since the literature on citizenship is already very extensive and comprehensive, the purpose of this study shall not be seen as part of a wider discussion concerning new forms of citizenship based on premises beyond the nation-state. Thus, it will not thoroughly explore or discuss articles, concerned with the more normative approach to the concept of citizenship, and its possible effects on an issue like this one.

Hence, this study is not to be regarded as an endeavour conducted to find out who is to blame for the current situation, or how a different application concerning the concept of citizenship may contribute to a change, but instead merely as visualizing the possible social and psychological consequences this may have on the affected Somalis, anchoring it into a wider societal picture, concerning how it affects their willingness and ability to integrate, in relation to a possible feeling of exclusion and state of anomie.

The limited time for gathering and analyzing the collected material makes it necessary to limit the scope of this study. Hence, this is done by solely focusing on how a possible sense of exclusion, stemming from the outcome of the contemporary legal asylum framework, may affect Somali family members’ willingness and ability to integrate. Without doubt the conceptual framework presented below could be used more thoroughly in order to encapsulate other possible parameters affecting Somalis’ integration. However, since this study will focus solely on the link between a possible feeling of exclusion and its relation to integration, it will not be able to present a general valid answer of how the contemporary legal asylum framework affects Somalis integration. This study should therefore not be seen as an endeavour set out to solve the problematic nature of this issue, but merely as illuminating one part of the possible answer and shed light on this problematic issue.
1.5. Limitations

First of all it is worth to point out that since I volunteer for the Red Cross, and through that have come in contact with the issue of family separation among Somalis subjected to the contemporary asylum framework, my position towards this issue has certainly been influenced and cannot be seen as unbiased. However, by investigating this issue from a social psychological perspective and by trying to outline the consequences stemming from this issue from a wider societal aspect, the scope of this study goes beyond the direct, personal consequences that family separation causes for those affected. As already outlined, the intention with this study is not to find out who is to blame for causing the present situation, but merely to investigate what consequences the contemporary asylum framework and the outcome of family separation among affected Somalis has on their ability and willingness to integrate. Hence, my preconceived knowledge, deriving from my work at the Red Cross, is important. Without it, my personal knowledge about this issue would have been minimal and this study would probably not have been conducted. Hence, this factor can be seen to have affected the point of departure for this study, thus in extension influencing the approach taken here. It should be firmly pointed out, that as a researcher; it is hard not to become part of the very context and issue you study. From the ontological approach taken here, it is natural that you as a researcher influence “reality” and that “reality” influence you. Hence, following this, it is imperative to point out that the findings presented here, only represents one view of this issue, not the right one, nor the only one.

The findings that this study is founded upon are to a large extent based on interviews with Somalis whom have been subject to the contemporary legal asylum framework and the outcome of family separation. In total, twelve interviews were conducted, nine with Somalis residing in Sweden separated from their family and three with Somalis residing in Sweden together with their family. Intentionally, the number of interviews was supposed to be a bit higher. However, it was hard to come in direct contact with Somalis subject to this issue, thus leading to a decrease concerning the number of interviews possible to conduct within this limited timeframe. Hence, it is not possible to draw general conclusions based on the findings from these interviews.

Also, since the regulations have only been in affect for a few years, it was hard to come in contact with Somalis that were able to perform the interviews in Swedish and/or English. In most of the cases the interviews were instead conducted in Somali, and then translated into Swedish with the help of a translator. This led to that the direct contact between interviewer and interviewee was diminished and that the answers were “filtered” through the words of the
translator. However, since I clearly presented the objective of this study for the translator, and since the translator himself have shown great interest and concern in this subject, the general content of the interviews can not be seen to have been affected significantly.

Moreover, since the translator agreed to help me with the interviews freely and did not required any sort of financial compensation for his work, it felt important to not take up more of his time than necessary. This resulted in that the majority of the interviewed Somalis, subject to the contemporary asylum regulations, participated in group interviews instead of individual interviews, which was the intention from the beginning. During the group interviews it was evident that some participants were more inclined to talk and raise their concerns than others. Hence, for avoiding that the findings of the group interviews were solely to be based on some participants’ views, I often had to direct questions specifically to others that had been more reluctant to participate in the conversation, and also to ask whether or not all the participants agreed with the view presented by one, or some, of the others.

Furthermore, the fact that only a few of the affected Somalis spoke Swedish or English fluently, made it hard to get in touch with them personally in order to arrange an interview. Instead I had to rely on the help that the translator provided me with. Since he works as chairman for a Somali organization, he had lots of contact with Somali people and was able to set me up with suitable interviewees. Logically this resulted in a situation where I myself was not able to choose who to interview. However, since all the interviewees in general gave similar answers to the questions related to the link between family separation and integration, and since the content of these findings were supported by the view of the interviewed Somalis residing in Sweden with their families, I do not see that this issue will have any general impact on the presented findings.

Moreover, concerning the validity of the answers presented by the interviewees, it is possible that my role as a researcher and the objective of this study may have influenced the answers from those participating. It is hard to evaluate your part in the process of interaction between interviewer and interviewee, and to what extent your role as a researcher and the objective of the study influences the answers to the questions asked. However, I have tried to overcome the types of problems, linked to this issue, by asking open-ended questions and by encouraging all participants to raise their concerns and give their own view of the matter being discussed. Still though, the fact that no previous study dealing with this issue has been conducted makes it hard to compare and validate the answers from the interviewees. However, I have no reason to believe that any of the interviewees should have provided false or modified information, for his/her own beneficial and in that way taken advantage over the
aforementioned process of interaction between interviewer and interviewee. Thus, it is once more important to point out that this is my interpretation of the processes and outcomes circled around the issue being investigated. Hence, it shall not be seen as the correct one, or the only one.

1.6. Structure

This study is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter, the *Introduction*, consists of some general background information and a problem formulation. Moreover, it includes the purpose of the study, the formulated research question and the relevance of this study. It also highlights the delimitations and limitations of this study.

In the second chapter, the *Methodological Framework*, the methodology and method being used in this study is described. Also, this chapter outlines which types of sources this study is based upon. Moreover, it includes a part discussing the ethical considerations related to this study and the issue it investigates.

The third chapter, the *Theoretical Framework*, consists of a literature overview, presenting more detailed information regarding the most important sources that are used in this study and also gives an overview of the literature related to the subjects of citizenship, identity, integration, family separation and Somali integration in Sweden. This chapter also outlines the conceptual framework used in this study, describing the reasoning behind the theoretical figure that sees the concepts of citizenship, identity and integration as being interrelated. It finishes with a part discussing the theoretical limitations of this framework.

Chapter four, *Background*, goes into more detail regarding the subjects of the situation in Somalia, Somali migration and Somali integration in Sweden. It also, gives a more thorough description regarding the issue of Somalis within the context of the contemporary Swedish asylum framework.

The fifth chapter, *Findings*, presents the findings from the performed interviews, summarizes the answers from the findings and answers the posted research questions.

In chapter six, *Analysis*, the findings are analyzed and elaborated on, in relation to the conceptual framework and theoretical figure being used in this study.

Chapter seven, *Conclusion*, sums up the main findings of this study and presents a conclusion in relation to the context of the problem being investigated. It also contains a part, where suggestions for further research concerning this subject are pointed out.
2. Methodological Framework

2.1. Methodology
This study has been conducted in the form of a case study with a qualitative approach. Case studies are used when seeking to understand an individual phenomenon within a certain context (Chadderton & Torrance, 2011: 53; Flyvbjerg, 2011: 301; Baxter & Jack, 2008: 545). Hence, from this follows that the case becomes the unit of analysis (Flyvbjerg, 2011: 301; Baxter & Jack, 2008: 545). Here the case is circled around Somalis personally affected by the outcome of the contemporary legal asylum framework and how this may result in a possible feeling of exclusion, plausibly affecting their integration into Swedish society.

Furthermore, case studies rests on the assumption inherent in social constructivism and social interaction, understanding reality as socially created and truth as something relative and subjective (Chadderton & Torrance, 2011: 53; Baxter & Jack, 2008: 545). As will be visible in the forthcoming theoretical framework; this study adheres to this ontological understanding of reality, which justifies the choice of doing a case study.

Following this ontological understanding, case studies are interested in portraying an individual’s view of a certain phenomenon, thus; it favours depth before coverage (Chadderton & Torrance, 2011: 54). It intends to be descriptive, inductive and possible heuristic, improving the readers understanding of a certain issue and present an interpretation of the problem being investigated (Ibid.) Consequently as Charlotte Chadderton and Harry Torrance (2011: 55), points out, case studies have borrowed much of their methods from ethnography, relying on interviews and observations. However, interviews are more widely used, due to the fact that case studies are often to be completed within a shorter time-frame compared to ethnographic studies. This study is no exception from this.

2.2. Method
The previous description of a case study implies that for sake of answering the posted research questions, this study has taken the form of a field study with a qualitative point of departure, and is founded mostly upon primary sources in the form of interviews. The fact that no previous literature exists regarding this issue, justifies this approach.

As stated, the interviews have been conducted with Somalis personally affected by the outcome of the contemporary legal asylum framework. Nine of these interviewees are Somalis residing in Sweden, separated from their families, whom are living in neighbouring
countries. Six of the interviewees belonging to this category are women and three of them are men. Within this category, two of the interviews were conducted in Swedish and were individual interviews. The remaining seven interviewees were divided into two group interviews with three respectively four participants. The group interviews were translated from Somali into Swedish with the help of a translator. The individual interviews lasted between 1 and 1.5 hours, while the group interviews lasted between 2 and 3 hours.

Also, three separate interviews were conducted with Somalis who have lived in Sweden for a longer period of time and who have not been subject to the problematic consequences following the contemporary asylum framework, regarding the issue of family separation. This category is made up of two interviews with men and one interview with a woman. These interviews were conducted in an effort to get a somewhat contrasting picture regarding the concerned issue of family separation and its relation to integration and exclusion. These interviews were all individual interviews that lasted between 45 minutes and 1.5 hours, and were conducted in Swedish and/or English.

All of the twelve interviewees were asked to answer questions related to four sections of subjects: their background and life in Sweden, their relationship with Somalia, their relationship with their family and family separation, and issues related to identity and exclusion.

Due to the limited time for gathering the necessary information in the form of interviews, this study has relied on findings from interviewees residing in the area around Växjö. One exception from this was a Somali woman, residing in Jönköping. The interviewees have been located with the help of two Somalis that have been residing in Sweden for a longer period of time, and themselves have contact with many Somalis. The intention was to conduct individual interviews in Swedish and/or English. However, since the majority of the interviewed Somalis subject to the contemporary asylum framework, were not able to perform the interviews in any of these languages, they were instead conducted in Somali and then translated into Swedish with the help of a translator. Also, in order to simplify for the translator, seven of the interviewed Somalis belonging to this category were participating in group interviews, with three respectively four participants.

