

“That will be your home”

Resettlement preparations for children
and youth from the Horn of Africa

Mehek Muftee



Linköping University

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PART I - THESIS

Chapter 1

Introduction

In 2011, during a couple of weeks in Dadaab, Nairobi, and Khartoum, two delegations from Sweden set out to prepare groups of children and their families for their upcoming resettlement to Sweden. In Dadaab, three tents are erected in a compound near one of the world's largest refugee camp complexes. Upon arriving, the delegation spends much time decorating one of the tents with images of airports and airplanes. Toys and dollhouses brought along from Sweden are placed on a table. Balloons are hung from the ceiling inside the tent. Right in the middle hangs a globe. When the children arrive with their families to the compound, they are asked to go to the decorated tent. One of the representatives of the delegation starts off by asking the children where they are moving. She holds the globe in her hand and together with the children navigates to where different countries can be found. She asks, "Where is Kenya? Where is Somalia? Where is Sweden? Is it up or is it down? Is it near or is it far away? How do we get to Sweden?"

This is how each program for the children starts off, continues with information about what the resettlement journey will be like. It is these meetings between the Swedish delegations and the children and youth that are at the center of attention for this study. It is a study about the work of two delegations, preparing children and youth, who have lived a life as refugees, for their resettlement from Kenya and Sudan.

The current state of the world is marked by migration caused by war, conflicts, and poverty forcing people to leave their homes in search for places where they can live a life of stability and peace. UNHCR¹ estimates that by the end of 2012 the number of forcibly displaced people around the world was 45.2 million, including 15.4 million refugees and 28.8 million IDPs (internally displaced persons) (UNHCR 2013a). In 2014 the number of forcibly displaced people has reached 50 million, the highest number in the post World War II era (UNHCR 2014). About 80% of the world's refugees are found in countries such as Pakistan, Iran, Ethiopia and Kenya (UNHCR 2013a).

Established in 1950, as an initial effort during the World Wars to meet the refugee situation in Europe, UNHCR was given the mandate and responsibility to provide protection to forcibly displaced persons. One of UNHCR's durable solutions is that of resettlement which involves a transfer of refugees from the state in which they have sought protection to a third state which has agreed to admit them (UNHCR 11:9). It is a tool for international protection that has been used during some of the largest wars and conflicts taken place after the World Wars, such as the Indo-Chinese conflict, the Chilean Coup d'état, the expulsion of the Asian minority from Uganda in the 1970s, and the Bosnian war in 1990s to name a few. This highlights the relation between migration patterns, humanitarian refugee protection efforts such as resettlement and the world order as it developed during decolonization and the Cold War period.

About ten million of the world's refugees are considered to be of special concern under the responsibility of UNHCR (UNHCR 2013a). Resettlement is motivated as a humanitarian effort to provide refugees with international protection. In 2013 the number of people resettled were estimated at approximately 80,000, most of them provided by the US, Australia and Canada. However, the number of people in need of being resettled the same year was approximately 180,000 (UNHCR 2012b). It is a small solution to a vast global need. Yet, the process is of considerable importance for those few who are given the opportunity to lead a life in security.

Every year approximately 1,900 people are resettled to Sweden. Having resettled refugees since 1950 and, with the largest annual quota among receiving countries, Sweden is at the forefront when it comes to resettlement

¹ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

issues in Europe. The Swedish Government has stressed that resettlement is an important protection effort that needs to be developed further and enforced on a larger scale among more European countries (Government offices of Sweden 2011). It is the Swedish Migration Board that has been assigned the responsibility for resettlement, which includes the responsibility to inform and prepare those being resettled for the process that lays ahead (Government offices of Sweden 2011). As a means of achieving this goal, the Migration Board carries out pre-departure Cultural Orientation Programs (henceforth COPs). These programs aim to prepare those being resettled for their journey, and to inform them about resettlement and the initial time in Sweden. Since 2008 special attention has also been given to the children being resettled, who are targeted with sessions, specifically designed for them. These COPs have been a means to prepare the children for the journey and resettlement through both engaging them in various activities as well as presenting their future country of residence, Sweden. The programs are set to facilitate those being resettled for the initial time in the new country and are a means to actively engage them in their resettlement, actualizing information regarded as important to know in order to have a successful introduction and eventually become an independent citizen in Swedish society.

The COPs can be seen as programs carried out within a liminal phase where groups of people with different backgrounds are brought together (See further Turner 1967 on liminality). It is liminal as it is held during a phase that is in-between living as a refugee in Kenya and Sudan and the upcoming resettlement to Sweden. Appadurai points out that the world we live in is a place in which human motion is more often definitive of social life than it is exceptional (Appadurai 2003). In a way, this thesis does manifest this. However, as will soon become clear, a COP is not just a regular platform where different people meet and talk and is hence not a simple manifestation of the globalized cosmopolitan world. In fact, migration often includes journeys marked by rules and regulations in which those who cross borders are categorized and institutionalized in various different ways (Bauman 1998). Nowhere else is this more apparent than when it comes to the movement of people categorized as refugees.

In 2011 I accompanied two delegations to Kenya and Sudan, where the Swedish Migration Board organized COPs for people who had been granted permanent Swedish residence and were about to be resettled to Sweden. It is

these COPs that are at the center of attention in this thesis, the work of two Swedish delegations that travel all the way to Kenya and Sudan in order to carry out COPs. Moreover, it is also about a group of children and youth who, together with their families, are going through a regulated process of being moved from one country to another. As part of this process they are attending COPs. Focusing on the programs, this thesis raises ideas concerning aspirations and hope for an ideal future, mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, work of empowerment, stereotyping, managing of identity ascriptions, and representations of Sweden.

From the Horn of Africa to Sweden

The Horn of Africa, with instabilities in Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea, is a strong manifestation of the porous borders with the main kind of movement in the region being that of forced migration (Castles & Miller 2009). These movements bear the legacies of colonialism. The long drawn-out wars in the region during the decolonization process and the ongoing conflicts have led people to flee to neighboring countries to a great degree. Apart from this, famines striking the area have also contributed to the hardships. As late as 2011 the world was struck by images from Dadaab, rolling on worldwide media, showing the devastation caused by one of the worst draughts to ever hit the region. The world's largest refugee camp complex is located in Dadaab, where more than 400,000 refugees mainly from Somalia reside. These camps were set up in 1991 as a temporary solution, but still exist (UNHCR 2012a).

Although most of the forced migrants remain within the region, there are also groups that have migrated to the countries in the West. The migration from the Horn of Africa to Sweden dates back to 1970s and 1980s, during the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Migration from Somalia began in the 1990s due to the country's civil war (Lundh & Ohlsson 1999). Most people came to Sweden on their own as asylum seekers. People from Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia constitute the largest migrant groups from Africa in Sweden: in 2012 there were approximately 50,000 people of Somali background and around 20,000 people with Eritrean and Ethiopian backgrounds in Sweden (Kubai 2013).

For the past couple of years, based on an incentive from UNHCR, Sweden has given special attention to the Horn of Africa in its work with resettlement. In 2011 Sweden resettled group of people of Somali background from Kenya and Djibouti, as well as those of Eritrean and Ethiopian background from Djibouti and Sudan (Migration Board 2011b). In a report on resettlement in 2011, the reason for the focus on the Horn of Africa is said to be the problematic situation in the region. Instabilities and conflicts in Eritrea and Somalia, the strains on Sudan and Kenya due to many people crossing the borders, and the humanitarian catastrophe in Dadaab are mentioned as motivational factors (Migration Board 2011a). In the same report one can briefly read about how these groups are to be given COPs as a means to receive information about Sweden, as well as how these programs can equip the delegations, especially the municipality officials, for meeting the needs of the group.

Aim of the thesis

The aim of this thesis is to examine *how children and youth are being prepared for their resettlement to Sweden during cultural orientation programs*. My interest lies in analyzing how the COPs for children and youth come about in practice. I examine *what* as well as *how* information is given, and how the children and youth respond to it. This thesis sets out to both analyze discursive practices as well as ideas and notions upon which the work of COPs are drawn. The aim of the thesis can be broken down into the following questions:

1. How do the COP representatives go about informing children and youth about life in Sweden?
2. What notions of resettlement, and specifically of *refugees*, inform the representatives' work?
3. How do the children and youth receive and respond to the information? Specifically, what can we learn about young person's agency in resettlement preparations?

Why study COPs for children?

Resettlement is a specific process targeting a small group of people, and the COP is a rather unique program. It is short, as participants attend it for only a couple of days. It does not focus on language, but instead on providing brief information about resettlement and the Swedish society, and it is held a couple of weeks before the resettlement to Sweden. These points mark the program as different from introduction programs such as SFI (Swedish for Immigrants, a language training program) or other societal programs. It is not an introduction program but more an effort specifically tailored to prepare refugees going through resettlement.

If the COP is carried out for a small group of people, why should time and effort be invested in studying its practice? This question would seem even more relevant considering that resettlement in itself is a very small solution to a much vaster global issue. On the other hand, it is still significant to the people who do go through resettlement. I would like to propose four arguments for the relevance of the current thesis.

Firstly, although policies are worked out with the intent of providing ideal outcomes, they are often vague and open up for officials to interpret and implement them in various ways. State-financed programs and initiatives targeting vulnerable groups are hence not only to be understood through examining policy documents, they take place between human beings, through meetings and talks. Thus, studying how policies are worked on in practice is called for (Eastmond 2011).

Secondly, although the COP is a unique program, as will be seen, it echoes ideas found in the overall debate on migration and integration in Sweden. The COP actualizes topics that have been, and continue to be, raised in the different spheres of the Swedish society, topics regarding what it takes to become included in the Swedish society, who is a Swede and who is not, and what is integration. These are currently some of the most recurring questions regarding migration in Sweden, and have been actualized not least through the current rise of right-wing racist parties not only in Sweden but also across Europe. Although this thesis in no way represents or sets out to be applicable to a whole society, it does echo wider issues as they are actualized within the small effort of COPs.

Furthermore, as I will show, research within the area of migration has traditionally tended to overlook children and youth, mainly focusing on adults. At the same time, statistics show that approximately 46% of world's refugees are under the age of 18 (UNHCR 2013a). According to the list of those being resettled in 2011, of the 249 people being resettled from Sudan 126 were under 18 and in Kenya 167 of 342 people being resettled were under 18. Children compose a significant group of those being resettled. Thus, studying children and youth being resettled, is called for.

The last point is that the resettlement process and COPs are of interest because they highlight the work of nation states that have complied with carrying out humanitarian refugee protection efforts such as resettlement (Migration Board 2014a). Studying how nation states carry out their humanitarian responsibility in practice is important in order to be able to continue, in the best possible way, to realize the human rights of people who have been deprived of them, and cater to the needs of those at the center of these efforts. In this sense, all practices involving efforts of realizing the human rights of vulnerable groups need to be continuously examined.

Drawing lines and crossing borders – the Horn of Africa

In this part I set out to provide a brief understanding of the background situation of the participants attending the COPs. The aim is to provide a picture of the conflict patterns and situations in the Horn of Africa that through the years have resulted in hundreds of thousands of persons being forced to flee their homes to neighboring countries in the region. It was these conflicts that had forced the families attending the COPs to flee their homes. It is also as a result of these situations that the work of UNHCR, including finding durable solutions for refugees such as resettlement, takes place.

The participants of the COPs in Kenya had a background in the central/southern parts of Somalia, from which they had been forced to flee, eventually crossing the border to Kenya. A smaller group of the participants had settled in Nairobi, whereas most lived in the refugee camps in Dadaab.

People have been crossing the Somali-Kenya border for many years. The main reason for this being the instability in Somalia, a country with a colonial history of division and rule by Italy, Great Britain and France. Although

the British-ruled North combined with the Italian-ruled South in 1960s to form a common independent Somalia, conflicts and wars have mounted regarding the borders to both Kenya and Ethiopia in efforts to unite Somalis all over the region (Hyndman 2000). One such area of dispute has been the North Frontier District. Located in northeast Kenya; it was given to Kenya by the British colonial administration during the process of decolonization. However, the area has been under dispute and remained a cause of tensions between Kenya and Somalia. Moreover North Frontier District belongs to the more underdeveloped parts of Kenya, with a semi-arid landscape. It is here that Dadaab, a small town and the location of the refugee camps, is located, approximately a hundred kilometers from the Kenya-Somalia border.