Hence this study is based on semi-structured interviews conducted with Somalis whom are personally affected by the contemporary asylum framework and the outcome of family separation. The views of these respondents have then been contrasted with the views of Somalis who are residing in Sweden together with their family. As Rosaline Barbour and John Schostak (2011: 62) points out, semi-structured interviews with open ended questions are
preferable when the interviewer wants to enable unexpected answers and information. This can be seen as captured in the example provided by Alexander George and Andrew Bennett (2005: 20), asking the hypothetical question of “were you thinking X when you did Y, and the interviewee answers “no I was thinking Z”, though opening up the possibility for the formation of new hypothesis.

The findings from the interviews have then been analysed with the help of the conceptual framework outlined in the theoretical framework chapter below; seeing the concepts of citizenship, identity and integration as theoretically interrelated in this context, and linking an asymmetric relationship between them to a possible perceived state of anomie, corresponding to a sense of exclusion from the societal “nomos” among the group members, which may negatively affect their integration.

In order to retrieve background information about the issue as well as issues related to it, placing it within a larger societal context, this study has relied on printed, secondary sources in the form of books, articles and newspaper articles. Many of the articles were retrieved by using university article database search engine, LibHub, and also through Google Scholar. Search words included: Somalia, Integration, Sweden, Family Separation, Identity, Citizenship and National Identity. They were either used separately or in various combinations with each other.

In relation to the concept of citizenship, this study has relied primarily on articles by scholars exploring the inherent meaning of the concept and how that may come to change, or is changing, in the 21st century, presenting a different view about what is inherent in the concept of citizenship and envisions what this should be based upon, both in theory and practice. Examples include Björn Hettne’s (2000) article, discussing how the concept of citizenship may come to change in the post-Westphalia era, and perhaps be based on a more regional interpretation of the concept. Moreover, Gerard Delanty (1997), discusses how the concept of citizenship and its link to the nation-state can be seen to have transformed within the context of the EU. However, it is so far not clear which direction this development has taken, and what a legitimate European citizenship should be founded upon. Delanty suggests that this new form of European citizenship should be based upon residence instead of the traditional links to jus sanguinis and jus soli.

In order to illustrate the link between citizenship and national identity, much of the reasoning is based upon works from scholars belonging to social psychology, including Denis Sindic’s (2011) article, dealing with the possible link between national citizenship and the sense of having a national identity, hence, seeing citizenship as more than a formality, by
illustrating that it can be important evidence for who you are, in terms of national identity. Elaborating on this reasoning, Nick Hopkins and Leda Blackwood (2011), are investigating what it means for immigrants to be represented as national citizens, and what consequences it may have for their feelings of belonging and representation if they are characterized by other identities instead.

The arguments related to the link between identity and integration is mostly based on the article by Jean Phinney et al. (2001), discussing the interrelationship between ethnic and national identity, and the importance of a fruitful interrelation between these two for the sake of enabling integration instead of assimilation or separation. This reasoning is then elaborated on with the help of Amartya Sen (2006) and the argument he puts forward in his book *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny.*

Moreover, the importance of family for refugees residing in a new country is based upon two articles written by; Cécile Rousseau et al. (2004) and Celia McMichael and Malyun Achmed (2003). Both articles investigate what family separation means for the everyday situation of refugees in Canada, respectively Australia.

Regarding Somali integration in Sweden, it has already been pointed out that the literature regarding this subject is very scarce. Most of the reasoning regarding this issue is based on a newspaper article published by the magazine Fokus (Sistek, 2011) and on a paper published by the Swedish think-tank Timbro (Bornhäll & Westerberg, 2009). Some information was also retrieved from a report published by the Swedish National Integration Office in 1999. However, this report is old and its validity concerning the present situation of Somali integration can be questioned, since some of the findings outlined in the report do not seem to fit with the present situation regarding Somali integration in Sweden.

A more thorough description about the content and usage of these sources, as well as others, will be found under the headlines of *Literature Overview* and *Conceptual Framework,* both incorporated in the theoretical framework chapter of this thesis.

**2.3. Ethical Considerations**
Since this is an issue that may be very sensitive to the ones concerned, and has the possibility of evoking feelings of loneliness and loss, one must definitely take into consideration the ethical aspect of the problem. It may be the fact that possible interviewees do not want to talk about this issue, since it is very sensitive to them. In order to try to overcome this problem, I have made sure to explain to those participating, that they are entitled to remain strictly
anonymous, and that the purpose of this study is to portray a general picture of their situation, linked to the research questions posted above. Hence, it is not the intention, nor the need, to point to specific cases, but instead to draw conclusions based on the possible shared assumptions, deriving from Somalis affected by this issue as a group.
3. Theoretical Framework

3.1. Literature Overview

The literature regarding national citizenship is immense. Much of the literature is, in relation to Hettne’s (2000) article, discussing the transformation of citizenship in the global world, where the nature of the nation-state is changing and which direction this has taken, or preferably shall take. For example, Delanty (1997) and Manos Papazoglou (2010) are discussing the transformation of citizenship within the context of the EU and how this concept has transcended the national boundaries, with the consequences that follow.

In line with this, Adamson et al. (2011) are discussing the tendency of liberal states, with the focus on Europe, to safeguard their own liberal practises by downplaying rights of third country nationals residing, or seeking to reside within Europe. Contrary, to this exclusive and protectionist tendencies of citizenship, Andrew Gordon and Trevor Stack (2007) are approaching this topic from a more normative angle, highlighting the need for us to broaden the concept of citizenship by making it more inclusive, regarding it as a right that should be entitled to all humans, regardless of their nationality.

Moreover, scholars belonging to the social psychological field have recently been interested in the link between citizenship and identity. Sindic (2011) is elaborating on the link between citizenship and national identity, arguing that citizenship should not solely be seen as something related to rights and duties but also to encompass a psychological feeling of identity. Following this, Hopkins and Blackwood (2011), investigates how immigrants are sometimes not recognized by their identity as citizens, but becomes characterized by other identities (religious, ethnic), and what consequences this may have in terms of their feeling of belonging and representation in society.

Identity and integration is also a very thoroughly discussed issue among scholars. For example, Phinney et al., (2001) discusses how immigrants in their new society must establish a new link between their ethnic identity and the national identity of the new society, and how the outcome of this affects their psychological well-being and adaption to the new society. They clearly illustrate how integration is a dual process and argues that successful integration in this sense is a result of society allowing immigrants to retain an ethnic identity, while
encouraging an adaptation to the new national identity. Where this process is successful, immigrants feel integrated and it corresponds with a high degree of psychological well-being.

In a Swedish context, Fereshteh Lewin’s (2001) article discussing the relation between identity and integration among Iranian immigrants in Sweden is worth mentioning. Lewin portrays the divergent attitudes among Iranian men and women towards their relation with the Swedish society. He concludes that Iranian women have an easier time to adapt to the new society, since they perceive a general improvement of their status in the Swedish society in comparison to that of their home country. In Sweden they are allowed to work in sectors that in Iran were restricted to men only. They are also protected from discrimination by the Swedish legal framework. Both these factors result in them feeling more equal to men and illustrate a status improvement. The opposite is true for the Iranian men, perceiving a decrease in their status compared to Iranian women and to society as a whole. This since they have to take on jobs that they are educationally overqualified for, and since they feel that their status compared to women is decreasing.

Regarding family reunification, the literature is not as extended. Both McMichael and Ahmed (2003) and Rousseau et al. (2004) are investigating the consequences of family separation for refugees, highlighting the need to be able to reunite with your family within a reasonable timeframe in order to prevent stressful and traumatic experiences, hampering the process of integration. As referred to above, Anna Lundberg et al. (2010), perceives family unification to be a universal Human Right and urges governments to take issues related to this seriously. Galya Ruffer (2011) agrees to this essentiality, but does point to the recent development of different sorts of juridical and political restrictions within the EU framework concerning this issue, which may indicate a change in the opposite direction.

The literature discussing Somali integration in Sweden is very scarce. In 1999, the Swedish National Integration Office published a report concerning how to improve integration among Somalis in Sweden. The report concluded that Somalis have a large potential to become successfully integrated, due to that they are relatively young and well educated compared to other immigrant groups. However, the report highlighted a need to improve and develop policies concerning accessibility to language studies, labour market and to make sure that Somali children got access to preschool. It also deemed it necessary to speed up the asylum process in order to avoid long-drawn process concerning residence permits, leaving the applicant in a very uncertain position. It should be pointed out that the report is more than
twelve years old, and the current validity of it can therefore be questioned, since more recent studies show a very low level of education among Somali immigrants.

More recent studies, e.g. a paper published by the Swedish think-tank, Timbro, pointed at the high unemployment rates among Somalis in Sweden, and what can be done in terms of labour market policies to change this situation (Bornhäll & Westerberg, 2009). According to the authors, the Swedish labour market policies consists of too many barriers, in terms of payment, taxes and other sorts of charges, making it a risky business for companies to hire low-skilled and inexperienced labour. This results in a situation where people with lower qualifications cannot compete on equal terms on the labour market, since they become disfavoured by the system. Bornhäll and Westerberg (2009), suggest that one way to change this scenario is to lower the thresholds, in terms of payments, taxes and fees, making low-skilled labour more attractive and competitive.

In 2011, the newspaper Fokus published an article discussing the problematic issue of Somali integration in Sweden. The article highlighted the large cultural differences between Somalia and Sweden as a possible problem for why Somalis have such a hard time to integrate. It also acknowledged that the segregation and alienation experienced by many Somalis, in terms of inaccessibility to the labour market, language difficulties and the residential segregation, can result in deepening these cultural differences further, thus affecting integration negatively.

The issue of the new asylum rulings and their consequences on Swedish asylum law has been heavily debated between different organizations, directly or indirectly involved in this issue, and the Swedish authorities. As an example the press-release from the Red Cross (2010-10-06), calling for the Swedish government to revise the asylum framework and see the importance of family reunification, was adhered to by numerous other organizations. The debate concerning this issue has also been widely covered by the Swedish media, with reports about the Somalis’ situation in both newspapers, on the radio and on TV. However, as pointed out in the introduction, the issue of family separation and its link to integration among Somalis has so far not been subject to any academic publications. Moreover, so far no one has discussed how the outcome of the asylum framework in terms of Somalis lacking a legitimate citizenship, may affect their subjective identity and what effects this may have on their integration, and how these two issues can be seen as being linked to each other in the context of Somali family separation in Sweden under the contemporary asylum regulations.
In the next section the interrelation between the concepts of citizenship, identity and integration will be visualized by using a theoretical figure, illustrating how the issue of family reunification can be seen to illuminate a wider range of problems that at first hand may not seem to be related to the issue per se, but may very well be.

3.2. Conceptual Framework

As stated above, the issue of Somali family separation can be seen not solely in terms of practical consequences related to the issue per se, but also as illuminating a bigger problem, i.e. the practical and psychological consequences stemming from a decision that can be seen as depriving national citizenship for Somalis. By showing how the concepts of citizenship, identity and integration are theoretically interrelated, this section aims to illustrate how a denial of rights inherent in a legitimate national citizenship might affect ones subjective identity and thereby possibly hamper the process of integration by resulting in a sense of exclusion from the societal “nomos”, thus causing a state of anomie among the concerned group.

First of all it is worth highlighting that none of the concepts referred to holds a clear rigid definition, but seems to imply different meanings depending on within which context they are applied (Franzén, 2001: 74; Castles & Miller, 2009: 44; Boswell & Geddes, 2011: 206). Hence, they seem to relate to Hans Abrahamsson’s (2003: 4), view of concepts as context dependent, and therefore needs to be defined, both separately and in relation to each other.

On a general level, the concept of citizenship is linked to a relation between nation-state and inhabitant. Conventionally, it implies a membership in a political community, presently characterized by the nation-state (Hettne, 2000: 35; Sindic, 2011: 202; Gibson & Hamilton, 2011: 229), which in turn exists in interdependence with other nation-states, all depending on recognition from each other (Billig, 1995: 20, (with reference to Giddens, 1985, 1987); Hettne, 2000: 37, (with reference to Tilly, 1975)). As Sindic (2011: 207) points out, citizenship does not necessarily need to be explicitly related to a sense of belonging and representation in accordance with a nation-state. However, since the contemporary international system is characterized by the interdependence of nation-states, there is presently no real alternative to citizenship based on membership in a nation-state (Sindic, 2011: 207; Alonso, 1995: 585.).

Moreover, citizenship is to be understood as a subjective feeling of belonging, characterized by individuals’ willingness to represent themselves, and be represented, in accordance with their membership in this political community (Gibson & Hamilton, 2011:
229; Sindic, 2011: 203) thus, encapsulating a more psychological understanding of the concept (Ibid.). Thereby it highlights the interplay between objective and subjective recognition and identification of self and others as citizens of a specific nation-state (Sindic, 2011: 203). Arguably, citizenship can be seen as the glue holding nation and state together, being more than a formality related to rights and duties, since it presupposes a symmetric psychological sense of identification between the inhabitants of a nation-state, as well as between the state and its inhabitants, legitimizing equal entitlement to rights and duties inherent in this membership of a specific political community (Ibid.).

From a more critical point of departure, citizenship can be linked to the concept of biopolitics, here understood as being linked to the states ability and willingness to provide welfare to its population in regard to the management of life, acted out through policies of health, education, population control etc. (Buur et al., 2007: 14). Drawing from the reasoning of Giorgio Agamben (1998), biopolitics is to be seen as a way for states to enhance their sovereignty, distinguishing between included and excluded forms of life in relation to membership in the political community (Buur et al., 2007: 15), portrayed in the entitlement to citizenship. Actions in the form of biopolitics can be seen as a facilitator for those included in the political community, in the sense of making them feel exclusively entitled to a membership that is denied to others, the excluded, thus furthering the distinction between “us” and “them”, in order to make the perception of the nation-state more “real” (Ibid.). Hence, for those excluded, ascribed with the identity of “others” and portrayed as not fulfilling the prerequisites for being entitled with membership in the political community, i.e. citizenship, the consequences may affect their physical as well as psychological well-being (Ibid.).

Consequently, citizenship is here to be understood as implying recognition both from oneself, personal, from those belonging to the same nation-state (including the state itself), internal, as well as from other nation-states within the international community, external. Arguably, the very concept of citizenship (as understood here), is dependent on the creation of a national identity among citizens, sometimes facilitated through state led actions in the form of biopolitics. Likewise, if this national identity is to be seen as transcending the mere personal, psychological bound created between people sharing a sense of belonging to the same territory, in the sense of legitimate internal and external recognition, it must correspond with a national citizenship, encapsulated in the formation of an internally and externally recognized nation-state.

Even though the link between citizenship and national identity may seem logical, national identity is not the only identity a person possess (Sen, 2006: 4). It may however be seen as
one of the most important (Alonso, 1995: 585), especially in relation to international issues, e.g. migration. In relation to the concept of biopolitics, Torpey’s (1998) illustration of how national identity and citizenship have become embodied in the creation of internationally recognized identification documents highlights the imperativeness of having a national identity that is externally acknowledged (a citizenship), when legally wanting to cross international boundaries. In relation to biopolitics, the states monopolization of legitimate means of movement is evidently a creation which helps nation-states to facilitate the distinction between legal and illegal forms of migration, and in extension distinguishing between migrants that are to be included and those that can be excluded, concretizing the dichotomy between “us” and “them”.

This corresponds to Amartya Sen’s (2006: 19), reasoning that even though identity is regarded as being multiple, it is at the same time context dependent; one must choose which identity to present within a particular context. Thus, in relation to the issue being discussed in this study, choice may be restrained by objective, external identification and in certain contexts only one identity is seen as valid (Sen, 2006: 25). Hence there might be a clash between the subjective representation and the objective recognition, concerning how to identify oneself in relation to others. Therefore, the subjective representation of oneself is depending on objective recognition, portraying that identity is not something constant but is to be seen as something that is developed throughout the interaction between people (Franzén, 2001: 76).

This view of identity is to a large extent based on the social psychological discipline of Symbolic Interactionism, developed from the reasoning of George Herbert Mead (Charon, 2009: 29), and its understanding of identity as becoming shaped and reshaped throughout the process of social interaction (Charon, 2009: 144-145). In the process of social interaction, one presents his/her subjective identity to others, while respectively becoming ascribed an objective identity by others (Charon, 2009: 144-145; Franzén, 2001: 76-77). Consequently, there might be a differentiation between the subjective and objective apprehension of ones identity, which may result in a reconstruction of the subjective identity more suitable to the objective, or vice versa (Ibid.). However, as both Lewin (2001: 125) and Hopkins and Blackwood (2011: 218) notes, if the objective and subjective identities are for some reason felt by the individual to be inconsistent, he/she may experience a psychological threat, an identity crisis, resulting in a feeling of exclusion.

This understanding of identity as a twofold process is also adhered to by Phinney et al. (2001), in their study of how immigrants’ ethnic identity becomes contrasted with the new
national identity in their country of asylum. Ethnic identity is understood as a subjective sense of belonging to a group or/and culture (Phinney et al., 2001: 495), and can arguably include a sense national identity/citizenship as well. Phinney et al. (2001: 495), argues that in order for immigrants to feel integrated in society, they must be able to maintain a strong ethnic identity, while also being able to identify with the national identity of their new home country. Integration in this sense also corresponds with a positive psychological well-being, which furthers the adaption to the new society (Phinney et al., 2001: 502). Hence, societies should strive for acknowledging and respecting immigrants’ subjective/ethnic identity while at the same time not exclude them from becoming part of an objective/national identity (Phinney et al., 2001: 499).

This corresponds well to Sen’s (2006: 150, 157), understanding of a good multicultural society, where people are not restricted to choose between being categorized by their ethnic identity or by their new national identity, but should be seen as belonging to both, and themselves choose between the relative importance of them within various contexts.

As Stephen Castles and Mark Miller (2009: 245-246), points out, integration commonly refers to a process in which immigrants are to be part of their new society, and what (if any) measurements that should be taken to facilitate this process. In relation to the abovementioned link between identity and integration, Christina Boswell and Andrew Geddes (2011: 201), understanding of integration as a two-way process, meaning that both migrants and inhabitants in the host country must adapt to the new circumstances, fits well with this description. Further, in line with this, the Swedish National Integration Office (1999: 16), points out that integration is a process in which people belonging to ethnical and cultural minorities shall be able to preserve these identities and values, while being able to participate in the economic, political and social spheres of society, i.e. being a good citizen.

Consequently, as Castles and Miller (2009: 268), highlights, becoming a citizen, and enjoying the rights and duties inherent in this membership, might be a crucial part of this and can in relation to Phinney et al’s, abovementioned reasoning, regarding adaption to the new national identity, be seen as legitimate evidence of entitlement to this, facilitating adaption and integration. Integration in its normative form is hence to be seen as a precondition if a country with a multicultural population is to maintain the link between nation and state, since it can be seen as constituting a foundation for the personal and internal recognition inherent in the national identity and its interlink with the understanding of citizenship.

Hence, these concepts can at least in theory be seen as interrelated, illuminating the fact that a fruitful and symmetric relationship between them will facilitate for societal adaption
and well-being among asylum seekers and also be beneficial for society at large. An integrated person can be regarded as one that on the basis of being entitled to choose between multiple identities without being objectively restrained by others; and through being entitled national citizenship, can enjoy the same rights and duties as other citizens in the host country, and therefore feels that his/her adaption to the new nation-state and national identity is facilitated, thus furthering the normative process of integration (Integrationsverket, 1999: 16).

The symmetric relationship between the concepts of citizenship, identity and integration can be illustrated in a theoretical figure such as this one:

**Figure 1: The Symmetric Relationship between the Concepts of Citizenship, Identity and Integration**

![Symmetric Relationship Diagram](attachment:image.png)

Based on this illustration and the reasoning behind it, in a situation where one or more of the links are missing or are turned awry, indicating an asymmetric relationship, integration in the abovementioned understanding of the concept may be hard to achieve. This theoretical understanding is suitable when trying to comprehend how the contemporary Swedish asylum framework and its portrayal of Somalis as lacking a legitimate state, may shape their ethnic identity and their subjective understanding of themselves within the new society, possibly making them feel excluded, which may consequently affect their integration.

Hence, in order to incorporate the theoretical figure into a societal context, with an effort to conceptualize a scenario where one or more of the links between the three concepts are missing or turned awry, it is necessary to include a framework that encapsulates the
interrelation between the individual and society at various societal strata. This will be done by applying Émile Durkheim’s concept of anomie, in a somewhat different fashion compared to the conventional understanding of anomie as “normlessness” (Angelöw & Jonsson, 2000: 190).

Anomie is here to be understood in the terms of collective derangement (*Dérèglement*), a state of uncertainty, dejection and collective madness (Quenza, 2009: 859, with reference to Meštrovic and Brown, 1985). Moreover, anomie is regarded as a “total social fact”, meaning that the concept of anomie encapsulates both the sociological, psychological and physiological sphere of a person’s life (Meštrovic, 1987: 570).

Stjepan Meštrovic (1987: 570-571), emphasizes that anomie should be understood in terms of an interlink between these spheres, and that the subjective and objective understandings are simultaneously present in all social phenomena, and therefore influences the individual’s understanding of him/herself within the totality. In relation with the preceding understanding of identity, a state of anomie, even though it concerns an individual’s state of mind, is arguably an outcome of a collective process; the construction of a social reality that individuals’ represents and becomes represented by, and how this notion of their social reality persuades their understanding of themselves within this reality (Quenza, 2009: 862; Ritzer, 2009: 78-79). Thereby, it can be seen to illustrate a connection between the individual’s social interaction, interpersonal relations and its psychological, physiological and sociological consequences (Quenza, 2009: 862).