As a result of the breakdown of the Somali state and the outbreak of civil war in the early 1990s, the increased number of people arriving from Somalia led the Kenyan Government to request international support. Hence, camps were set up by UNHCR in 1991 across Kenya, among them those in Dadaab (Verdirame 1999). The involvement of an international organization meant increased attraction of external funds (Horst 2006). At the same time, according to some scholars (Cambell 2006; Verdirame 1999; Horst 2006) whereas the situation for the refugees pre-1991 has been described as a time when people from Somalia were allowed to move relatively freely, work and more easily become integrated into Kenyan society; the situation afterwards became more restrictive, with fewer opportunities for establishment (Campbell 2006; Verdirame 1999). According to Hyndman (2000) the status of “refugee” has entitled many people, who were forced to flee their homes, to basic shelter, food and social services in the camps but also made it difficult for them to acquire independent living.

The refugee camps in Dadaab are run by UNHCR, which is responsible for the supervision and coordination in the camps, along with a range of other organizations and NGOs in charge of different areas. At the time of this study, there were three camps in Dadaab: Ifo, Dagahely and Hagadera. Whereas the camps were originally designed to host up to 90,000 people, in 2012 they were home to approximately 460,000 people (UNHCR 2012a). The largest group consisted of people from Somalia, followed by people from Sudan and Ethiopia. Among those who were to be resettled to Sweden in 2011, all families except one (which had its background in Sudan) were from Somalia.



Picture 1. Inside one of the camps in Dadaab. Author's photograph.

Despite the restrictive government policies for refugees, such as not being allowed to live outside the camps, thousands of refugees reside in the major cities such as Nairobi (Campbell 2006). Although some have built businesses in the informal economy over the years and can hence be said to have become more or less a permanent part of the city, life for refugees in Nairobi is described as filled with hardships and insecurity, not least due to the lack of legal protection outside the refugee camps (Campbell 2006).

A smaller number of the COP participants were from Nairobi. They had lived for many years in the low-income area of Eastleigh, also known as “Little Mogadishu” because of its vast Somali community. When it comes to the school situation, most of the children who attended the COPs in Nairobi attended school. The situation seemed to be more varied when it comes to the children in Dadaab; some went to the schools in the camps and others attended some kind of religious education, while a few did not attend school at all.

The second group, resettled in 2011 from Sudan, was more diverse than the one in Kenya. The participants during the COPs held in Khartoum had a

background in Eritrea, and there was also a smaller group of participants with an Ethiopian background. The group was also religiously diverse with participants who were Muslims and Christians. This was unlike the group resettled from Kenya, which mainly consisted of participants of Somali background who were Muslims.

To understand the migration patterns from Eritrea and Ethiopia to Sudan, one needs to go back to the war between Eritrea and Ethiopia between 1961 and 1991. A war that ended with the independence of Eritrea, which during colonialism had been part of the so-called Italian East Africa (from 1850 to the end of the Second World War) and then been annexed to Ethiopia (Hassanen 2007). During the long drawn-out war hundreds of thousands of Eritreans crossed the border to Eastern Sudan. Whereas those who initially came to Sudan were from urban areas and hence settled in the big cities of Sudan, the Eritreans arriving in the late 1960s and 1970s settled in Sudan's rural areas (Kibreab 1996), an area where people from Eritrea have resided in since the late 1960s (Ambroso et al. 2011). Most refugees are found in camps in Eastern Sudan, which is among the poorest parts of the country with low levels of rainfall and constant food insecurities (Ambroso et al. 2011). This is similar to the northeastern part of Kenya and shows how refugee camps are often opened in isolated and underdeveloped parts of the countries, marked as temporary solutions. Besides the 30-year war, a large number of people also crossed the border during another border dispute that took place in 1998 between Eritrea and Ethiopia (Ambroso et al. 2011).

According to UNHCR, at the end of 2013, there were approximately 118 000 Eritrean refugees and 5000 Ethiopian refugees residing in Sudan (UNHCR 2013b). Many of those who were resettled to Sweden in 2011 had fled the wars in Eritrea and Ethiopia. A smaller number of the participants of COPs belonged to an ethnic group called Oromo, one of the largest ethnic groups found in Ethiopia, which has been excluded from political power. The COP participants had thus lived in Sudan for different lengths of time, and included recent arrivals from Eritrea who had fled the current political hardships in the country. Furthermore, whereas some of the participants were from refugee camps in Eastern Sudan, others lived in the cities of Khartoum and Port Sudan.

Apart from a smaller group of children and youth who had only been in Sudan for a couple of years, most of children were either born in Sudan or

had come at a very young age. Most attended school, but from speaking to the youth it was clear that attaining higher education was difficult, due both to the financial aspects and, as some mentioned, the difficulties of making it on the labor market. According to UNHCR, the enrollment rates in primary education are high in the camps in Sudan, unlike the situation in Dadaab where education facilities are fewer (Ambroso et al. 2011).

Outline of the thesis

This book is divided into two parts. Part I, comprises seven chapters. Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the thesis, and presents the aims and questions that have been central to the study.

In chapter 2 I elaborate on the resettlement process, as well as the prominent actors involved in the process. The background of the specific Swedish resettlement process is also given. The second part of the chapter examines the background and the aims of the Swedish COPs, including the development of the programs from the early 1990s.

Chapter 3 sets out to position the current thesis within the overall research field on migration and resettlement. Here, studies that have been relevant to the current thesis are presented.

In Chapter 4 the theoretical points of departure for this thesis are discussed.

Chapter 5 offers a more in-depth understanding of the field in which this study was carried out, and information about the delegations and the participants is also provided. I also reflect on some ethical issues regarding the study. Moreover, the analysis procedure is also presented.

In Chapter 6 a summary of the three empirical articles is provided. Part I ends with Chapter 7, where some of the main findings of the three articles are highlighted and discussed in relation to the overall aim of the thesis.

Part II is the empirical part of the book, comprising three articles focusing on different aspects of the COPs.

Article 1 analyzes how the delegations make use of images in order to prepare the children and youth for resettlement. Some of the more prominent

themes are presented and discussed. Making use of images is was common way for the delegations to engage in talk with the children. This article shows how images are used to establish certain ideas about the future country of residence.

Article 2 focuses more closely on the children's agency, and whether and how it comes about during the COPs. It shows how the children and youth are given room to ask questions, but also how they manage instances where a socialization aspect is drawn upon by the representatives.

Article 3 examines conversations of gender equality as they took place during the COPs. It explores how opportunities for the girls being resettled are presented. The article also shows how the girls manage the conversations that sometimes trade on stereotypical notions about them.

Chapter 2

Resettlement and the COP

This chapter provides an understanding of the resettlement process, presenting the resettlement procedure as well as the key actors involved. I focus particularly on the background of the Swedish resettlement. Besides this, I highlight resettlement in relation to certain aspects of migration and integration patterns in Sweden. Furthermore the discussion, actualized by some European resettlement countries, regarding “integration criteria” is brought up. The second part of this chapter focuses on the COPs, discussing the development of these programs from the 1990s and onward, and finally presenting the aims of the specific preparation effort as they stand at the time of the writing of this thesis.

The international resettlement process

One of the major tasks of UNHCR is to provide protection to individuals who have been forced to flee their homes, through what is called durable solutions. There are three categories of durable solutions: volunteer repatriation, local integration, and resettlement. In volunteer repatriation individuals are facilitated to return to their countries of origin, whereas local integration means that the country of asylum provides them with residence permits. Resettlement is the third durable solution, defined in the following way:

Resettlement involves the selection and transfer of refugees from a State in which they have sought protection to a third State which has agreed to admit them – as refugees – with permanent residence status. The status provided ensures protection against refoulement and pro-

vides a resettled refugee and his/her family or dependants with access to rights similar to those enjoyed by nationals. Resettlement also carries with it the opportunity to eventually become a naturalized citizen of the resettlement country. (UNHCR 2011:9)

Resettlement can hence be seen as a solution that entails a person being moved to another country where he/she is entitled to and has access to human rights. The UNHCR Resettlement Handbook (2011) presents three main functions of resettlement. The first is the importance of providing protection and meeting the needs of those being resettled. This emphasizes the fact that resettlement is viewed as a humanitarian effort in order to ensure that human beings can have their basic human rights fulfilled. The second function is the emphasis on resettlement as a durable solution for larger groups of people who have been forced to move, along with the other two durable solutions. The function of resettlement in this context is a strategy for solving larger refugee displacement situations. The third function is the importance of recognizing the sharing of responsibility within the international community, with emphasis on the importance of states demonstrating solidarity with the asylum countries that receive many refugees, an effort sometimes referred to as “burden sharing” (UNHCR 2011:3).

Resettlement has been carried out since the formation of the international refugee protection system during the World Wars. It started as a solution for various groups who were scattered across Europe due to the wars. Initially, the responsibility for finding a solution to the displacement of people was given to IRO (International Refugee Organization). Established in 1946, IRO resettled over a million refugees before being replaced in 1950 by UNHCR, which has since been the UN’s refugee agency. Whereas the initial work of UNHCR concerned refugees within Europe, its work gradually came to expand to other parts of the world. Today, UNHCR mainly operates outside Europe and is the world’s largest refugee organization.

UNHCR assessment and identification

UNHCR is responsible for making and presenting an overall assessment of the refugee situation around the world to the resettlement countries. This results in a yearly report called “projected global resettlement needs”, which aims to give an overview of the global needs and raise awareness of the groups identified as being in need of resettlement. The report serves as a tool for resettlement countries and their selection (European resettlement network 2012). The other part of the responsibility of UNHCR includes carrying out

the initial identification of eligible persons for resettlement. This is the first step of the resettlement process.

There are two preconditions for being eligible for resettlement. One, the applicant has to be considered a refugee according to the UN's refugee convention; and two, resettlement is considered the most appropriate durable solution for the individual (UNHCR 2011). In their assessment of who is to be considered a refugee, UNHCR makes use of a broader definition than the Refugee Convention. According to the 1951 Refugee Convention, the definition of a refugee is:

someone who is outside his/her country of origin and has a well-founded fear of prosecution because of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion and is unable or unwilling to avail him/herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution. (1951 Refugee Convention)

UNHCR also recognizes persons as refugees if they are outside their country of origin and cannot return because of serious threats to life, physical integrity or freedom resulting from generalized violence, or events that in a serious way cause a disturbance to the public order (UNHCR 2011:81). Most refugees who are identified as being in need of resettlement come under the broader definition.

It is thus UNHCR that makes the identification, assessment and determination of whether a person is a refugee and eligible for resettlement. Those viewed as eligible are grouped into seven different submission categories: legal and/or physical protection needs; survivors of torture and/or violence; medical needs; women and girls at risk; family reunification; children and adolescents at risk; and lack of foreseeable alternative durable solutions (UNHCR 2011). When a person is found potentially eligible for resettlement, an assessment interview is held by UNHCR. When an assessment is made that the person should be resettled, the case is presented to a resettlement country. Since it is UNHCR that selects the receiving country for the refugees, the applicant cannot choose where to be resettled; however, the person does have a right to decline the offer made by UNHCR. But declining an offer can also make it hard to be considered for resettlement again.

UNHCR also makes assessments of larger groups in need of resettlement, for example in an effort to close a refugee camp.

The initial responsibility is on UNHCR for surveying and informing about the overall refugee situations around the world, as well as carrying out the initial identification and assessment process. However, it is the resettlement countries that make the final decision regarding from where to resettle and whom to grant permanent residence. These decisions are made on the basis of several factors such as the state's own laws, and migration policy, as well as the state's political relations with other states. In other words, the process of resettlement is entirely dependent upon nation states' willingness to resettle. This is an aspect that highlights the enormous power wealthier nation states in the West, such as Sweden; have in the process of resettlement as well as the overall migration context (Johansson 2005). This is important to remember when understanding the context in which the COPs are carried out.

The Swedish selection process

As mentioned in the introduction, the Migration Board has been given the responsibility for resettlement by the Swedish Government. Every year the Government sets the parameters of resettlement in the budget bill, which also includes the annual quota of the number of persons that should be resettled (Government offices of Sweden 2011). The Swedish resettlement process takes place in two different ways, either by selection missions or selection on dossier. In selection missions, officials from the Migration Board are sent to the country where the applicants are residing to carry out face-to-face interviews with them². The interviews are held with those who have been assessed by UNHCR to be in need of resettlement. Dossier selection, on the other hand, means that applications are sent to Sweden and processed by officials at the Migration Board (Government offices of Sweden 2011). During the selection process, the Swedish officials carry out a regular asylum procedure based on the Swedish Aliens Act (2005:716). In the case of resettlement from Kenya and Sudan in 2011 a delegation was sent to Kenya, whereas in Sudan the asylum procedure was carried out through dossiers. Whether a

² These delegations are not the same as those that later carry out the COPs.

delegation is sent to the country or the applications are considered through dossiers is related to prior experiences, as well as security reasons related to the delegations and the refugees, who sometimes need to travel across the country for the interviews (Migration Board 2011a). The figure below shows the different phases of resettlement as well as who is responsible for the different parts of the process.

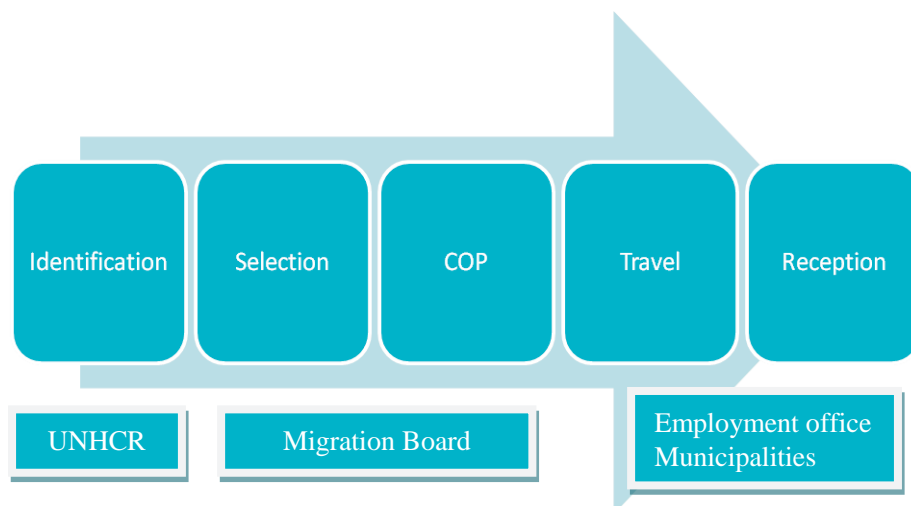


Figure1. This figure gives a simplified overview of the resettlement process. Apart from the main actors shown there are also other actors involved in the process such as IOM³, and the Swedish Embassies, which plays a prominent role in the practical arrangements around resettlement. Furthermore, the employment office and the municipalities are also involved during the COPs, as they are represented in the delegations.

The changing resettlement patterns

In this part I will give an overview of the background and context of the Swedish resettlement process as well as some ideas that have prevailed in regard to migration in Sweden, ideas that also play a role in offering an understanding of initiatives like the COPs.

³ International Organization for Migration. This organization provides services to states and people requiring international migration assistance.

Between 1850 and the World Wars Sweden was mainly considered an emigration country. During this time, over a million people migrated from Sweden to the US. It is the period during and after the World Wars that mark Sweden as primarily becoming an immigration country (Corman 2008). The groups that immigrated to Sweden during and after the Second World War were predominantly refugees from Finland as well as other European countries. During the 1950s the flourishing industry in Sweden was in need of more labor, resulting in the recruitment of foreign labor from countries such as Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey. The period between 1950s and 1970s is thus signified by labor migration being the main source of immigration to Sweden (Schierup 2006). During this time the limited refugee migration was mainly carried out through the process of resettlement.

As previously stated, Sweden has been involved in resettlement since the start of the organized resettlement. According to Thor (2007), the first group of refugees resettled to Sweden in 1950 consisted of 150 TB patients; this group was resettled together with their families at the request of IRO. Sweden had experience of resettling groups of children from other European countries including Finland during the World Wars (Nehlin 2009).

Although the two official motivational factors for resettlement were humanitarian reasons and international solidarity, Thor (2007; 2008) shows how other reasons, such as the need for labor along with a pursuit of goodwill, played an equally important part. The selection process usually included questions related to, labor skills, affiliation with political parties and political views. Refugees who couldn't regain their health were often eliminated. Thor also notes that when children were resettled, the occupation of their fathers was considered important during the selection; the children who were chosen had often fathers who were either craftsmen or industrial workers. Thus the initial Swedish resettlement was very much embedded in the overall migration policy, aiming to fulfill the Swedish labor requirements (Thor 2007; 2008). Up until 1968 the Swedish resettlement quota was 1,000, and most people who were resettled came from countries such as Hungary and Yugoslavia (Lundh & Ohlsson 1999).

In 1979 the Swedish Immigration Board⁴ took over the responsibility for resettlement which up to then had been within the realm of Swedish National Labor Market Administration Board, marking a shift away from the empha-

⁴ The Swedish Immigration Board became the Swedish Migration Board in 2000.

sis on labor migration. The largest part of migration became that of refugee immigration and family reunification. This meant that most refugees now came on their own as compared to being resettled. People from other parts of the world such as Asia, Africa, South America and the former Soviet countries began to constitute the groups migrating to Sweden (Schierup 2006). According to Westin (1986), the first group to be resettled to Sweden from outside Europe was a group of Asian Ugandans who had been expelled from Uganda in 1972. The change in the constitution of the groups coming as resettled refugees to Sweden needs to be understood in relation to the changing global order whereby the decolonization process and the forming of new nation states, along with new conflicts, wars, coups and the later Cold War politics formed new patterns of displacement and migration. UNHCR's work broadened to include other parts of the world, which meant that even durable solutions like resettlement, came to target other groups.

A restricted migration policy and the positive view on resettlement

Despite the fact that Sweden is the largest and oldest resettlement country in Europe, resettlement is a largely overlooked area within Swedish migration research. There is thus little research found on the development of the Swedish resettlement. Johansson (2005) notes that during 1980s and 1990s, a time generally known as a turn towards an overall more restricted migration policy, marked not the least through the Lucia decision⁵, resettlement was largely viewed in a positive light. Through an analysis of various policy documents, Johansson (2005) shows that one of the ideas in the early 1990s was that resettlement should be increased since it targets those who are in real need of refuge, referring to individuals being resettled as those who are the most vulnerable and deserving. Regulated resettlement and repatriation were viewed as tools that need to be used more as opposed to the regular refugee immigration. During the period of the 1980s and 1990s, two significant groups were resettled: the so-called boat refugees from Vietnam during

⁵ The Lucia decision meant that an exception paragraph was introduced in the Aliens Act, whereby much stronger protection needs were to be required in order for a refugee to be granted permanent residence (Brochmann & Hagelund 2012:49).

the 1980s and 7,340 people resettled from Bosnia Herzegovina in 1993 (Andersson et al. 1997). The resettlement process continued along the overall restrictions within migration policies, marking the process as differentiated from the overall immigration. But what this also highlights is the view of those being resettled as a specific kind of group, particularly vulnerable and thus more deserving than those coming to Sweden on their own.

The resettlement quota from 1990 to 2013 has varied between 1,222 and 1,900, with the exception of 1993 and the resettlement from Bosnia. Since 2011, the quota has been approximately 1,900. As previously stated, Sweden's resettlement is based on providing vulnerable people in need of resettlement with protection. It is moreover presented as a way to relieve countries that receive large numbers of people (Migration Board 2014a). Furthermore, resettlement has received increased attention within the EU. During the second half of the 2000s EU-financed projects regarding resettlement were developed, including the MOST project⁶ (2008). These projects have served as a means to both share information between different member states as well as to develop tools for both resettlement and integration processes. In 2012, a joint EU resettlement program was established as a means to promote resettlement among EU member states. An EU resettlement network involving the resettlement countries along with other actors such as UNHCR and IOM has also been significant for promoting information exchange, policy development and collaboration. The collaborations have included efforts to link the pre-departure phase to the post-departure and post-arrival phases, in order to develop a successful reception of those being resettled through, for instance, the MOST project (2008). It is within these efforts that the development of the Swedish COPs can be understood. Along with these efforts, the 2000s also represent an increase in involving more EU member states in resettlement (Perrin & McNamara 2013), and as previously pointed out; Sweden is one of the countries that have been at the forefront of promoting resettlement within EU where the center-right Alliance has mentioned resettlement as an important process that needs to be developed further and enforced by more European countries (Government offices of Sweden 2011; Sylikiotis och Billström 2009).

⁶ Modeling of Orientation, Services and Training related to the Resettlement and Reception of Refugees.

The "integration" criteria

Resettlement is a durable solution based on a humanitarian approach of granting protection to vulnerable persons. At the same time, as mentioned, the regulated process puts at the forefront the power of the nation states to determine who is to be included and who is not. According to Haddad, "Repatriation, resettlement or naturalization, all forms of reterritorialization, are the solutions to redefining the refugee's relationship to a space of sovereignty" (Haddad 2003a:309). Organizations like UNHCR are still very much tied to the concept of national security (Haddad 2003b) This actualizes the management aspect of resettlement where refugees are relocated, a problem that needs to be fixed hence the use of terms such as "burden sharing" (Sylikiotis och Billström 2009; UNHCR 2011:16). The work hence reinforces what Malkki calls "the national order of things" (Malkki 1995:5), a phrase that refers to a taken for granted classification of people into national kinds.

The tension between the management perspective and that of securing ones borders is not the least apparent where some resettlement countries have actualized discussions regarding the potential of "successful integration" of those being resettled to the new host country. Resettlement countries such as France, Denmark, Finland, Germany and the Netherlands have incorporated so-called "integration criteria" into their selection process. Furthermore, Denmark has incorporated the integration potential into its legislation and added further criteria such as qualifications concerning language, education and work experience, social network and motivation to integrate (Perrin & McNamara 2013). Concerns have been highlighted about the risk of resettlement potentially becoming a tool for the EU member states to pick and choose people who suit their needs and criteria (Hansen 2008; Perrin & McNamara 2013), putting the fear of the management aspect overweighing the humanitarian protection aspect, at the forefront (Haddad 2008).

As we have seen earlier regarding the Swedish resettlement, the criterion of work skills seems to have been applied at least in the beginning of Sweden's resettlement program (Thor 2007). However, according to Björkengren (1988), during the resettlement of the so-called boat refugees from Vietnam during the 1980s the prevailing selection criteria concerned the most vulnerable ones and those who had been rejected by other countries such as the US. According to Thomsson (2009), until 2007 the Govern-

ment's instructions to the Migration Board included a request for an assessment of the potential of "integration" and reception during the selection process. How and whether this instruction was actualized in practice is unclear, and no such criteria for selection are applied today. What is emphasized instead is the need to develop reception programs, in order for those being resettled to more quickly become independent, learn the language and establish themselves on the labor market (Thomsson 2009; e.g. MOST 2008; Länstyrelsen Gävleborg 2012).

The care and control approach

Upon arrival in Sweden, the resettled persons receive the same support and introduction as those who have immigrated to Sweden on their own. This introduction is given for two years with the main responsibility being that of the Swedish Employment Office. Refugees take part in various introduction efforts such as language courses, training courses for entering the labor market, and the so-called societal orientation (SOU 2010:16), with the ultimate goal of becoming self-sufficient. Children are enrolled in school, where they attend special language classes or introductory classes. How the introduction is organized can differ between the municipalities. Recently, in some municipalities, efforts specifically targeting resettled refugees have also been developed (e.g. Gävleborg 2012).

Refugees enter the Swedish society as clients of the welfare system, whereby the reception has *care* and *control* as its key features (Eastmond 2011). Whereas the welfare state policies have played a vital role in granting all people equal opportunities to participate in society, these policies, especially in regard to the reception of people migrating to Sweden such as the different introduction programs as well as COPs, need to be understood through a strong belief in the state interventions and regulations on which the egalitarianism rests (Eastmond 2011).