Even though, as Stephen Marks (1974: 358) points out, throughout his career, Durkheim shifted his focus when studying anomie, from the microsociological to the macrosociological sphere; he was always clear on that the remedy for anomie was the creation of a societal “nomos”, binding all members of society together by finding a common point of reference between them, and though including and integrating them on the basis of this (Marks, 1974: 359). Concerning the macrosociological aspect of anomie that will be used here, Marks (1974: 333), notices that Durkheim was interested in the normative boundaries created by each strata of society, and how anomie was a possible consequence of these normative boundaries turned wry. In Marks’ (1974: 340-341), understanding of Durkheim’s reasoning; the state was the strata where this normative boundary could be developed on the premise of “civic morality”, i.e. the value that all citizens share by being members of the same society, and then set to permeate the lower strata of society.

Hence, this can arguably be seen as a way of bridging the individual’s subjective understanding of him/herself within society at large, and society’s objective understandings of
the individual, by creating common premises for inclusion and representation between the two. Contrary thus, a state’s failure to create normative boundaries based on the equality of membership in society, can arguably result in some groups feeling excluded from this relationship, seeing themselves as unrepresented by the state and though, not included in the societal “nomos”.

Thereby, a specific group of people who feels that their subjective identity and premises for inclusion is questioned by the society’s objective understanding of them, may see themselves as excluded or at least not represented in accordance with their subjective understanding. This may lead them to create an understanding of themselves within the society on the basis of this, and plausibly enhance a state of anomie in terms of collective derangement. Consequently, this group may feel unrepresented and excluded from what arguably can be seen as normative rights, thus creating a sense of exclusion, which may have possible psychological, physiological and sociological consequences.

The contemporary asylum framework with its outcome of family separation and portrayal of Somalis as lacking a legitimate national citizenship, can be understood as an act of biopolitics, distinguishing between included and excluded members, and can in Durkheim’s wording illustrate that Somali family members residing in Sweden are not part of the societal “nomos”, based on having equal rights and opportunities as other members of society, an outcome that in relation to the figure will have effects on integration. Hence, anomie will here be used to conceptualize a possible asymmetric relationship between the three concepts in the figure, deriving from the objective understanding embodied in the asylum framework and its outcomes, here then plausibly characterized by a feeling of exclusion or un-representation among Somalis, possibly affecting their integration.

In relation to the theoretical figure and the previous discussion regarding the relationship between citizenship, identity and integration, this study intends to use anomie as a concept for describing the possible sense of exclusion and/or un-representation among affected Somalis.

3.3. Theoretical Limitations
It is important to highlight that the concept of anomie has had various meanings when applied by different scholars (Quenza, 2009: 859), and that this is one definition and one way of applying the concept, using it as a conceptual tool together with the theoretical figure. Surely, the concept’s lack of a clear definition and ways of being applied can be seen as a shortcoming. However, I see this as a strength, corresponding to the fact that all concepts are
context dependent (Abrahamsson, 2003: 4), and that anomie is linked to an individuals’ state of mind, and may therefore be unsuitable to be attributed a general definition. For the sake of presenting an applicable conclusion from my findings, I have chosen to narrow the definition of anomie in terms of a collective derangement and as a “total social fact”, since this allows for the concept to include a more social psychological aspect, suitable in relation to the theoretical figure and the issue being investigated in this study. This may result in failings to incorporate other aspects that may seem valid for understanding this issue, but I see this as a necessary thing to do.

However, I am not arguing that anomie and its relation to the theoretical figure is the only applicable conceptual framework when aiming to approach this issue from a social psychological perspective; just that it is one way of doing so. As Joel Charon (2009: 183), notes; no perspective can tell us everything about a situation, and through applying different perspectives we come to see different things.
4. Background
This section will present a very brief overview of the conflict prone history of the nation-state of Somalia and what consequences this has had in terms of refugee movements and migration among Somali citizens. It will also discuss the subject of Somali integration in Sweden. Furthermore, this section will go into more detail about the development of the contemporary Swedish legal asylum framework and the resulting dilemma that this creates for Somali family members, both abroad and in Sweden.

4.1. The Situation in Somalia, Somali Migration and Integration in Sweden
Ever since independence in 1960, the nation-state of Somalia has been characterized by intrastate war between different groupings often divided in accordance with clan and sub-clan belongings (Lewis, 2008). The last regular election was held in 1969 and resulted in the appointment of Abdirashid Sharmarke as president (Lewis, 2008: 37). However, shortly after his appointment, the president became assassinated (Ibid.). From that followed a military coup led by General Muhammad Siyad Barre, resulting in his over-taking of power (Lewis, 2008: 38). Siyad Barre’s reign was a cruel, violent and authoritarian one, characterized by increasing interstate as well as intrastate conflict, resulting in an escalation of violence among different clans and sub-clans within the Somali nation-state, leading a vast number of the country’s inhabitants to seek refugee in neighbouring countries as well as outside the African continent (Lewis, 2008). Barre’s rule ended with the outbreak of another civil war, which led to the collapse of the Somali state in 1990/1991, worsening the situation further (Lewis, 2001: 72)*.

Presently, despite UN interventions, various transition governments and numerous peace talks, the Somali nation-state has for more than 20 years lacked a legitimate government (Lewis, 2008: 1) and is often described as a “failed state” (Karns & Mingst, 2010: 274). Due to this Somalis lacks many of the basic rights associated with the belonging to a nation-state. One example of this will be visualized in the forthcoming section, dealing with a main issue of this study; the inaccessibility to internationally recognized identification documents and what consequences this has both for the ones still residing within the country or in nearby refugee camps, as well as for those living abroad.

It is estimated that around 2 million Somalis are today living as refugees outside their country of origin (Lewis, 2008: 1). That corresponds to almost one forth of the entire Somali population (Ibid.). In 2009, the UNHCR estimated that among those 2 million refugees, around 10 000 have been granted refugee status in Sweden (Van Heelsum, 2011: 9). However, incorporating those Somalis residing in Sweden without holding a recognized refugee status, the Somali population in Sweden is approximately 50 000 (Sistek, 2011: 1). According to statistics from the EUROSTAT, in 2010, Sweden was the most popular European country of asylum for Somalis (van Heelsum, 2011: 11).

As previously mentioned, the statistics regarding Somalis’ integration in Sweden indicate; high unemployment rates, low education and that Somalis are subject to residential segregation.

Concerning the high unemployment rates, one explanation for this may be that many of the Somalis that are residing in Sweden are badly educated. Some lack all sorts of formal education. This can partly be explained by the civil war that started in 1991, which in extension resulted in a closure of the schooling system, thus making formal education inaccessible to the majority of Somalis (Sistek, 2011: 3-4).

Moreover, many of the Somalis now residing in Sweden arrived during the economic downturn in the 1990s, which hampered their ability to establish themselves on the labour market (Sistek, 2011: 2). Another answer may be the lack workplaces requiring low-skilled labour, making it hard for many uneducated Somalis to enter the labour market (Sistek, 2011: 2; Bornhäll & Westerberg, 2009).

The answer may also lie in the Somali immigrants’ background and the cultural differences between Somalia and Sweden. Many Somalis have experienced nothing but war and have never been part of a functioning society, which may extend the timeframe for adoption to Swedish society (Sistek, 2011: 4-5).

However, due to the fact that the literature discussing Somali integration is very scarce, it is hard to present any general answer to why the statistics regarding Somalis’ integration looks the way it does.

4.2. The Issue of Somalis within the Context of Contemporary Swedish Legal Asylum Framework
As previously mentioned, the issue of Somalis’ inability to be reunited with their family member(s), has been a hot subject in the media debate, since the implementation of these regulations. Hereby, a brief review of the reasons behind this dilemma will follow. Since the
purpose of this study is solely to focus on the consequences of the outcome of these rulings and its possible effects on Somalis’ integration in Sweden, it will not go into details about the juridical content in those rulings, or if they can be seen as accurately interpreted in regard to international Human Rights.

Contemporary asylum regulations, stipulated in the Swedish Nationality Act (chapter 1 § 11), and adhered to by the following two rulings of the Swedish Migration Court of Appeal; UM 8296-09 (2009-11-27) and UM 1014-09 (2010-01-04) stipulates that; all who are applying for asylum from abroad based on the ground of family ties, must be able to establish their identity in order to hold a residence permit. This for the sake of eliminating the possibility that anyone is granted asylums based on false premises and to be able to know who the residents are (Migrationsverket, 2011a). This position was further acknowledged in the rulings; UM9536-10 (2011-03-17) and UM3568-10 (2011-05-12) (Ibid).

The Swedish Board of Migration acknowledges that the ability to take such decisions are in accordance with the international legal framework, regarding the rights and responsibilities of the state (Migrationsverket, 2011b: 7), and refers to juridical stipulations from the European Court of Justice, the legal framework of the Schengen Agreement, the constitution of the European Parliament and the Swedish Nationality Act (Migrationsverket, 2011b: 1, 4, 7).

These rulings are of concern for all migrants applying for asylum via a Swedish embassy abroad, but however affect Somalis more generally, due to their inability of providing sufficient identity documentation. The Swedish Board of Migration has in accordance with these rulings decided that; all Somali identification documents issued after 31st of January 1991, shall be deemed invalid (Migrationsverket, 2011a)

To be granted asylum based on family ties logically implies that you as an asylum seeker have a family member in the country where you apply for asylum. This aspect is what really illuminates the dilemma for Somalis, since the Swedish Board of Migration has a different set of rulings when applying for asylum in Sweden. Contrary to the rules regarding applying for asylum from abroad, people who apply for asylum in Sweden do not have to establish their identity on the same basis (legitimate identity documents), just prove it plausible (Migrationsverket, 2011a).

Hence, the invalidity of Somali identification documents may not be a concern when applying for asylum in Sweden. If asylum seekers can make their identity plausible, they can be granted residence permit in Sweden. However, due to the invalidity of their family members’ identity documentation, it is practically impossible for them to be reunited with them. Consequently, many Somalis are stuck in a catch 22-situation (Lindström, 2011), being
denied of what is considered a universal Human Right, the right to family unification (Lundberg et al., 2010: 322). This on the basis, that they are citizens belonging to, in this sense, a de jure absent state, and are thus being trapped in a national-identity vacuum.

Fortunately, a change in the framework is on its way and will hopefully result in a future liberation of contemporary asylum laws, by possibly allow for DNA-testing (Persson, 2011). However, the new legal framework will not be implemented until July 2012, thus the issue regarding family separation has been, and still is, a major concern for many Somalis residing in Sweden.
5. Findings
In this section findings from the performed interviews will be presented in relation to the research questions posted above. The material draws upon findings from interviews conducted with a total of twelve Somalis. For the sake of simplicity, under each headline the findings from the interviews will be divided between the two categories of interviewees (those subject to the consequences of the contemporary asylum framework and those not), and presented in relation to the four sections of subjects, and finally summarized in relation to the posted research questions.

5.1. Background and Life in Sweden
The nine Somalis residing in Sweden separated from their families have been here between one and four years. They all came to Sweden with the help of smugglers, some by airplane and others by lorry and boat. Some of them had fled from Somalia to one of the neighbouring countries and were then smuggled to Sweden from there. Only one of them knew beforehand that the final destination would be Sweden. Often the smugglers told them that they would bring them to a country in Europe or within the EU, but they were not given any specific information regarding which country. Due to economic reasons all the interviewees came to Sweden alone and only one woman, K, previously knew someone in Sweden.