While these efforts are seen as a way to facilitate people's establishment in the new society and to provide care for those in need, there is another side to them as well. The idea of equal rights, universalism and equality upon which the welfare state has rested also goes hand in hand with a strong sense of homogeneity (Brochman & Hagelund 2012). The development of the wel-

fare state Sweden during the late 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century went along with a strong nation-building project (Lindberg 1999). This is highlighted not least through “*folkhemmet*” or the people’s home, a concept that imagined the Swedish population as one big family. The welfare policy ambitions included an element of the nation-creating process with universalism and democracy as ingredients, a kind of “welfare nationalism” (Johansson 2005:47). An institution where these ambitions become apparent is the development of the Swedish schools. Whereas children were viewed as a distinct group with special needs and concerns, hence entitled to specific rights, they were also viewed as an important part of society, the future caretakers who needed to be formed in a specific way in order to become ideal citizens of the Swedish nation. The idea of what is the best interest of the child has developed into being the responsibility of the state, which has been the guarantor of the good childhood but also its monitor (Sandin 2003). In this sense COPs are to be seen as embedded within an overall societal approach regarding the need of efforts such as COPs for children and youth where their questions and needs can be met, efforts that at the same time can be viewed as arenas where formation of the future citizens takes place.

When it comes to migration issues, Sweden has long been known as one of the world’s most progressive and open countries. The liberal policy adopted in 1960s resulting in full rights of welfare and public services, as well as easy access to citizenship, is a manifestation of this (Schierup 2006). However, the time since the 1990s, along with restricted migration policy, has also been marked by a shift from a multicultural approach towards a strengthening of a more assimilatory approach (Ålund & Schierup 1991), emphasizing Swedish culture and language skills and the need for “immigrants” to learn and adapt to these (Geddes 2003). When it comes to integration policy, the change towards a more assimilatory position can be understood as embedded within an overall development in Europe that has seen exclusionary practices and a rise of extreme right parties with a stronger emphasis on migration management and border controls (Castles & Miller 2009). A concrete expression of this shift has been the mandatory citizenship tests that some countries have adopted. As shown, the “integration criteria” adopted by some resettlement countries also actualize this development.

As mentioned above, Sweden has no “integration criteria” in its selection process for resettlement, and although they have been discussed and debated, there are presently no citizenship tests in Sweden. However, the latest policies developed by the center-right Government clearly emphasize a much stronger emphasis on obligations (Brochman & Hagelund 2012). In the case of Sweden, the neo-liberal shift has resulted in increased focus on the responsibilities of the individual, and the shaping of the “active citizen” (Dahlstedt 2008). The emphasis on individual responsibility goes hand in hand with increased interventions. In a way, this resonates well with the long welfare tradition in Sweden which has included forming its citizens, a nation-building project with a low tolerance for difference. Furthermore the political climate has been marked by viewing equality as sameness and although cultural diversity has been viewed as an ideal, culture has often been viewed as something static with the majority culture representing the norm (Eastmond 2011).

The Cultural Orientation Program

This part of the chapter will provide an overview of the COP, its evolvement in Sweden as well as its aims. Two main ways of preparing people for resettlement have been adopted by the resettlement countries. Some countries, such as the UK, Denmark and Iceland, give a brief orientation program in conjunction with the selection process. Other countries, such as Norway and Australia, hire IOM to hold COPs. In other words different resettlement countries have worked out different ways for preparing people for resettlement. Whereas some countries, like France, only provide booklets, others like Sweden use both written information and ambitiously developed programs.

Over the years the Migration Board has developed a specific COP with information material targeting the groups being resettled to Sweden. However, not all groups are given a COP. During the preparation course, the personnel in charge of resettlement mentioned several reasons for carrying out COPs. One reason was related to whether the Migration Board felt the need to attain more knowledge about the situation of the specific group, whereby the COPs thus offered a way to attain this information. Furthermore, security

issues and contact networks with prominent actors in the specific countries, as well as financial circumstances, were mentioned as important determinants of whether or not COPs could be held. In other cases in which COPs has not been held, information material has been given to those about to be resettled. According to one of the personnel working with resettlement, between the years 2008 and 2013, a total of 16 COPs had been held by the Migration Board.

Sweden is one of the few countries that send a separate delegation to carry out COPs. During the preparation course held for the delegation to Kenya, the personnel in charge of resettlement maintained that the reason for sending a delegation was based on a belief that a Swedish delegation would provide much more accurate information on Sweden and thereby minimize potential misunderstandings. As one of the personnel put it, “We do it best ourselves”.

Sverigeprogram (COP) – A background

In a report by the Swedish Immigration Board (Andersson et al. 1997), the reception of groups that were resettled between 1991 and 1997 is evaluated. From this report, one learns that the overall way of preparing refugees for resettlement was through providing them information about Sweden, given by the delegation members adjacent to the selection process. The information presentation took a couple of hours, and the aims were to offer a view of Swedish society and to inform about the obligations the refugees would have in the new country (Andersson et al. 1997). The information was based on a booklet, published by the Immigration Board called “Sverigeinformation” (Sweden information). It included different topics regarding Swedish society, such as democracy, work and taxes, residence, childcare, school and education, culture, traditions, religion and family, to name a few (Agebjörn & Wichmann 1990).

According to the evaluation report, the first Swedish COP was held in 1992 for a group of people from Vietnam that was resettled from Bataan, the Philippines. This program contained information about Sweden as well as an initial language course in Swedish. According to the report, Sweden wanted to start a Swedish “integration school” in the camp, based on the positive experiences Norway and the US seemed to have had with their respective programs. Both these countries had so-called “resettlement schools” with

language as well as cultural, societal and occupational training for those about to be resettled to these countries.

The first Swedish COP was held by the International Social Service, with an English-speaking teacher from the Philippines as well as personnel from the Swedish Immigration Board. This program was held for 324 people of Vietnamese background who had been granted permanent Swedish residence. An aim of this program, as presented in the report, was to process cultural differences between Sweden and the groups being resettled, in order to prevent a “culture shock” upon their arrival in Sweden. Another aim was to give them knowledge that would facilitate their settlement in Sweden. The program had ten objectives: self-knowledge, self-confidence, cultural awareness, being able to take initiative, problem-solving, being able to plan and set up realistic goals, knowledge of what resettlement to Sweden entails, practical skills, social skills, and being able to make use of the information (Andersson et al. 1997:43). Looking at these objectives, one understands that the program was extensive and seemed to include a socialization aspect as well as drawing on theories of social competence and empowerment (see further on social competence and empowerment Kimber et al. 2008; Cruikshank 1999).

The COPs and the information that is given are thought to facilitate an integration process. At the same time, it is cultural differences that seem to have been the core of the information. The evaluation report stresses the idea of countering a so called “culture shock” (Andersson et al. 1997:43). In the evaluation of the COPs held in 1997 at Rafha camp in Saudi Arabia, the aim of the delegation is explained to: “inform about Sweden and Swedish society, and the values that Swedish society rests on that govern Swedes’ behavior and way of life” (Andersson et al. 1997:51, author’s translation). Hence, besides the practical issues, focus seems to have been placed on more normatively oriented topics relating to what is referred to as Swedish values. But more importantly, when reading through the report, it seems to actualize the essentialist approach to culture. The idea of difference seems to be embedded in a view that the circumstances and background of those being resettled is radically different from those in Sweden.

In 1998 the Swedish Integration Board was formed and given the overall responsibility for matters concerning integration, this included COPs and to prepare those being resettled. It is unclear, however, how many COPs the In-

tegration Board carried out during its years of activity. It is also unclear how these programs were held. The annual budget statements suggest that COPs were carried out on an ad hoc basis, and that the delegations included personnel from the Integration Board as well as officials from municipalities (Integration Board 2007).

COP - A platform for dialogue, information and activation

Since the 1990s the COPs have been developed further as part of the overall emphasis from the EU on resettlement as well as the focus on the preparation and reception of refugees. The Integration Board was abolished in 2007, which led to a transfer of responsibility for COPs to the Migration Board. Apart from this, the Migration Board also took over responsibility for a project called the MOST project. Started in 2007, this project aimed to develop efforts for resettlement within the EU, including preparation efforts such as COPs and introduction in the new country. The MOST project was an EU-financed transnational project based on collaboration between Finland, Ireland, Spain and Sweden, aiming to discover different ways to find quicker and more effective ways of establishing refugees in the new society (MOST 2008). Besides this, the project was seen as a way to strengthen the interest among more countries in Europe to start resettlement programs (MOST 2008). This project and its outcomes have spurred the development of the current COP. Within this project, the Swedish Integration Board conducted an interview study examining the experiences of introduction among resettled persons as well as with municipal introduction personnel, officials from the Migration Board and the previous Integration Board. The aim was to develop methods for the reception, introduction and integration of those being resettled (MOST 2008). A prominent issue discussed in the report is the need to work with tendencies of *dependency* and *passivity* among refugees, tendencies that are viewed as outcomes of their time spent in refugee camps. Points are also discussed regarding the need to work against reproducing dependency among refugees during the resettlement process (MOST 2008). The key recommendations resulting from the Swedish part of the project were:

Active participation of refugees and organized activities should be promoted from the early stages of resettlement.

Efforts should be made to ensure the more dynamic and motivated involvement of quota refugees ⁷in introduction programs.

Introduction programs should be designed to consciously avoid isolating the refugees from society. (MOST 2008:131)

What can be noted from these points is the emphasis on the need to actively involve and engage refugees. The first point states that active involvement is to be encouraged and worked on from the early stages of resettlement. The COPs thus build on the idea of the need to actively evolve the participants.

Quota refugees who better understand what resettlement means and who feel they are involved should be able to be better at taking responsibility, become self-sufficient and become part of the Swedish society. (Migration Board 2009:7 Author's translation)

The overall idea is thus to work towards resettled persons being able to take responsibility and actively take part in Swedish society, which includes becoming established on the Swedish labor market.

During the meetings with the personnel in charge of the resettlement process at the Migration Board, COPs were spoken of as an important experience for the Board's staff. It was not seldom that I would hear delegation members say how they thought everyone working with migration issues should go on one of these trips at least once in order to learn about the circumstances of the people living in refugee camps. The COPs were viewed as a valuable learning experience for the staff, an important platform for learning more about the situation and the background of the group about to be resettled. Furthermore the COPs were a means to be better able to cater those being resettled by understanding their needs (Migration Board 2009). This is not the least expressed by Thomsson (2009), who argues for pre-departure preparation meetings as a forum in which the reception can be adjusted to meet individual needs of the refugees.

During the preparation meeting with the delegation going to Kenya, an overall idea that was marked as distinguishing the new COPs from the older

⁷ Quota refugee is a term generally used for refugees who go through resettlement.

ones held by the Integration Board was that the new ones are more interactive. A point that was stressed was that the COP is as a platform for *dialogue*. This was related to the work of actively involving the participants and learning about their needs and questions. This shift is also marked by the development of COPs after the MOST project, with various efforts to develop strategies and information material for those being resettled (See for example Migration Board 2014b). One such effort is for example the Swedish Quota - Communication Strategy (SQCS) that was carried out during 2008 and 2009, aiming to develop and test information material for refugees in various phases of resettlement and to develop better communication strategies (Migration Board 2009). As part of this project a COP was tested in Khartoum, Sudan in 2009 including new strategies such as clearer collaboration between the Migration Board and the municipalities receiving refugees, involvement of a so-called “bicultural” person in the COPs, a program that enhances the interactivity and involvement of the participants, and a clearer child perspective (Kullberg et al. 2009). However, the most important outcome of this SQCS project is said to be the shift from “information” to “communication”, which is referred to as the new strategy (Migration Board 2009:3).

On the website of the Migration Board, it is stated that the aim of the COP is “to inform refugees of Swedish conditions and prepare them for their journey to and arrival in Sweden” (Migration Board 2013, author’s translation).