When arriving in Sweden they all quite instantly applied for asylum. Some were told by the Swedish custom service to do so, while others took the decision themselves. They all agree on that their first contact with Sweden and Swedish authorities was a good one. They felt that they were in safety and that the Swedish people were nice, helpful and welcoming towards them.

All the nine interviewees have permanent residence ship. Some got it after only a couple of months in Sweden, while others waited for a year or two. They all remember the day when they were granted permanent residence ship with joy, saying that they felt very relived and grateful. They all state how important it was for them to know that they would be able to stay in Sweden and start a new life here and how it made it easier for them to focus on the future. K, who got her permanent residence ship some days before Christmas, two years ago, says it was the best Christmas gift ever.

When talking about education it becomes evident that many of the interviewees are badly educated. Some of them have never been to any sort of formal schooling, while others have attended preschool for a maximum of five years. One man, O, says he went to the gymnasium
for two years before the outbreak of the civil war in 91, which forced him and his family to flee. K continued her education for four more years through private schools, a heavy cost for her family.

Instead the interviewees were often working with the family business. The women were helping out at home, while also running small shops and restaurants/cafes. Some of the men where engineers and carpenters. They all say that they lived closely together with their family and relatives, all looking out for each other and spending lots of time together.

Here in Sweden most of them live in apartments together with Somali friends. Often they have got these apartments through the Swedish Board of Migration. They are all very grateful with the help they have got from the Swedish Board of Migration, helping them with accommodation. The only exception from this is K, who lives together with her Swedish husband and their daughter in a privately bought apartment.

Regarding the accommodation, one man, A, expresses his concerns about this. He says that he is very grateful that the Swedish Board of Migration has helped him with an apartment, but he also wishes to live on his own, not having to share an apartment with other Somalis who he does not know very well. He says he wishes to have some privacy. He feels that the housing queues makes it hard for him as an immigrant, without any permanent employment, to get an apartment of his own and forces him to live with people he does not know very well. The others attending the same group interview agreed to his concerns, but in general they were all very pleased with the help they have got from the Swedish Board of Migration.

When asking them to describe a normal day in their life, most of the interviewees answered that they go to Svenska för invandrare (SFI) to learn Swedish. Some of them also have internships that those in charge of the integration issues within the municipality of Växjö, have helped them with. Two of the interviewees have completed their education at SFI. O, studies at Komvux to become an assistant nurse, while K works at SFI teaching Somalis about issues related to their integration, as well as Swedish.

All of those who participated in the interviews expressed the importance of learning Swedish and were pleased with the opportunity that SFI gives them. All of them acknowledged that learning Swedish was the key to become integrated in society and be able to get in contact with Swedish people. However, most of them expressed that it was hard for them to concentrate during SFI lessons, since their minds are occupied with thoughts about the situation of their family and their safety. Hence, they have not been able to learn much Swedish and only two of them, K and O, speak Swedish fluently.
When asking them about their future here in Sweden, they all said that they want to stay here and become part of the Swedish society. K wish to continue working at the SFI and O wants to become a nurse. For those still studying Swedish through SFI, they said that they want to improve their language skills in order to find a job and become full members of the society. None of the interviewees wish to return back to Somalia unless the situation there improves dramatically.

The interviews with those Somalis belonging to the second category presented a somewhat different experience and view upon issues related to these subjects.

In general they are, as well as the others, very pleased with the work of Swedish authorities and what they have done for them. They also have very good experiences of Swedish people in general, seeing them as friendly and welcoming. What is striking is the level of adaption and integration, which can be seen as much higher compared to the majority of the other Somalis, belonging to the first category. All of them speaks Swedish fluently and have more contacts with Swedes in general. There are certainly a lot of factors contributing to this. For example, all three have a high level of education compared to the others.

Jamal, who is presently chairman of the organization Småland för Somalia, used to work as a laboratory technician back in Somalia. Besides Swedish and Somali, he also speaks other languages including English and Swahili. He says that he came to Sweden with the attitude that he should not rely on Swedish authorities and social welfare for more than what was absolutely necessary for him. He says that when the Swedish Board of Migration granted his family’s application for asylum based on family ties, it was a push forward for him. He explains that when they were to come here he did not want do be dependent on social security. That pushed him to learn Swedish as fast as possible and look for a job and an apartment of his own.

S, who came here together with his brother, after them both being granted asylum based on family ties with their mother and younger siblings, is now studying his third year at the gymnasiums vehicle programme. He says he wants to become a mechanic. Through school he has got to know a lot of Swedish friends, which he spends time with, both in school and during his spare time, and on weekends.

A, who has been in Sweden for 17 years is now studying her forth year at the university. Before she was married to a Bosnian and together they have two sons, which A now lives together with. A says that she through school has made friends with many people, thus mostly people who are also foreign born. She says that it is somewhat easier to get in contact with them compared to Swedes, who she thinks are a bit shy, silent and reluctant to talk to
strangers. Her Swedish friends are mostly older people. One of them is a lady which she got to know through social service during the period of divorcing her husband, discussing issues related to the custody of their children. They talk to each other every week and sometimes eat dinner together.

All of the interviewees in this category are very satisfied with their lives and want to stay in Sweden with their families. They all say that Sweden is their new home country now, and they are very pleased with that situation.

5.2. Relationship with Somalia
Most of those belonging to the first category of interviewees say that they remember their childhood and life in Somalis with joy. They used to spend lots of time with friends, family and neighbours. They say that life before the outbreak of the civil war in 1991, was peaceful and calm. Some of the younger interviewees do not remember much of what life was like before the war. Instead they present a darker picture, talking about how their family was unsafe and had to flee to other parts of Somalia or to neighbouring countries.

Many of them still have relatives and friends as well as family members, whom still lives in Somalia or in neighbouring countries. They all say that it is important to keep contact with them and to follow what happens in Somalia through television and newspapers. If possible, they also try to talk to their friends and relatives on a monthly basis to see how they are doing. K, is the only one who does not follow the development in Somalia on a regular basis. However, she says that she through her students at SFI becomes aware of the situation anyway, since they are often very eager to talk about it. One woman, D, says that if the situation for her friends and relatives were to change in a positive manner, resulting in a situation where they all were in safety in some other country, she would probably not be so keen to follow the development in Somalia.

When asking about Somali traditions and culture, the majority of the interviewees answered that these aspects are of importance for them. All the women participating in the interviews said that they wear Somali clothes and like to cook Somali food. Many of them also like to gather with friends and celebrate Somali holidays. However, some say that celebrating these holidays evokes memories of the people who are not with them, especially their family members, and therefore they do not celebrate them. However, K says that she does not wear Somali clothes or cook Somali food daily. Since she lives together with her Swedish husband
and their daughter, she has started to become much more “Swedish” in this sense, thus still keeping some aspects of her culture, which she deems important.

The interviewees explained that their home country is very important for them and that they are proud to be Somalis. However, they feel very devastated about the situation as it is now. They all say that the civil war has destroyed Somalia and that the country is not the same as it used to be.

The interviewees belonging to the second category presented somewhat more mixed findings in relation to this category of questions. S, said he was proud of being Somali and that he sees Somalia as his home country. He says his mother often cooks Somali food and that the family celebrates Somali holidays together with friends. He also regularly reads Somali news and watches TV. This is important for him since his grandmother still lives in Mogadishu. He also says that he calls her two or three times a month to see how she is doing. However, it is evident that S has adapted to a more Swedish way of life and he says that he wants to spent time with his Swedish friends and do what they do, which is mostly partying.

Jamal has also very close contact with his country of origin. This of course comes with his work at Småländ för Somalia, but he says that he too have friends and relatives back in Somalia, whom he wants to keep contact with. For Jamal, Somali customs and traditions are important, but he states that it is important not to be too fixed with these aspects, since you need to adapt to more Swedish way of life.

A, on the other hand has cut most of her bonds with Somalia. Most of her family is dead and she now only has one brother who lives in Uganda, left. She says that she has not spoken to him in years, since he is very disproval of the choices she has made in life. She says that at home she never cooks Somali food and does not celebrate any Somali holidays. Neither does she follow the development in Somalia through TV and newspaper, since as she express it “lacks interest”.

5.3. Family and Family Separation
When discussing questions related to these issues, the mode of the interviewees in the first category changed dramatically. It evoked many memories among the interviewees regarding how life back in Somali used to be, and that an important part of their life is now missing. Some of the women broke down and started crying. It was amply clear that this is a subject close to their hearts in many ways.
As already outlined, family is a very central aspect of life for Somalis. All the interviewees expressed that family is the most important social unit in their life and means everything to them. Hence, being separated from them affects every aspect of their life.

All of the interviewees have been separated from their family for many years now. They try to call them as often as they possibly can. They say that they are constantly worried about their situation. Their family members live as refugees in neighbouring countries, e.g. Uganda, Ethiopia and Kenya. O has his family in Yemen, where they live as refugees. One women, participating in the second group interview, S, tells me that she used all her savings to go and visit her family (now residing in Ethiopia), this summer. When she left them to come to Sweden, her youngest daughter was only four months old. She tearfully tells me that when she after two years of separation went to visit them this summer, her daughter did not recognized her any longer. She rhetorically asked me; what kind of mother am I.

None of the interviewees were aware of the contemporary asylum regulations and the consequences for family reunification before they came to Sweden. They all say that if they had been, they would never have come here in the first place. They also say that they still do not understand the regulations fully, especially not the issue of why they are able to get asylum in Sweden without passports, or with falsified once, while their family members are not. When talking about this issue and that there are different rules when applying for asylum in Sweden compared to applying from abroad, D says that she feels cheated and wonders why they did not told her about these problems from the beginning. She says that if she had known, she would never have applied for asylum in the first place.

None of the interviewees understands why the Swedish Board of Migration have implemented these regulation, neither what they are do to about their problems. They have all raised their concerns and discussed this issue with the personal at the Swedish Board of Migration many times, but all they tell them is that they need to provide evidence that can confirm their family members’ identity. Since none of them have any valid passport they do not know what to do. They all express feelings of hopelessness and say that they do not see a way out of this situation until the Swedish Board of Migration and the Swedish government decides to change the rules. They all wonder why the Swedish Board of Migration does not allow for DNA-testing.

All the interviewees express feelings of frustration, anger and disappointment with the Swedish Board of Migration and the Swedish government for putting them in this situation. D, says that it feels like the politicians do not want Somalis to come to Sweden. Many of the other interviewees express similar concerns, saying that Sweden does not care for Somalis,
that the Swedish Board of Migration does not care about their problems and that they feel that they are denied rights that are entitled to other immigrants.

When asking them about how this separation from their family affects their life here in Sweden, they all reply that it makes life a lot harder in many ways. Many of the interviewees say that when they first came here they felt that their life would change and become much better, but that being kept separated from their families makes it difficult for them to focus on all the good things that life in Sweden has provided them. Many of the participants express a sense of psychological illness, saying that it hurts inside of them when they think about their family. O says that he has been thinking about seeing a doctor due to this, but that he does not know what to tell him. One women participating in the second group interview, N, says that there is a hole in her soul, due to her being separated from her family. Many of the interviewees say that they have trouble sleeping, that their thoughts often drift away to their families, (resulting in concentration difficulties and inability to focus), and that they sometimes just start to cry because of this. They all say that the separation makes it hard for them to concentrate during their studies and focus on other important aspects of their life. Many of them say that not having their family here makes it hard to focus on the future and to become integrated into the Swedish society. N says that learning Swedish and finding a job becomes of second importance to her as long as her family is not with her. A lot of the others agreed to this statement.

All the interviewees, except for K, use to discuss the issue of family separation with their friends all the time. K, says that she does not want to talk about this issue because it always makes her, and those she talks with, sad. Instead she keeps it to herself and only talks about it when she really has to.

Many of the interviewees have participated in demonstrations arranged by among others, Småland för Somalia. D, says that she and some of her friends with the same problem have written a letter to the Swedish Board of Migration, raising their concerns about this issue. K has sent e-mails to both the Swedish Board of Migration and the Swedish Green party, raising her concerns over this issue and explaining her situation.

Overall, it is apparent that the issue of family separation and the asylum regulations occupies much of the time for the interviewees. They transmit the picture that they have done everything in their power to change the situation, but that the Swedish Board of Migration and the Swedish government do not seem to take their problems seriously, leaving them in a state of uncertainty and hopelessness.
When asking about the new rules that are to be implemented in July, they all answer that they are aware of them. Many of the interviewees are very hopeful and think that the new rulings will allow for them to be reunited with their families. K says that when she first heard of the new rules she thought that July was so far away, but now it is not it is only six more months to go. Other interviewees are a bit more sceptical, saying that so far no one has said anything concrete about the content of the new rules, and therefore they do not know what to expect.

When discussing these issues with the second category of interviewees, both A and Jamal say that they are very concerned with the problems that the contemporary asylum rules causes their countrymen. Both of them have engaged in demonstrations to express their disappointment with the contemporary asylum rules. None of them understands why these rulings have been implemented. Jamal says that many of the Somalis he meets through his work at Småland för Somalia have been affected by these rulings, either personally or through someone they know. He says that it is a key issue for the organization and that they have arranged demonstrations and talked to local politicians about this issue many times.

When asking him about the answers he has got from the politicians he has met, Jamal says that he thinks the Swedish Board of Migration has taken the easy way out here and that they do not seem to care about the problems that such a decision is creating, or the fact that they deny Somalis rights that they entitle to other immigrant groups. He says that the rules need to be changed, since he sees no other way out of this dilemma. As he sees it, the situation in Somalia is not likely to improve in the near future and it is not his or his countrymen’s fault that the situation is as it is. He says that he cannot understand why the Swedish Board of Migration have implemented these rulings, since they are aware of the situation in Somalia and the impossibility of being issued a valid passport.

Both Jamal and A, sees DNA-testing as the only way out of the current situation and the solution to these problems, and they both hope that the implementation of the new rules will come to change the situation. However, Jamal says that even if he understands the frustration and disappointment among the affected, he always tells them that they need to try to make the best of their situation and focus on their life here in Sweden, thus he understands that it is hard for them. A says that she sees differences between the Somalis who have their family here and those that do not. The former often have jobs or internships and are happy with their situations, while the others are often disappointed and sad.
S, were not aware of these ruling and there consequences. When I told him about them and that they are the main reason for why I wanted to do this study, he said that he feels sorry for those who have been affected.

5.4. Identity and Exclusion
In general all the interviewees in the first category were very pleased with Swedes and the Swedish society. They have never been subject to any form of discrimination or racism, and they see Swedish people as respectful, helpful and welcoming. The same is true for the meetings they have had with Swedish authorities, including the Swedish Board of Migration, which they think have always treated them with respect and been nice to them.

The only exception is the meetings they have had with the Swedish Board of Migration regarding their family and their possibility to be reunited. Here many of the interviewees perceived that the ones they spoke to at the Swedish Board of Migration did not really listen to them and did not seem to care about their problems. The majority of the interviewees say that they do not believe that the Swedish Board of Migration cares about their problems and that they do everything in their power to help them. Both D and O, wonders why Sweden do not seem to care about the Children’s Convention when it comes to Somalis and their children. K says that her administrator at the Swedish Board of Migration has been very rude and harsh to her, asking her not to call so often, when she asks about her children and their asylum application. In relation to this subject, all of the interviewees expressed a sense of enviousness, saying that they are denied rights that other immigrants are entitled to.

When discussing the issue regarding the invalidity of Somali passports and the portrayal of Somalia as a failed state, this does not seem to be an issue that concerns the interviewees very much. Again, the exception is the issue of family separation and that they need passports to prove their identity. Since none of them have been in possession of a valid passport, they cannot understand why it is so important and why Sweden does not do something about this problem. Concerning Somalia, they still see it as their home country and as an important part of who they are, in terms of culture and traditions. The women participating in the first group interview, and who were reluctant to celebrate Somali holidays, say that having their family here would change this, and that they would probably see some aspects of the Somali culture as more important.

Regarding their contacts with Swedes, K is the only one of the interviewees who has any Swedish friends. The others are solely spending time with other Somalis, except for when
they go to SFI and Internship. They all say that they would like to know more Swedish people, but that the language is a big obstacle for them. Hence, all of the interviewees agree about the essentiality of learning Swedish and that this is the first and most important step towards integration.

When discussing integration, it is clear that all the interviewees sees it as a necessity, and they would all like to work, pay tax and contribute to the Swedish society. When asking them if they think that the Swedish society helps them to achieve their future dreams, they all say that they have gained a lot of help and they are very grateful for that. D, uses the metaphor of Sweden opening a door for her to step in through. However, she adds, being separated from her family makes it hard to take that step. All of the interviewees agree to that; having their family here would make life much easier and facilitate every aspect of their integration.

When asking them why they think Somalis have such a hard time to integrate, they all answer, that to them much of the problems are related to them being separated from their family and the consequences that this has for them, e.g. sleepless nights, hard to concentrate during SFI-classes and feelings of psychological illness. However, some of the interviewees also mention that the Swedish system with all its rules and bureaucracy makes it hard for them to integrate. All those participating in the first group interview said that they would very much like to open up their own small businesses, small shops or cafes, but that the bureaucracy with all the permits you need to have makes it very hard for them. They also added that they have heard that it was much easier to start small businesses in other countries like the US and the UK. D, says that she thinks that Swedish authorities must start to see Somalis as a contribution, focusing on what they are good at. She also says that she does not wish to learn Swedish through SFI, but would much rather have a work and learn Swedish that way.

O, mentions another factor in relation to this issue; the lack of education among many Somalis who come to Sweden. O says that since there is no real school system in Somalia, many of the younger Somalis lacks all forms of basic education. He say that for him, who had graduated from preschool and studied at the gymnasium for two years, learning Swedish was a manageable task. However, he adds, for those who only have some years of education or none at all, this becomes very hard and they need extra support with their studies.

When asking the interviewees if they think that they have the same opportunities and support as Swedes, all answered that they think they have, and once more expressed feelings of gratitude over how welcoming and helpful Swedes and the Swedish society have been to them. However, here too the issue of family separation became illuminated, since they all
expressed that in regard to this factor they all feel differentiated and denied rights that others have. They all say that the separation from their family makes it hard to appreciate the rest and to see the possibilities that life in Sweden provides them with. The majority of the interviewees say that as long as they do not have their families here, everything else is of second importance. D says that sometimes she thinks about going back to Somalia and the war, just to be able to be reunited with her family.

The second category of interviewees, have the same apprehension about Sweden, seeing Swedes as welcoming and helpful. They also feel that they have been welcomed and respectfully met by Swedish authorities. None of them have experienced any form of racism or discrimination. They are all very pleased and grateful for the help they have got from the Swedish society.

As already outlined these interviewees have a richer social life, not only spending time with Somalis, but also with Swedes as well as other immigrants. They all emphasize the importance of language to come in contact with people. For example Jamal says that you cannot be expected to be seen as Swedish and as equal to others, if whenever you talk to someone you need a translator.

When talking about national identity, both Jamal and S, say that Somali culture and traditions are important for them and they are both very proud of their home country. However, they are both very clear on that they want to be part of the Swedish society and Swedish culture as well. A, on the other hand have cut most of the bounds with Somalia and feels more at home in the “individualistic” culture of Sweden. She says that she likes to be by herself and wants her privacy. In this sense, the Swedish society and Swedish culture fits her well. However, A says that she as a Somali does not really belong anywhere, that she feels rootless. She describes how she feels as an outsider among Somalis, since she do not speak Somali fluently and that when she and here family used to live in Uganda, she got bullied because she was from Somalia. Now here in Sweden, A says that people are never mean to her, but she knows that when people see her or hear her talk on her broken Swedish, they directly know that she is not from here. She says that she as many other Somalis lack a sense of national identity, a home.

When asking about why Somalis have such a hard time to become integrated, Jamal and A both says that the family separation contributes a lot to this. They are both clear on that if integration is to be achieved, this problem needs to be solved. S, have not really thought about this issue and was not able to present any answer. Moreover, Jamal agrees with some of the other interviewees, saying that the Swedish system makes it hard for Somalis to get in. He
says that all of the Somalis he has talked to want to work and contribute to their new home country. He also says that Somalis in general are very good entrepreneurs, many of them used to run different forms of companies at home. He compares the Swedish situation to that of Minnesota, where he says that it takes a couple of days to get a permit for opening up a small business, whereas in Sweden it can take years. Jamal, also thinks that local politicians and those working with questions related to integration, must increase their contacts with Somalis. As of now, he feels that there are many misconceptions when it comes to Somalis, and that Swedish authorities’ much rather focus on what Somalis cannot do instead of what they can.

A, also highlights the lack of education that is significant for many younger Somalis that come to Sweden. She also says that traditionally Somalis like to stay in small groupings close to each other and that this may be a problem, since you then seldom meet other people. However, she understands that with all the horrible and traumatic experiences that many Somalis brings with them to Sweden, it may seem logical for them to associate with people who can understand what they have been trough and relate to their experiences.

5.5. Summary of Findings and Answers to Research Questions

Based on the findings from the performed interviews, it is evident that the interviewed Somalis are in general very pleased with their situation in Sweden. Both the Somalis belonging to the first and second category of interviewees acknowledged that they wanted to stay in Sweden in the future, and none of them seem to have any plans involving going back to Somalia, unless the situation there improves radically. It was also evident that all the interviewees feel that Swedes and the Swedish society, together with Swedish authorities have been very welcoming and helpful towards them. None of the interviewees feel that they had been subject to any form of discrimination or racism.

Moreover, all the Somalis belonging to the first category say that they want to be integrated into the Swedish society, and that they want to learn Swedish, get to know more Swedish people, find a job, and be seen as a contribution. Hence, they all portray a strong sense of willingness to become integrated and be part of Swedish society in general.