During the preparation course held for the delegation going to Kenya. Examples of topics, along with discussion cards and visual material were given to the delegation as inspiration for the COPs. For the children’s groups, more activity-oriented examples were given such as drawing, learning Swedish words, watching children’s movies, talking about their families and future home, and talking about what the plane journey would be like. For adults there were more organized sessions, called “Introduction”, “The Journey”, “Arrival”, “Everyday Life in Sweden”, a specific session held by the so called “bicultural” person⁸ called “My Story”, and a conclusion. Along with this the delegations were encouraged to add topics they thought were important and relevant for the specific group of participants. The dele-

⁸ A term used by the Migration Board referring to those persons who were part of the delegations and had a similar background as the refugees being resettled (see more in chapter 5).

gations were also encouraged to bring along private images they believed would easier spur interest among the participants and serve as a basis for discussion.

The informational aspect also becomes clear when looking at the more specific motivations mentioned in a protocol from the Migration Board. Here, the arguments given for COPs are that refugees in Dadaab have lived in camps for a very long time and thus have little information and experience regarding life in a “normally functioning society”. Lack of education among the group is another argument (Migration Board 2011a). The reasons given for the COPs in Sudan are similar to those for COPs in Kenya; it is stated that the refugees from this area have been refugees for a very long time, and have limited knowledge about Sweden (Migration Board 2011). Here the differences between the respective situations in the former country and the new one are highlighted as an important factor. Closely linked to the informational aspect is the aim of providing participants with “realistic expectations” of resettlement and Sweden (Kullberg et al. 2009). The aim here is to counter rumors and wrong information among refugees, and to give firsthand information about Sweden (Migration Board 2009). The idea also relates to the thought that false expectations based on wrong information may lead to disappointment and make it more difficult for participants to learn and participate in introduction programs (Thomsson 2009).

An emerging child perspective in resettlement

The first sessions for children, I was told by an official at the Migration Board, were held in 2008 for a group of Burmese refugees being resettled. The only official statement regarding COPs for children is found in the report from the COP in Sudan in 2009. Among the several aspects mentioned as important, the last point goes under the heading “A clearer child perspective”. Here, it is stated that “the children need to be activated for both their own sake as well as their parents’ sake. They learn in different ways than adults, and hence classes need to be adapted to them” (Kullberg et al. 2009:4 author’s translation). This statement, as seen previously, reinforces the aspect of activation; however, it offers no further reasoning behind this need. The statement actualizes the need for specific classes targeting the children. The COP in Sudan in 2009 was carried out based on collaboration between the SCQS project and another project called the LANDA project (Kullberg

et al. 2009). The LANDA project was carried out by a Swedish county called Gävleborg, with the aim of developing the reception of refugees in the municipality. In the second part of the project, LANDA II, one of the goals was to develop information material for children and youth going through resettlement. This project resulted in a report called *Ge inte upp - Du måste kämpa!* (Don't give up - You must fight!) (Länstyrelsen Gävleborg 2012). The report is based on interviews with children and youth who have been resettled, with the aim of learning what kind of reception they received as well as what information they would have liked to receive. In this report, a few points are also presented as important for the pre-departure preparation of children and youth. One such point is the need to give them information that makes them comfortable with moving to Sweden. The aspect of preparing them for the specific journey is also brought up, as is the importance of making use of movies and pictures when informing them (Länstyrelsen Gävleborg 2012). This report can be seen as an initial attempt to highlight children's experiences and perspectives, and as a move towards the strengthening of a child perspective within the process of resettlement in Sweden.

So how can we understand the COP and its aims? The COP is a preparation effort that has been developed through various ambitious projects. It is an effort that marks the work of linking the pre-departure phase to post-departure (Perrin & McNamara 2013; Kullberg et al. 2009), by preparing participants for their introduction in the new country already before the move.

The focus on the first COPs, held in the 1990s, seemed to have been on language training as well as cultural and societal information. Reading through the chapter on COP in the report *Status Kvot* (Andersson et al. 1997), it seems that differences and the refugees' own responsibilities were the center of attention. The current COP is highlighted as a move towards creating a more interactive platform. The COP is both a way to assess and meet the needs of those being resettled, as well as a learning experience for the officials carrying out the program.

The central recurring concepts within various reports stating the aims of the COP can be said to be *information*, *dialogue* and *activation*. These are not isolated from each other but in fact overlap, and imply, each other. The main aim is to prepare the groups for resettlement through information. But the premise is that those being resettled need to be encouraged to actively

engage in their own resettlement process. An idea that seems to be based on refugees having lived in refugee camps for a long time and been dependent on aid from UNHCR. The active involvement is to be actualized through dialogue where the emphasis is on creating a platform for a two-way communication. The preparation efforts seem to be based on an idea of empowerment (See, for example, the Migration Board 2014b and the project *Empowerment in resettlement*). However, it is important to point out that the COPs can in no way be compared to other programs and interventions that take place in other societal spheres. The COP is a brief preparation effort held for a couple of days, and it is largely developed by the specific delegation holding it. This notwithstanding, the COPs can be seen as part of an overall societal trend of empowerment and the neoliberal approach regarding the shaping of individual responsible citizens (see for example Cruikshank 1999 for a more critical discussion regarding the concept of empowerment).

Chapter 3

Research on Migration and Resettlement

This chapter offers a review of research on resettlement. Here I show how, traditionally, studies focusing on refugees have largely been concerned with health aspects such as mental health and PTSD (Post-traumatic stress disorder), and that this is the case not only in studies focusing on adults but even more so in those involving children. I also draw attention to studies focusing on the experiences and situations of people post-resettlement. As most of the research on resettlement is found in the three largest resettlement countries – namely Australia, Canada and the US – the research presented mainly stems from these countries. In this chapter I also discuss studies conducted within a Swedish context, where resettlement has been an understudied phenomenon. A later part of this chapter outlines the research on children in migration and resettlement research, identifying a need for more studies with a focus on children and youth.

Refugees and the focus on mental health and PTSD

Many people who are forced into displacement have experienced war and trauma. Among research concerned with people with a refugee background, a bulk of studies can be found focusing on the negative health effects of war and hardships on people. This pattern is also found in research concerning people who have gone through resettlement (Morris et al. 2009; Beiser 2009; Beiser & Flemming 1986; Vojvoda et al. 2008; Söndergaard 2002, Marshall et al. 2005; Museru et al. 2010; Huijts et al. 2012; Suleiman-Hill & Thomp-

son 2011; Lindencrona et al. 2008; Teodorescu et al. 2012; Blight 2009; Ghazinour et al. 2004). This research stretches from the time of arrival in the new country, to studies looking at health aspects of resettled people who have been living in the resettlement country for decades. A common focus of these studies also lies in studying mental health aspects and the condition of PTSD (Post-traumatic stress disorder). Furthermore, some studies have highlighted correlations between the mental health of refugees and the overall situation in the new country, one such prominent correlation being the relationship between mental health and the situation on the labor market (Blight 2009; Suleiman-Hill & Thompson 2011).

Post-resettlement situation and experiences

Apart from the research carried out with a focus on the mental health and trauma aspects, other studies in the area of social sciences have focused on various aspects of resettlement to a third country. One of the largest groups having been resettled is from Southeast Asia; more than 700,000 people were resettled during the 1970s-1980s (UNHCR 2011). Many were resettled to the US as well as other resettlement countries, studies can thus be found on the process of resettlement regarding Southeast Asians (Desbarats 1985; Lewis 1981; Schaefer 1979; Nicassio et al. 1984). Some studies have focused on the experiences of those having gone through resettlement and life in the new country (Anjum et al. 2012; Povrzanovic Frykman 2009; Pittaway et al. 2009; Colic-Peisker 2009; Kenny & Lockwood-Kenny 2011; Valtonen 2004; Harkins 2012; Ives 2007; Westin 1986; Westin 2002; Tihabano & Schweitzer 2007). Through interviews with resettled persons, these studies bring forth their experiences of resettlement and situation in the new country. A common link between these studies is to highlight coping strategies as well as the barriers and difficulties they face post-resettlement. In studies carried out involving resettled groups in Sweden, there is one group that has been given attention, namely a group of Ugandan Asians who were resettled to Sweden in 1972 (Westin 1986; 2002). Through interviews and questionnaires, and a follow-up study, Westin shows how this particular group has largely been successful in establishing themselves in Sweden. The main indicators examined are occupation and housing situation but also so-

cial aspects are highlighted. Westin (2002) explains the success with the timing of this group's arrival, the 1970s, when the prospects of finding employment were good. He shows how many people from the group got work in factories. Another aspect mentioned is the social cohesion within the communities which, according to Westin, seems to have been strong.

A bulk of studies has also examined the situation of resettled persons on the labor market (Bevelander 2009; Valtonen 1999; Fozdar & Hartley 2013; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2003; Beaman 2012; Fozdar 2009; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2007; Finnan 1982; Stein 1979). *Resettled and Included?* (2009), a volume in which various studies are presented, focuses the employment integration of resettled persons in Sweden. In one of the quantitative studies, Bevelander (2009) shows that resettled persons take the longest of all groups of migrants to enter the Swedish labor market. Factors such as social network, demography, human capital and country of origin are brought up as significant for understanding the results. In the same volume, another study focuses on one of the largest resettled groups in the 1980s and 1990s, namely refugees from Vietnam. Here, Rönnqvist (2009) shows how an aspect that seemed to matter in order for finding employment was one's ethnic network (also mentioned in Westin's study 2002), being able to borrow money in order to start a business, and working for a co-ethnic employer. Rönnqvist's study shows the strategies used in finding employment where one's ethnic group seems to play an important role. Povrzanovic Frykman's study (2009) focuses on personal experiences of employment who were resettled from Bosnia-Herzegovina in the 1990s. She highlights how they speak about ideas of hope, feelings of gratitude, discrimination, loss of status in the new country, and the importance of ethnic contacts. Povrzanovic Frykman concludes that there is no difference between the experiences on the labor market on the basis of admission status as refugees or resettled refugees. Making use of both quantitative and qualitative methods, this volume contributes to an understanding of the situation on the Swedish labor market for adults going through resettlement. It is their experiences of the situation as well as strategies they use in order to navigate and establish themselves that are focused upon.

As a means to understand the situation in the new country of those going through resettlement, some studies have focused on resettlement agencies and introduction programs (Nawyn 2006; Nawyn 2010; Robinson & Cole-

man 2000; Presse & Thomson 2008; Peisker & Tilbury 2003; Mott, 2010; Ivry 1992; Wikström 2009; Eby et al. 2011; Brown et al. 2007; McKinnon 2009; Ives 2007). Most of the studies were conducted in order to understand the role and work of resettlement programs and NGOs, sometimes through interviews highlighting the experiences of officials working with resettlement (Peisker & Tilbury 2003) or through examining the overall system of resettlement in a country (Presse & Thomson 2008; Brown et al. 2007; Hyndman 2009).

Program practices, discourses, and negotiations

The studies presented here have been concerned with the reception of refugees going through resettlement, with the main focus on their adjustment into the new society and/or on their experiences in the new country. However, some studies with a focus on resettlement have had a more critical approach, highlighting dilemmas and tensions found in the resettlement process.

Focusing on specific camps set up in order to prepare refugees for resettlement to the United States, Anthropologist Carol Mortland (1987) has examined a center that conducted cultural orientation classes within the US resettlement process during the 1970s and 1980s. Mortland studies the practices taking place within the “processing center”, using the theory of liminality. She argues that the liminality of the refugees is paradoxically reinforced and that the camp activities instead encourage dependency. According to Mortland, the practices within the centers seemed to sustain the myth that finishing their stays there will ensure their success in America. Mortland criticizes this myth by pointing out the discrepancy between, for example, telling the refugees how everyone is equal in the United States while the very centers manifest the opposite. These centers, as part of the US resettlement of Indochinese refugees, have been subject to criticism (e.g. Tollefson 1989). Mortlands study brings to light the management aspect of resettlement and how this is worked on within the centers. Although cultural orientation classes are mentioned, the main focus is on the very social context of the centers and not the classes per sé.

Other studies have examined the work of NGOs and initiatives directed at newly resettled persons, many times discussing the meanings given to the

labels of “refugee” and “citizen”. One study that highlights the dilemmatic role of NGOs working with resettlement issues is Sara McKinnon’s study (2009) of faith-based resettlement agencies in the US. By studying documents and texts such as mission statements, service statements, historical accounts, service program descriptions and newsletters, McKinnon, a researcher in Rhetoric, Politics and Culture, points out how the dichotomous discourses of the “needy refugee” and the volunteers as “agents of change” are created, which according to her reinforces ideas of differentiation. McKinnon shows how motivations for the personal and potential salvation of refugees tend to be strongly drawn on. Her study is based on social constructionism, and is more concerned with the discourses of being a refugee and a volunteer worker. The relevance of this study lies in its interest in the discursive work and meaning given to refugees going through resettlement, but also in its emphasis on the work of organizations that play a vital role in the resettlement process. However, in contrast to the present thesis, McKinnon focuses on written material rather than practices of the officials or the meetings between them and those going through resettlement.

In a Swedish context, Eva Wikström examines a local Swedish reception program targeting groups from Sierra Leone and Liberia resettled to two small towns in Northern Sweden. This study, also presented in the volume *Resettled and Included* (2009), is based on interviews with refugees who were resettled as well as an evaluation of the program. The reception program was based on the assumption that trauma and illness would be a potential hindrance to the establishment of the refugees on the Swedish labor market, and hence that the refugees need to be treated for their trauma already during the reception program. However, the study shows that many of the program’s participants expressed unease regarding the victimization label. Wikström argues that the focus on mental health issues tended to ignore other aspects, such as the amount of stress the participants felt in regard to the difficulties of establishing themselves on the labor market. The result of the evaluation shows that although the program gave some work experience, few participants had attained work after completing it, leading to disappointment, frustration and surprise among the refugees. According to Wikström difficulty finding a job can be explained by other aspects than referring to mental illness, and mentions the problematic aspect of strengthening negative identities in regard to being a refugee, a development that according to her may

prolong the time it takes to become established on the labor market rather than making it easier (Wikström 2009). The important contribution of this study is that it brings attention to and scrutinizes measures for establishment that target those being resettled by more or less ignoring structural and societal factors.

Anthropologist Aihwa Ong's ethnographic work *Buddha is Hiding* (2003) analyses the work and role of professionals engaged in the resettlement process of Cambodians resettled to the US. The study concerns the process of resettlement of Cambodian Americans and their situation in the new country. The study takes a bottom-up perspective, and is based on participant observations and interviews with Cambodian families. Participant observations and interviews were also carried out with professionals such as social workers, nurses, bureaucrats and priests, who were in contact with the families on a daily basis. Based on the theory of governmentality, Ong shows how refugees were both being-made (by, for example, social workers) and in the process of self-making. Focusing on various policies and programs, she examines the work of shaping the new citizens and the values and codes that were either internalized or contested in the process of belonging to the new society. But besides the focus on the technologies of governance, Ong also shows how women and children navigated the rules using counter-strategies in order to obtain their own interests, showing how the regulating techniques of the state for forming ideal citizens hardly ever work as planned (Ong 2003). Although she offers some examples focusing on children, her main focus is on adults.

Like Ong, I adhere to the social constructionist stance whereby ideas such as being a refugee or a citizen are not taken for granted but are rather viewed as discursively constituted. Ong mentions the preparation programs held in the camps before the resettlement, referring to the efforts as an initial socialization process; however, her main focus is on the situation after resettlement.

Through observations at a so-called "lost boys center" and interviews with the Sudanese men regarding their experiences of resettlement, McKinnon (2008) critically examines the "lost boys of Sudan" experiences in resettlement where she shows how they negotiate the discursive positioning of them. McKinnon argues for the need to understand the formation of the young men's identities in relation to the discourses that constitute resettlement.

ment where she discusses some ambivalences of the label “refugee” and “lost boy”. Furthermore McKinnon also shows how negotiating belonging not only occurs in relation to the discursive structures within society but how it also takes place within the Sudanese community.

Another study that is also concerned with identity constructions of refugees is Linguist Aniko Hatoss (2012) interview study on Sudanese Australians. Drawing on positioning theory, Hatoss (2012) shows how the self-ascribed identities of the informants are related to the identities ascribed by the majority society. Both these studies are concerned with how overall societal discourses and how they are related to refugees identity work post resettlement.

A study that can be said to be significant in regard to understanding the introduction process in Sweden is Jenny Rosén’s study (2013) of SFI (Swedish for Immigrants). Based on an analysis of policy documents and text material on SFI, as well as video-based observations of SFI classes, Rosén shows how SFI can be seen as an arena where the negotiation of potential inclusion in the Swedish community takes place. Rosén shows how taking part in SFI involved relating to and responding to categorizations of oneself. By analyzing various policy documents, the study also shows how discourses of the “immigrant” and the “Swede” are constructed when it comes to the aspect of gender equality, positioning “immigrant” women as the subordinated other. Besides this, interactions during SFI classes in which gender equality talk takes place are studied, showing how the theme within the policies are actualized in practice. The study does not specifically focus on resettled persons but rather on general language introduction programs. However these programs are part of a general introduction process in Sweden showing examples on meetings carried out between officials and persons with migration background.

In this part, I have given an overview of research on resettlement conducted both internationally as well as within Sweden. I have positioned the current thesis within the critically oriented migration research. Based on social constructionism, the current thesis examines categorization practices taking place within an institutional effort targeting persons going through resettlement. But the focus here is a bit different than the prior research, as the program at the center of this thesis is a pre-resettlement program. Whereas Ong (2003) mainly focuses on practices of forming refugees into American

citizens after resettlement, this thesis brings to light the practices taking place during COPs. Moreover, much like McKinnon's and Hatoss' studies, the current thesis emphasizes negotiation processes, related to overall societal ideas of refugeeness. A point that sets this thesis apart from the above studies that has been presented is the focus on children and youth being resettled.

Children within migration research

As is the case with adults, studies focusing on children within migration, have primarily focused on trauma and health issues (Sack et al. 1996; Thabet & Vostanis 1999; Papageorgiou et al. 2000; Felsman et al. 1990; Servan-Schreiber et al. 1998; Almqvist & Brandell-Forsberg 1997; Almqvist & Broberg 1999; Fazel et al. 2012; Oras et al. 2004; Goldin et al. 2008). A common denominator in these studies is that they measure the impacts of being exposed to war and violence in various parts of the world, and the effects upon the mental health of children. Research has also focused on various programs targeting these children in the new country through various interventions based on CBT, expressive therapies, and other school-based mental health interventions (Rousseau et al. 2007; Baker & Jones 2006; Ehntholt et al. 2005; Fazel et al. 2009; O'Shea et al. 2000; Ruf et al. 2010). These studies have evaluated the outcomes and effects on children attending various programs as a means to find better ways to meet their needs. The aim has been to, on a practical level, find methods and effective programs that can help children overcome traumatic experiences.

In the field of migration, the overlooking of children has been actualized (White et al. 2011; Doná et al. 2011; Chatty et al. 2005). The need to focus on children's agency, even within contexts marked by severe hardship and constraints such as war and poverty, has also been stressed (de Berry 2004). Recently, a more agency-oriented approach has emerged in migration research focusing on children (Lundberg & Dahlqvist 2012; Christopoulou & Leeuw 2005; Archambault 2012; Adams 2009; Hopkins & Hill 2008; Svensson et al. 2009). Primarily, the agency aspect in these studies has meant an increased effort to study children's experiences and perspectives through interviews.

There is also research within the area of school that has focused on children with a migration background and their identity work (e.g. Wiltgren 2014). Furthermore, some studies have shifted gaze towards the teachers and their work with children with a migration background (Runfors 2003; Gruber 2007). Here I would like to mention Runfors' study, which shows how teachers at three schools aimed to work for values like individualization and freedom, seeing themselves as international humanitarians, but how their work paradoxically led to concentrating on the differences and the cultural backgrounds of children categorized as "immigrant children", which instead undermined their individuality (Runfors 2003). In another study, also focusing on schools with students from different ethnic backgrounds, Gruber (2007) discusses exclusionary and differentiation practices among teachers where Swedishness was viewed as the norm and the "immigrant" as a deviation. While these studies do not focus on resettled children, they nevertheless actualize aspects related to institutional settings as well as discourses regarding children categorized as "immigrants", and how these discourses are worked on within the realm of the school.

Children in resettlement research

The studies presented above outline research on children with a refugee or migration background on the whole. Just like the case with research on adults, it is sometimes hard to tell whether or not the studies include persons having gone through the specific resettlement process. Some studies with an explicit focus on children in resettlement, deal with the role of family and the changing family dynamics in the new country (Deng & Marlowe 2013; McMichael et al. 2011; Weine 2008; Atwell et.al 2009). McMichael examines the changing family dynamics during the first year of resettlement showing how conflicts tends to occur within families as a consequence of the changes that takes place during resettlement. The study is based on both qualitative and quantitative methods, including interviews with youth who have been resettled.

One group of resettled children that has received special attention is the so called "lost boys of Sudan". In 2000-2001, approximately 3,600 children and youth in Sudan were resettled to the US, consisting of boys and young men who had experienced the civil war in Sudan resulting in separation from their parents (Luster et al. 2008). These boys received attention upon their

resettlement, where several interview studies have been carried out focusing on their experiences both before resettlement as well as in the new country (McKinnon 2008; Luster et al. 2008; Luster et al. 2009; Robins 2003; Bolea et al. 2003; Goodman 2004). For example, in her interview study with 14 young Sudanese boys aged 16-18, Goodman (2004) highlights their strategies of dealing with loss and trauma in pursuit of a better life in the US. Some of the strategies drawn from the narratives of the boys are suppression and distraction, collectivity where the boys seem to rely on support from each other referring to a collective experience, belief systems, and hoping and planning for the future.

In a Swedish context, there are no studies, as I am aware of, focusing on the resettlement process of children and youth. It is fair to say that children have largely been an ignored group in research dealing with resettlement. Moreover, it is not until recently that children have been given attention in Swedish resettlement practice, such as through the specific LANDA II project (2012) carried out by a municipality in Sweden (see more on this in Chapter 2). Previous research has paved the way for the current thesis, which focuses on children and youth within resettlement. Moreover it also highlights an organized effort called the COP and how it is carried out in practice. In this way, the present thesis sets out to fill a research gap in the area of children and migration by focusing on children's initial meetings with Swedish officials before arriving in the new country.

Chapter 4

Postcolonial relations and children's agency

Postcolonial relations - a contextual perspective

Resettlement as a process, including the small preparation effort of the COPs, occurs right in the middle of the historic, economic, political and cultural legacies that form the context in which the programs are held. It occurs in the midst of what can be called postcolonial relations. These relations are based on geopolitical structures with a history of producing and reproducing inequalities between Europe and Africa. Within the realm of migration in Africa, but also the movements of migration from Africa to Europe, colonial legacies have been – and continue to be – at the forefront. The specific area of migration that includes resettlement still reflects relations between Europe and Africa, built on unequal premises that link to colonialism (Hansen & Jonsson 2011). This is not least the case regarding the situation concerning displacement and movements within the Horn of Africa. A situation intimately related to the effects of the borders created during the Berlin Conference of 1884-85, with the outcome that is known as the scramble for Africa

(Griffiths 1986). Here, European powers overrode local autonomy, which included forming borders that ignored the local constellations of people living in the region. The borders that were drawn have ever since this time caused conflicts and wars that have now been going on for decades. The Horn of Africa is one region that strongly reminds the world of the colonial history and its continuing “after-effects” (Hall 1996b: 247). The wars and conflicts, in countries such as Somalia, Eritrea and Ethiopia, lie at the center of the massive movements that have occurred since the decolonization period after the World Wars. The refugee regime⁹ is hence intimately connected to the history of colonialism. According to Hyndman, the work of the international refugee regime needs to be understood within this context:

This story of mobility begins first in Europe and then moves to the Horn of Africa, a region in which Europe invested heavily during the Colonial era and in which Soviet and the US superpowers exerted control through alliances for strategic purposes during the Cold War. The geography of finance for humanitarian crises that follows, I contend, is linked to the geography of human displacement in the Horn of Africa. The borders that produce refugees and circumscribe their movement in the Horn of Africa today, I contend, are predicated on colonial and cold war political geographies, cultural politics and economic alliances. (Hyndman 2000:37)

In this vein, Hyndman (2000) argues for the need to analyze what she calls Europe’s effect on postcolonial lives of those who were formerly colonized and today are displaced. This thesis cannot go into the complex history of the Horn of Africa as its particular focus concerns the practices taking place within part of a specific durable solution, the resettlement. However, what ought to be kept in mind is that the historical legacies need to be taken into account in the study of humanitarian relations between Europe and Africa. Sweden, as well as other European countries carrying out resettlement, is included in this understanding.