However, regarding the issue of the contemporary asylum regulations and the outcome of family separation, the findings from the interviews indicate that for those affected, it had negatively influenced many aspects of their lives. Being separated from your family seems to be the reason for many of the problems the interviewees’ experience. In summary, problems such as insomnia, concentration difficulties, feelings of loneliness and hopelessness,
psychological pain and feelings of incompleteness and of lacking an imperative part of your life, can all be seen as stemming from the issue of family separation.

In relation to the first research question; how do the contemporary asylum framework and the resulting family separation affect the possibility for affected Somalis to become integrated into Swedish society?, all of the interviewees’ expressed that not having their family here affects their everyday life negatively in many aspects, hence hampering their possibility to be integrated.

All the interviewees’ expressed that being separated from your family affects their psychological well-being negatively and that they were constantly worried about the insecure situation of their family. Many of them also said that the separation made them feel incomplete and that an important aspect of their life, and who they are, was missing. This constant anxiousness and feeling of loneliness, can be seen as creating physiological problems, in terms of sleeplessness and concentration difficulties, which, e.g. maid it hard for many of the interviewees to pay attention during SFI-classes, thus hampering their possibility to learn Swedish. In extension this also created sociological problems, since many of the Somalis, due to language difficulties, were not able to get in contact with any Swedish people or to find a job or internship. Hence, most of them solely spend time with other Somalis, and have a hard time to fully be part of Swedish society.

Moreover, all the interviewees’ expressed how pleased they were over all the opportunities that life in Sweden has provided them. However, they added that it is hard to seize these opportunities, since their minds are occupied with thoughts about their family and everything else seems unimportant, thus making it hard for them to focus on their life in Sweden.

Hence, family separation can be seen as hampering the interviewees’ ability to become integrated and can be seen as one factor that contributes to the current situation, where many of the interviewed Somalis, after several years in Sweden, still do not speak any Swedish, have not had a real job, cannot afford to have their own apartment and do not have any contact with Swedish people, besides the ones they meet at SFI and the personal working for various Swedish authorities.

Considering the second research question; what impact does the contemporary asylum framework, and the denial of Somali identity documents, have upon the Somalis’ sense of national identity?, it does not seem to have affected them substantially.
All of the interviewees still see Somalia as their home country, and as an important aspect of who they are in terms of traditions and culture. They said that they were proud to be Somalis, but were of course devastated over the contemporary development in the country, which they hope will be resolved as soon as possible.

Regarding the link between entitlement to valid identification documents and national identity, none of them could be seen to comprehend this link fully. It was clear that passports have never been a concern to them, since they have, themselves, never possessed one and since it has not been of any importance to them until now. Hence, the contemporary asylum regulations rejection of Somali passports can not be seen to have influenced their sense of national identity negatively.

Answering the third research question; can the contemporary asylum framework and the outcome of family separation, be seen as resulting in a state of anomie among the Somalis who are affected by this framework?, it is apparent that the interviewed Somalis’ think that they are denied rights which other immigrant groups are entitled to.

Further on, all the interviewees in some sense expressed doubts about whether the Swedish Board of Migration takes their problems and concerns seriously and actually do everything they can to reunite them with their families. Also some of them doubted if the Swedish Board of Migration and the Swedish government care about these sorts of problems when it comes to Somalis.

It was evident that they were all very disappointed with how the Swedish Board of Migration has handled this issue and feel that there is nothing they can do, and thereby are completely left in the hands of others regarding this issue. Based on this, one can draw the conclusion that the interviewed Somalis do not see themselves as being represented in society on equal terms as others.

Moreover, the importance of family for Somalis and the interviewees’ confirmation, regarding the interrelation between family separation and other issues, highlighted in line with the answer to the first research question, indicates that the issue of anomie cannot be seen in isolation from the link between family separation and integration. As outlined, the issue of family separation can be seen to result in both psychological and physiological problems, which in extension also created sociological problems for the affected Somalis, thus hampering their ability to be integrated.

Hence in regard to this research question, it becomes apparent that family separation can be seen as creating a vicious cycle in relation to exclusion, by hampering the possibility to
integrate among the affected Somalis, and thereby denies them to fully be part of the Swedish society. Therefore they cannot be seen as being represented in line with the societal “nomos” (Marks, 1974: 359). Also, since this situation can be seen to affect the psychological, physiological and sociological spheres of the interviewed Somalis’ life negatively, and thus possibly furthering a sense of exclusion, it is to be seen as creating a state of anomie among this group.

In conclusion, not allowing for Somalis to be reunited with their family results in a lack of integration, which can be seen to enhance the feeling of exclusion and create a state of anomie, among Somalis. Hence, family separation seems to be an issue that furthers this vicious relationship by creating and furthering a sense of exclusion, permeating and influencing many aspects of the everyday life for the affected Somalis.
6. Analysis
In this section the findings from the interviews and the answers to the research questions will be analysed and elaborated on in relation to the conceptual framework and the theoretical figure outlined above. This in order to portray how the contemporary asylum framework, resulting in family separation among the affected Somalis, can be seen to have affected the interrelation between the concepts of citizenship, identity and integration, resulting in a sense of exclusion that can be related to a state of anomie.

First of all, based on the findings regarding the second category of interviewees, (Somalis residing in Sweden together with their family), it is evident that they do not seem to fit the general description of Somalis as badly integrated. All of them have some sort of occupation (studying and/or working), they speak Swedish fluently and have a rich social life, associating with other immigrants as well as Swedes. However, since only three interviews were conducted with Somalis belonging to this category, it is hard to analyze the impact that family reunification has had for the ability to integrate among Somalis within this category. Other factors, such as; the number of years spent in Sweden, the level of education and the ability and willingness to adopt and take part in the new society, may also have affected this process extensively, resulting in a generally high level of integration among these interviewees.

Hence, based on this it is not possible to draw any general conclusion, regarding why these three interviewees have integrated so well compared to those belonging to the second category. Nevertheless, it contrasts the view of Somalis as being hard to integrate, and shed some doubts about whether this is really true.

However, since the purpose of this study is not to investigate the Somali integration in Sweden in general, but solely to look at the possible impact that the contemporary asylum regulations, with the outcome of family separation, may have on this issue, it will not scrutinize the findings based on interviews with the second category of Somalis. Instead, this part of the study will focus on the findings from the first category of interviewees, (Somalis residing in Sweden separated from their family), in order to see how the contemporary asylum regulations and the outcome of family separation can be seen to affect the process of integration in relation to the conceptual framework and theoretical figure, regarding this category of Somalis.

Regarding the link between citizenship and identity, and how the Swedish Board of Migration’s decision can be interpreted as portraying Somalis as lacking a legitimate nation-state and thus a legitimate national citizenship, this can not be seen to have directly affected
the interviewed Somalis to a large extent. All of them still consider Somalia to be their home country and an important aspect of who they are, in terms of traditions and culture. Furthermore, in relation to Torpey’s (1998) reasoning, they can not be seen to comprehend the link between passports and national citizenship, since none of them have ever possessed a valid passport and since the ability to be issued one has not been important for any of them until now. Neither, does anyone of them confirm that they have been subject to any form of general discrimination or racism, due to their national and cultural belonging.

Hence in this sense, their subjective/ethnic identity of being Somalis and what is inherent in that cannot be seen to have been directly affected by their lacking a valid passport to any observable extent. Thereby, there is, in relation to this category of Somalis, not any evidence to confirm the link between citizenship and identity.

However, in relation to the link between identity and integration, all of the Somalis’ belonging to this category, affirm that family and friends were, and still is, an important aspect of their life and their identity as Somalis. Hence, the separation from them can in line with Phinney et al.’s., (2001) abovementioned reasoning be seen as affecting their ethnic/subjective identity negatively. Many of the interviewees stated that they are not complete without their family and that the separation from them creates a state of emptiness and feelings of loneliness. In many cases these psychological issues have a negative influence on their physiological well-being as well.

One example of the link between the psychological and physiological problems and integration is visualized by the interviewees’ inability to learn Swedish. Many of the interviewees expressed that the separation from their family makes it hard for them to concentrate during the SFI lessons, thus negatively affecting their possibility to learn Swedish. In extension this also creates sociological problems visualized by the difficulties for the interviewed Somalis to get in contact with Swedish people and find jobs and internships, due to inadequate language skills. This can be seen as one reason for the present situation where most of the interviewees are unemployed and only spends time with Somali-speaking people, thus making it hard for them to seize the opportunities that Swedish society provides them with and become integrated.

Hence, in relation to Phinney et al.’s., (2001) arguing, and to the link between identity and integration; this can be seen as decreasing the possibility of becoming part of, and be represented in relation to, the national/objective identity, which is seen as imperative for furthering integration.
As outlined, besides the direct psychological effects, expressed through feelings of loneliness, sadness, hopelessness, incompleteness, anger and disappointment, family separation is also resulting in physiological problems, e.g. sleeping difficulties, concentration difficulties and lack of focus on the new life in Sweden, among the affected Somalis. In relation to the referred articles by McMichael and Ahmed (2003) and Rousseau et al (2004), this might affect the ability to integrate negatively, by evoking and enhancing traumatic experiences.

Hence, the issue of family separation can be seen as affecting the concerned Somalis’ ability to adapt a national identity and the link between identity and integration, by causing psychological as well as physiological problems that in extension leads to sociological problems, which together can be seen as having a negative impact on their ability to integrate.

Arguably, this can be seen as related to the final link between citizenship and integration. In relation to citizenship, it is worth highlighting that all the interviewees stated the importance of being granted permanent residence ship, expressing how this made it easier for them to focus on the future, since they now knew that they were able to stay in Sweden. Even though citizenship and permanent residence ship are not equivalent, this can be seen as confirming Castles and Millers (2003: 268) reasoning, seeing entitlement to citizenship as a facilitator for integration and adaption to the national/objective identity. Also, it is needed to firmly point out that all the Somalis belonging to the first category expressed an eagerness and willingness to become part of their new society, in terms of learning Swedish, find a job, and be seen as a contribution. Moreover, none of them had any direct plans involving going back to Somalia, unless the situation there improves dramatically. Hence, they can all be seen as wanting to adapt, and be included in, the new national/objective identity as Swedes.

However, once more it is necessary to emphasize the interviewees’ expressions of marginalization, in the sense that they feel that the Swedish Board of Migration and the Swedish government denies them rights that they entitle to other immigrant groups. As outlined in the findings section, the interviewees are very pleased to be able to stay in Sweden and want to stay here in the future and start a new life. However, they also state that their envisioned future in Sweden becomes overshadowed by the fact that they are separated from their family and that nothing else is importance until they are reunited again. As outlined, the issue of family separation hampers the ability for the affected Somalis to become integrated, thus in extension also affects their possibility to adapt, and be represented in line with, their new national/objective identity as Swedes. Hence, also here the issue of family separation can be seen as affecting the link and symmetric relationship between citizenship and integration.
Based on this analysis, it is possible to conclude that the contemporary asylum regulations, resulting in family separation among the concerned Somalis, can be seen as affecting the links between identity and integration, and citizenship and integration. Regarding the link between citizenship and identity, there was in relation to this particular case no evidence to support the reasoning behind this interrelationship.