Colonial legacies have been discussed within the realm of development studies where there has been a call for working out ways of empowering people on their own terms and conditions (Escobar 1995). Along with this,

⁹ This refers to the work of UNHCR.

the problems with not taking into account the voices of those at the center of the humanitarian efforts, and instead trading on preconceived ideas, have also been put at the forefront in research (Escobar 1995; Marchand & Parpart 1995; Eriksson Baaz 2005; Hyndman 2000). Developmental efforts are of course partly a different realm than humanitarian refugee protection efforts. The most notable difference is that, whereas development efforts usually target people or groups within a specific country, resettlement involves an organized move of people who have been granted permanent residence in another country.

But regardless of these differences, they do have some points in common. Both include unequal relations that position some at the giving end and others at the receiving end. Secondly, efforts of giving are often very small. As mentioned in the introduction, regarding the durable solution of resettlement, of millions of refugees only a few are actually resettled. The idea of refugees “flowing” into Europe is untrue; on the contrary, the work of the EU has mainly revolved around building barriers. When it comes to the migration policies between EU and Africa, Hansen and Jonsson (2011) notes how they are formed to mainly benefit Europe. Resettlement is an example of a highly restricted and controlled effort that actualizes the power of the wealthy nation states. Out of approximately 800,000 refugees who UNHCR has determined are in need of resettlement, only around 80,000 are actually resettled (UNHCR 2012b). Sweden’s annual quota is 1,900, the largest quota in the whole of Europe. Resettlement is hence an effort that is at the will of the wealthy nation states to decide and carry out. The process of resettlement thus actualizes the geopolitical relations that lie at the very center of virtually all humanitarian assistance that flows from the West to Africa, whether it concerns aid, resource distribution or the durable solution of resettlement.

The investigations of postcolonial relations have been concerned with the ongoing effects of the idea of a superior West constructed through the discursive work of “the Other”. One of the most important accounts of this process is Said’s (1978) literature analysis of the European construction of the Orient, which highlights the powerful discourse developed as a crucial way of actualizing the Western self-conception as superior. Within development studies, Escobar (1995) argues for the need to understand the developmental discourse regarding the third world as intimately linked to the aftermath of the World Wars and the decolonization processes. According to him, the de-

developmental discourse originates from the Age of Enlightenment where the belief in progress, development and modernization went hand in hand with colonialism, whereby human beings were ranked along an evolutionary axis, marking Africa (and other colonies) as primitive, and uncivilized (Escobar 1995; Hall 1997; McEvan 2009). Imperialism is one of the strong legacies of the Enlightenment project. According to Escobar, the relations that exist between the West and Africa within the realm of developmental humanitarianism still manifest and trade on these ideas.

Western history is thus intimately linked with the rest of the world, and its self-image of being the founder of democracy, human rights, humanism and freedom goes hand in hand with the history of slavery, oppression and the exploitation of the world's resources (Lundahl 2002). Concepts of modernity and development are hence linked to colonialism. Taking into consideration a postcolonial perspective is related to being aware that the ideas stemming from Enlightenment, with universalism at its forefront, carries double meanings and contradictions. These ideas or traditions that rest on ambivalences – on the one hand believing in humanitarianism and equality of all, and on the other simultaneously trading on the belief of the inferiority of the other – have also been highlighted by scholars in Sweden. By studying various strands of Swedish society such as school literature, school education, mass media, humanitarian efforts, language education and migration policies, scholars have shown how the idea of the inferior other based on stereotypical notions of the “the immigrant”, “the refugee”, “the African” and “the Muslim” has been strong (e.g. Matthis 2005; Palmberg 2000; Berg 1998; Johansson 2005; Rosén 2013; Gruber 2007; Tesfahuney 1998; de los Reyes et al. 2006).

Viewing resettlement as a phenomenon centered in postcolonial relations has been rare, however, and few studies have taken a critical stance when seeking to investigate the resettlement process. Except for a few examples (such as McKinnon 2009; Ong 2003), studies have mostly been concerned with how well refugees adjust and establish into the new society and how best this process can be facilitated. The idea of how to best facilitate newcomers on the labor market and attend to the perspectives of the resettled persons is of course important. It should be remembered that the critical stance does not mean that one undermines or overthrows the humanitarian effort that is carried out.

Resettlement builds on the idea of granting people protection. On a practical level, indeed those few people who are resettled will acquire rights and opportunities as a result of the resettlement process. The contextual understanding of COPs and resettlement as part of postcolonial relations is a means to be aware of the paradox between the work for human equality and the systematic reproduction of exclusionary practices on a global scale as well as within nation states (de los Reyes & Mulinari 2005).

Ong (1999) argues that there is a need to highlight colonial legacies within the realm of migration. Ideas of what it means to be a citizen in relation to being a refugee are very much linked with the history of imperialism, and hence also include national, racial and ethnic markers as vital for understanding the inclusion and exclusion mechanisms. Here I would also add gender and age as important factors that need to be considered where the current thesis focus on children and young girls in the different articles. The resettlement process and the COPs reinforce the relationship between the helper and the helped in a very direct manner, positioning those being resettled at the receiving end as they are being granted permanent residence and the COP delegations who represent the nation state granting permanent residence at the giving end. Hence, speaking of postcolonial relations means that this thesis aims to critically investigate the COPs. The relevance of a postcolonial perspective for an understanding of resettlement practice came to be highly called for during the fieldwork. It became obvious to me that it would be problematic to study the very practices of COPs without taking into account the aspects of segregation within the camps as well as the privileged position of the international delegations. Understanding the context from a critical perspective has also enabled me to reflect on my role as a privileged researcher accompanying the COP delegations, which I will return to in Chapter 5. The perspective of COPs as enmeshed within postcolonial relations serves as a contextual understanding in which the practices and meetings between the delegations and the participants occur.

The practice of categorization

The focus of this thesis has been on practices taking place during COPs. I have been interested in the practical work carried out during the COPs, as

well as in understanding the discursive practices as linked to historical and societal ideologies (Billig 2001). This thesis stems from a social constructionist stance, which means that social identities are viewed as constantly being at work *between*, rather than as stable entities *within*, individuals. Hence, categories such as that of being a Swede, Eritrean or Somali, or being referred to as a refugee, are not things people simply are; instead, these are constructed and filled with meaning through interaction (Hall 1996a). Hall conceptualizes identity through the meeting point between practices that attempts to position us and the subject that invests in the position, which suggests a two way process of identity formation (Hall 1996a:6).

According to Jenkins, our social identities are formed by our constant work of identification, a work that is based on categorizing. It is a practice that is viewed as an important way we make sense of the world around us. Being able to identify people in a certain way manages to give us the illusion that we know others and therefore also know what we can expect from them (Jenkins 2004). Categorization processes help us in knowing how to engage with other people and navigate in a complex world. Through the act of categorizing, we position ourselves and are positioned by others. Furthermore categories are to be understood as ideologically embedded and as having developed over time. This means that even if categories are constructed and exercised through language, they do have real consequences for people. Differentiation can indeed be viewed as something done as a common way of interacting, but it also bears on strong inclusionary and exclusionary mechanisms, and can be oppressive.

In the articles of this thesis, I have made use of both the concepts of categorization and stereotyping. I sometimes also speak about othering. These concepts are clearly related, but they are also somewhat distinct. Stereotyping and othering can be seen as a kind of categorization that is often used in order to understand inequality. Hall speaks of stereotyping as:

(...) part of the maintenance of social and symbolic order. It sets up a symbolic frontier between the 'normal' and the 'deviant', 'normal' and the 'pathological', the 'acceptable' and the 'unacceptable', what 'belongs' and what does not or is 'Other', between 'insiders' and 'outsiders', Us and Them. It facilitates the 'binding' or bonding together all of Us who are 'normal' into one 'imagined community' (...). (Hall 1997:258)

According to Bhabha (2004 [1994]), the work of stereotyping is an expression of uncertainty, it is hence ambivalent and open for resistance. Stereotyping is hence a constant struggle that ultimately enables new identity forms or what he calls hybridity to take shape. Categorization, for example as highlighted by Jenkins (2004), does not really focus on any particular form of category; neither does it have a strong power aspect (while it can include a power aspect, the general formation of social identities are at the center of attention). The articles in this thesis use the concepts of categorization and stereotyping rather interchangeably. My focus has been on interpersonal exchanges, where categories/stereotypes have been viewed as historically and ideologically available and drawn on (Billig 2001).

One of the most profound accounts of the practice of being stereotyped can be found in the writings of Frantz Fanon (2008 [1952]). Fanon asserts that the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized needs to be understood as intertwined. Focusing on the process of racialization, Fanon highlights the relational work of being stereotyped, “for not only must the black man be black: he must be black in relation to the white man” (Fanon 1967:83 [1952]). It is through this intertwining of the colonizer and the colonized that both parts are given meaning. But not only does Fanon highlights the binary oppositions created on the basis of race; he also sheds light on their effects on the one being stereotyped. Fanon’s work is concerned with a psychological perspective: the perspective of the stereotyped as a person who internalizes the stereotypical ideas of himself, being subjected. At the same time, it is also a strong manifestation of a constant struggle on behalf of the one who is stereotyped. Fanon’s writings manifest a person’s active and anguished efforts to find ways to escape being stereotyped. What is shown is a person’s active struggle, not only regarding the process of becoming racialized but it also manifests agency. I will return to the concept of agency later, in relation to children’s agency.

To engage in the practice of categorizing or stereotyping is to engage in a process of both making as well as being made. This idea is in line with notions of identity, or of the subject being something socially constructed through discursive practices, always enmeshed in social and discursive processes rather than being viewed as essentialist (Hall 1996a:3). This is a key point of departure in this thesis. Moreover, my understanding of this also in-

cludes a power aspect. According to Foucault (1978), power is to be viewed as circular rather than having a specific path downwards. In this sense, everyone is caught up in the representational work of categorizing or stereotyping, albeit not necessarily on equal terms. In this vein, power hence needs to be understood as something that is found everywhere, and is not only to be regarded as negative but can also be productive (Foucault 1978).

This thesis deals with social aspects of categorization, analyzing the practices within the COPs. The focus of analysis is on the conversations between the delegations and the children and youth participating in the COPs. Studying people's meetings opens up for the fact that people categorize, and are themselves reciprocally categorized, in different ways. This will be shown in the articles. People position themselves and each other in different ways through their work of categorization. This means that the process of categorization has been analyzed as being carried out by everyone engaging in dialogue. In order to show the ambivalences that occur during talk, Article 3 makes use of Billig's (1988) concept of lived ideologies to show how the representatives draw on certain common-sense ideas when speaking about gender equality to the particular group. The idea is to examine how taken-for-granted assumptions are instantiated in talk and how people are part of and continue the history (Billig 2001), but also how people struggle to disrupt them.

Children's agency

The ambivalent nature of engaging in conversations opens up for an investigation that can see agency and thus avoid the risk of presenting people as completely bound by structures.

An important concept for this work has been that of children's agency. The analysis in this thesis focuses specifically on the COPs designed and presented to children and youth, and my interest has also been to study the children's participation in this particular part of the resettlement.