However, it is evident that the issue of family separation can be seen as creating an asymmetric relationship regarding the links between the concepts of citizenship and integration, and between identity and integration. In relation to Phinney et al.’s. (2001) reasoning, family separation can be seen as indirectly affecting both the ethnical/subjective identity, as well as the ability to become part of the national/objective identity, thus hampering the ability to integrate.

In relation to the concept of anomie, here understood in terms of collective derangement (Quenza, 2009: 859, with reference to Meštrovic and Brown, 1985), and as a “total social fact” (Meštrovic, 1987: 570), the issue of family separation among the concerned Somalis can be seen as affecting their psychological and physiological well-being negatively. In extension, this also affects their sociological sphere negatively and can be seen to hamper their ability integrate, and thus enhance a feeling of exclusion, by, at least indirectly, decreasing their possibility to be part of Swedish society. Hence, the contemporary asylum framework and the outcome of family separation for the affected Somalis can be seen as leading to a sense of un-representation and exclusion from what Durkheim refers to as the societal “nomos” (Marks, 1974: 359). Since this can be seen to affect the psychological, physiological and sociological sphere of the affected Somalis life negatively, and plausibly enhance a feeling of exclusion, it is arguably to be seen as creating a state of anomie among this group.
If applying the theoretical figure on this particular case, the outcome can be seen as this:

**Figure 2: Family Separations Impact on the Relationship between the Concepts of Citizenship, Identity and Integration**

The crosshatched arrow between the concepts of citizenship and identity indicates that in relation to this particular case, the reasoning behind this link could not be confirmed. Regarding the other links, this case illuminated an interrelation between them. Family separation affected the ethnical/subjective identity among the affected Somalis by withholding from them an import aspect of who they are, in terms of their Somali identity. Family separation also led to psychological and physiological consequences among the affected Somalis and in extension also had implications for their sociological well-being, which can be seen as hampering their ability to integrate and become part of the national/objective identity, hence affecting identity negatively.

Moreover, the fact that the willingness to be integrated among the affected Somalis, and that the decision granting them permanent residence ship made them all very pleased and made it easier for them to focus on their future life here in Sweden, indicates that entitlements to rights inherent to the national/objective identity as citizen, can be seen as facilitating and increasing the willingness to integrate among the affected Somalis. However, the issue of
family separation simultaneously resulted in feelings of lack of entitlement to rights enjoyed by others. Also, as previously stated, the inability to fully be part of the national/objective identity, can be seen as deriving from the issue of family separation. Hence, together these two outcomes result in that Somalis can be seen as excluded and un-represented from the societal “nomos”, and that their situation can be linked to a state of anomie.

It is necessary to emphasize that since the findings from this analysis are based on a relatively small sample of cases, it is not correct to draw any general conclusions from this. Hence, since this study solely focused on the contemporary asylum framework and the outcome of family separation among the affected Somalis, it can not disregard that other factors may as well contribute to the current situation for this group. Family separation can be seen as one factor that influences the ability to integrated, thus it may not be the only one.

Also, based on this small sample of cases, it is not possible to draw any general conclusions regarding the applicability of the theoretical figure. In this case the reasoning behind the figure seemed to be inaccurate regarding the link between citizenship and identity, but applicable for the links between citizenship and integration, and identity and integration. However, it should be pointed out that Somalis are only one of many immigrant groups in Sweden, and that this analysis is only based on a small sample of all the Somalis that are presently residing in Sweden. Hence, based on this, the usage of the theoretical figure, and the reasoning behind it, cannot be disqualified, and neither can it be seen as totally legitimate, in order to comprehend all the variables related to this issue.
7. Conclusion
The objective of this study was to investigate how the contemporary asylum framework and the result of family separation can be seen to affect the ability to integrate for those Somalis’ subjected to it, as well as to find out if the framework and its results created a possible sense of exclusion, related to a state of anomie, among the concerned group. The study has focused both on the relationship between family separation and integration, as well as how the decision by the Swedish Board of Migration, regarding the rejection of Somali identification documents as valid evidence for proving once identity, can be seen to affect their sense of national identity.

The findings from the performed interviews with affected Somalis have been analyzed in relation to a conceptual framework and theoretical figure, which illustrates an interrelationship between the concepts of citizenship, identity and integration. In the case of a symmetric relationship between the three concepts, the process of integration can be seen as being furthered and facilitated, whereas an asymmetric relationship indicates that integration may be hard to achieve, and that the outcome can instead be seen as creating a state of anomie among the concerned group.

The findings from this study indicates that the contemporary asylum framework and the outcome of family separation can be seen as hampering the ability for integration among those Somalis subjected to it. Family separation apparently places the affected Somalis in an emotionally troublesome situation, resulting in psychological as well as physiological problems, that in extension also creates sociological problems, which can be seen to hamper their ability to integrate. Instead of becoming integrated and take part in the Swedish society, many of the affected Somalis can be regarded as living in a limbo-like situation, characterized by a great willingness to seize the opportunities that Sweden provides them with, while also being constantly worried for the safety of their family members and unable to escape the fact, that the separation from them is an issue that overshadows both the present as well as the future. As long as they are not reunited, becoming integrated is of second importance to them. Moreover, they feel dissatisfied and upset with the contemporary asylum framework, rejecting them the right to be reunited with their family, a right that other immigrant groups enjoy, but are denied to Somalis.

However, their sense of national identity, do not seem to have been affected by the fact that the Swedish Board of Migration rejects their identification documents. The ability to posses a passport and to present this as evidence of your national identity and citizenship, can not be seen as an important aspect for the affected Somalis. This is explained by the fact that none of
them have ever possessed a valid passport and that it has never been of importance to them until now. Hence, this aspect can not be seen to contribute in creating a sense of exclusion and state of anomie among the affected Somalis.

Still though, the issue of family separation and its affect on the ability to integrate and become part of the new national identity as Swedes, together with the fact that the affected Somalis feels misrepresented and denied rights that are entitled to other immigrant groups, can be seen as creating a sense of exclusion among this group. Since this sense of exclusion can also be seen to affect both the psychological, physiological as well as sociological sphere of their life, it is to be seen as creating a state of anomie among this group, related to a feeling of un-representation in line with the societal “nomos”.

Based on the findings of this study, the contemporary asylum framework can arguably be seen as an act of biopolitics, working as a tool for states to distinguish between included and excluded forms of life (Buur et al., 2007: 15, with reference to Agamben, 1998). Also, it can be seen as supporting Torpey’s (1998: 239-240) reasoning regarding internationally valid identification documents as creations that facilitates the distinction between legal and illegal forms of migration, thus resulting in the “monopolization of movement”.

From a strictly juridical point of view, the contemporary asylum framework, and the rejection of Somali passports as evidence of ones identity, can be deemed legitimate. Since there is no internationally recognized authority that can issue such documents (Landinfo, 2009: 10), there is, in this sense, no way for the Swedish Board of Migration to know that the Somalis applying for asylum in Sweden based on family ties are the ones they claim to be. However, since this is an issue that affects the life of many Somalis, and since there is no way for the affected Somalis to be issued the documents in question, it is from a moral perspective completely unjustifiable. It seems commonsensical and natural that the Swedish government and Swedish authorities concerned with issues related to migration and integration should work to facilitate and speed up the process of integration, thus not create bureaucratic and legal obstacles such as these.

As previously stated, the present statistics regarding Somali integration in Sweden is portraying a dark picture. Moreover, as abovementioned, Sweden is the most popular country of asylum in Europe for Somalis, and the number of Somalis coming to Sweden is likely to increase in the forthcoming years. Hence, for the sake of furthering this development in a positive way, both for the Somalis coming to Sweden and for the Swedish society as a whole,
it is imperative that the policies regarding integration seeks to facilitate the process and not vice versa.

The contemporary asylum framework and the result of family separation cannot be seen as furthering the process of integration in any positive direction. Instead, it hampers and procrastinate the process of integration and adaption to Swedish society among the affected Somalis. In order for this scenario to change, affected Somalis must be able to reunite with their family.

Hence, a change in the legal framework, which allows for some sort of alternative when it comes to proving the identity of Somali family members, and the relation between them and the resident in Sweden, must be implemented. One can only hope that the new rulings that are to be implement in July 2012, allows for this. If not, the Somalis subject to this issue are likely to still be unable to integrate, a scenario which is not god for them personally, or for society as a whole.

7.1. Further Research
As this study has shown, the issue of family separation can be seen to hamper the ability for affected Somalis to become integrated. However, it is only based on a small sample of all the Somalis that are currently residing in Sweden, and therefore can not outline any general conclusions. It would therefore be interesting and important to study this subject more thoroughly, having a greater coverage and go deeper into the issue of family separation and how it affects the everyday life of affected Somalis, psychologically, physiologically as well as sociologically.

Also, in order to see to what extent the issue of family separation influences the ability to integrate compared to other factors, it would be of interest to conduct a comparative study between Somalis residing in Sweden together with their family and those who are separated from them. As this study has pointed out, the issue of Somali integration in Sweden has not been subject to much academic publications. However, since Somalis are currently the fastest growing immigrant group in Sweden and since the statistics indicate that they are badly integrated, more studies that look into this issue and seeks to understand why the situation looks the way it does, are necessary.
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8.2.4. Conference Papers

8.2.5. Press Releases

8.3. Interviews with Somalis Subject to Family Separation

8.3.1. Group Interviews

Group Interview 1
Performed at Tallgården 2011-12-08
Participants:
D- Woman, 3 years in Sweden, family in Uganda
I- Woman, 3 years in Sweden, family in Ethiopia
F- Woman, 2 years in Sweden, family in Ethiopia

Group Interview 2
Performed at Tallgården 2011-12-11
Participants:
A- Man, 11 months in Sweden, family in Ethiopia
N- Woman, 2 years in Sweden, family in Uganda
S- Woman, 2 years in Sweden, family in Ethiopia
C- Man, 1 year and 10 months in Sweden, family in Ethiopia

8.3.2. Individual Interviews
Individual Interview 1
Performed at Tallgården 2011-12-08
Participant:
O- Man, 3 years and 6 months in Sweden, family in Yemen

Individual Interview 2
Performed in the interviewees home, Öxnehaga, Jönköping 2011-12-22
Participant:
K- Woman, 4 years in Sweden, family in Ethiopia

8.4. Interviews with Somalis not Subject to Family Separation
8.4.1. Individual Interviews
Individual Interview 1
Performed at Tallgården 2011-12-11
Participant:
Jamal Abdi Nur- Man, 6 years in Sweden, family in Växjö

Individual Interview 2
Performed in his mothers shop in Dalbo, Växjö 2011-12-21
Participant:
S- Man, 6 years in Sweden, family in Växjö

Individual Interview 3
Performed at a café in Dalbo, Växjö 2011-12-21
Participant:
A- Woman, 17 years in Sweden, family in Växjö