According to Speier (1976), research on children has traditionally been carried out with an essentialist understanding of childhood as mainly a socialization period (see Cromdal 2006 for a review). Speier argues that research on children has typically assumed a common-sense understanding of

children as incompetent participants in society. This, he argues, precludes any insight into children's agency and their social worlds (Speier 1976). Children have also been viewed through a developmental gaze, according to Canella and Viruru (2004), in a similar vein as colonized people. There are hence certain similarities to be found between the idea of socialization and the developmental discourse as brought about by Escobar (1995). However there is also a difference, which lies in the fact that, whereas children have been viewed as enable to become socialized into ideal adults, the colonized have often been viewed as in need of socialization but at the same time remained positioned as inferior. In her study on a Danish missionary society's work at a boarding school in Southern India, Vallgård (2011) shows how the children at the school were viewed both as in need of being socialized into civilized Christians but simultaneously positioned as unchangeable. According to Vallgård, this paradox showed how the work with the children actualized the continuity of differentiation (Vallgård 2011).

Following on the critique of the view of children by Speier, sociology of childhood has emphasized the importance of viewing children as social agents who take part in constructing their social lives (James & Prout 1997; James et al. 1998; James & James 2004). Childhood sociologists stress the importance of children not being seen as merely a product of simple biological determinism (James et al. 1998). Children's agency is viewed as intimately related to the context, and the ambition has been to investigate how children's agency and structures are intertwined (James & James 2004).

The importance of both focusing on policies and studying children's perspectives and meaning-making strategies has also been actualized in the field of migration (Watters 2008). Furthermore, focus has been placed on childhood experiences from outside the West. This has re-actualized discussions of the relationship between agency and structure. Kay et al. (2012) highlight the criticism from, for example, developmental studies, where the concept of children's agency needs to be related to societal aspects, taking into consideration the different contexts of children in different parts of the world. The concern here is that the idea of children's agency first and foremost suits the minority Western-world childhoods. Scholars have stressed the need to develop an understanding of the variations, including considering the limitations to children's agency that exist (Kay et al. 2012; Nieuwenhuys 2013; Valentine 2011).

This thesis can be seen as a contribution to the growing research that sets out to explore the experiences of children going through resettlement from Kenya and Sudan. It focuses on an effort of targeting children with a refugee background who are about to go through a massive change in their lives. These children can be viewed as reliant on the representatives carrying out the COPs as they are part of delegations of the delegations that represent the nation state that has made the resettlement possible. The liminal phase (a phase that is in-between a past and the upcoming future) for this group of children, on the verge of being resettled, also actualizes a phase of insecurity. On the basis of the empirical material, it is therefore difficult to speak of children's agency in a liberal sense as completely unconstrained (Valentine 2011). Instead, the children's agency needs to be understood as related to the overall context; in this case, a context related to uncertainty and with a great deal at stake for the children and their families.

As a means to give a more complex understanding of unprivileged childhoods, researchers such as Klocker (2007) use the notion of thick and thin agency. Klocker's study deals with Tanzanian domestic child workers, studying both their maneuvers for coping with their situation as well as constraints that are more structural, such as poverty. Klocker's use of thin agency refers to everyday actions taking place within contexts and situations that restricts agency, whereas thick agency realizes situations and context with a broad range of alternatives. For Klocker, the idea of thin agency relates to being able to consider structures within contexts as either constraining or expanding people's choices (Klocker 2007), but at the same time without completely losing sight of children's agency. Completely ignoring the children's agency would imply strengthening the image of people with a refugee background as mere victims. Although she does not focus on children, Honkasalo (2009) discusses agency in relation to suffering and uncertainty using the notion of small agency, whereby she understands the small gestures as important ways for people to endure hardships. Although Honkasalo focuses on adults with heart disease, the idea of managing uncertainties through small agencies is a helpful way of understanding those small but nonetheless strong manifestations within difficult situations.

As mentioned earlier in the discussion of categorization, I view this as something that is acquired through interaction; however, categories are also bound with societal and historical ideas and are hence never completely neu-

tral. The meetings during the COPs show certain ways of dealing with an uncertain and changing phase of life. This concerns not only how the delegations carry out their mission, but also how the children's agency comes about through the meetings with an official delegation representing the country that has granted their families permanent Swedish residence. My view of agency as intimately related to societal context means that the children's agency has been viewed as including "small" gestures and utterances during the meetings. It is the practices that are at the forefront, with the children and youth viewed as competent and capable beings that manage and weigh their answers according to what is being said. At the same time, the children's agency is not viewed as neutral and external to the context in which it comes about. There lies a danger in completely adhering to an over-romanticized vision of children's agency (Valentine 2011; Cromdal 2009). Children do not always show resistance; sometimes they accept and even reproduce norms.

Article 2 focuses specifically on children's agency, where I have made use of Klocker's (2007) notion of thick/thin agency. There are many other concepts that could have been used, but my point in the article was to show just how agency was relational to the delegations' work. Seemingly small gestures such as refusing to answer or looking away manifest a constraint, but can still be viewed as strong gestures.

Recently, research has emerged with a focus on understanding childhoods in different contexts, including the field of migration. The current thesis is an effort to bring to the fore a group of children who have been neglected in research. It is also an effort to highlight childhood experiences and contexts that do not necessarily fit into the idea of Western childhoods, which dominate the realm of childhood studies (Nieuwenhuys 2013). This thesis sets out to add to studies based on analyzing practices as an important way of understanding how programs such as the COPs, embedded within postcolonial relations, can be understood through an effort to highlight children's agencies.

The contribution of postcolonial theory lies in aiding the understanding of the rather dilemmatic context of COPs as enmeshed within postcolonial relations. A central debate within postcolonial theory has been on how to study differentiation: those adhering to the need to keep to the dualities are criticized for reinforcing dichotomies, whereas those studying differences as complex are viewed as relativizing oppression (Phoenix 1998; de los Reyes

& Mulinari 2005). On the basis of this particular fieldwork, I have found it useful to speak about postcolonial relations as a contextual understanding marking the meetings between the different groups. While examining the practices within COPs, I have studied the categorization being done by all parties within the conversations; this includes the work of stereotyping. I have made use of children's agency in order to move away from viewing the participants as merely passive victims; to view their agency without entirely de-contextualizing it from the situation and program they are in. The focus on the conversations between COP representatives and the children has made it possible to show how the children meet and respond to the information given.

In this chapter I have presented the theoretical underpinnings of this thesis, discussing the postcolonial understanding, children's agency, and categorization processes. The next chapter moves on to focus on methodological considerations.

Chapter 5

Method

The study presented in this thesis draws on ethnographic work in Kenya and Sudan, during COPs for children and youth going through resettlement. A common understanding of ethnography is the focus on practices within natural settings, contexts that has not been constructed by the researcher (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007). This definition fits well with my fieldwork as it is the practices taking place within COPs that have been the center of attention. I accompanied two delegations in order to observe the COPs for children. I spent 14 days in Dadaab and Nairobi in Kenya and 11 days in Khartoum in Sudan, where COPs were carried out. Although ethnographic work is traditionally defined as including lengthier fieldwork, this thesis can be viewed as having been based on a so-called compressed time mode (Jeffrey & Troman 2004). Moreover, this thesis is based on several different kinds of data collection methods (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007). The data was gathered through video recording (which was the main method), field notes, as well as spontaneous and unstructured interviews with some of the participants during the COPs, which were either video or audio recorded. Apart from this I collected images that were used during the programs as well as various policy documents, evaluation reports and project results related to COPs and resettlement.

In this chapter I give a methodological overview of the thesis and present in depth the field in which the study took place. I also give a background on the participants and provide information on the delegations, and further elaborate on the negotiations for gaining access to the field. Moreover, I reflect on some ethical considerations concerning my role as well as gaining consent from the COP participants. Apart from this, I discuss the issue of

working with an interpreter, some commonly used definitions, my critical stance and the analysis.

Entering the field

Meetings with Swedish Migration Board and the delegations

In late 2010 I met the personnel working with resettlement issues at the Migration Board. My overall interest in topics related to migration, and the search for an interesting and relevant area for my research, led me to find a report about “Sverigeprogrammet” (COP). The report was about COPs that had been held for a group being resettled to Sweden (Migration Board 2009). It made me curious about the program as well as the overall process of resettlement. I got in touch with officials working with resettlement at the Migration Board, and a meeting was set up. During this meeting I presented my background as a PhD student at Child Studies at the department of Thematic Studies and my interest in learning more about the resettlement process with a focus on children. I was given information about what resettlement and COP are. During the meeting, the personnel mentioned the fact that COP was something they were working on to develop further, and that they were also working to develop a specific COP for children going through resettlement. This partly coincided with my interest in the resettlement process as well as migration experiences of children. A month later I was invited to an annual conference on resettlement held by the Migration Board with different actors such as NGOs, municipality officials and UNHCR staff, as well as officials from the Migration Board. This two-day conference included an evaluation of the resettlement work that had been carried out in 2010, as well as discussions and presentations of the work for the coming year. The head of the resettlement department was present, and I conveyed my interest in observing the resettlement process, including the selection of families as well as the COPs. The head of the department and the personnel in charge of resettlement were reluctant to let me observe the selection process, invoking a number of reasons including the integrity of those being resettled and the fact that a great deal of people want to take part in these journeys, as well as national security reasons. They were, however, positive towards letting me observe the COPs for children. In early 2011, after some email correspond-

ence with written presentations of my study aim and a request for permission to access the resettlement process, I was asked to join the COP delegation that was about to go to Kenya. Although my initial interest had been in observing the whole resettlement process, I decided to take this opportunity. In my view, the COPs seemed to be an interesting program to examine. I also thought that accompanying the delegation would give me a unique opportunity to meet children before their resettlement to Sweden.

I met up with another official specifically in charge of the COPs, who went through the aims of the program for me. The agreement between myself and the officials at the Migration Board was that I would observe the COPs for children, and in return provide the Board with verbal feedback on the findings of my thesis. I also had a meeting with the delegation manager in charge of the COPs in Kenya, in order to discuss practicalities regarding the research. Since my primary contact was the Migration Board, they contacted UNHCR and IOM to ensure that I could accompany the delegation to Kenya. I also took part in a three-day preparation program held for the delegation, at which I introduced myself and my study. Prior to the program, the delegation had been sent an information letter in which I had presented my study (see appendix B). During the preparation course, the delegation was given the opportunity to ask me questions regarding my interest and study. They wanted to know what specifically I wanted to study, and I told them about my interest in the children and their perspective.

Apart from the COP in Kenya that year, the Migration Board had decided to hold another COP in Sudan, from where 249 persons were to be resettled. I had earlier expressed interest in accompanying the delegation for other COPs, and during summer 2011 I was asked to accompany the delegation to Sudan. I decided to say yes to this second COP because I believed a second journey would give me a further understanding of the COPs; my journey with the first delegation had already given me some interesting aspects, which I wanted to explore further. In this thesis I have not used a comparative approach but instead viewed the work of the two delegations as providing me with a broader understanding of the institutional work of COPs.

I was asked to accompany the delegation to Sudan much later than the delegation to Kenya. Due to the time limit, I was not able to attend the preparation course held for the delegation preparing to go to Sudan. I did have a meeting with the delegation manager, however, at which we discussed my

research methods and other practicalities. Information letters were also sent to the delegation presenting me and my research interest (see appendix B). I met the rest of the delegation for the first time at the airport. This was not an ideal way of meeting the delegation, but the reason for this was the limited time and the fact that I had not been able to attend the preparation course. Since the delegation members lived in different parts of Sweden, it was difficult to arrange a meeting. They had, however, received my letter and discussed my role with the officials in charge of the resettlement. They were also given the chance to ask me questions and learn about my research interest, both at the airport and upon reaching Khartoum. Some of the delegation members were curious about my aims and my interest in the COPs. I told them about my interest in how the COPs for children were going to be carried out, as well as in talking to children about resettlement. Some of them also wanted to know whether I would be filming the entire time, and I answered that my main interest was the COPs and the perspectives of the children and youth. I assured them that I would not video record during the evenings after the COPs were finished.

Presenting my research to the COP participants

Prior to the COPs an information letter was sent to the groups that were to participate in them (see appendix C). In this letter I wrote about myself, the aims of my research, the methods, voluntary participation, and how and for what purpose the collected material would be used. The letter was sent in English and Somali to Dadaab and Nairobi, and in English, Tigrinya and Arabic to Khartoum. These letters were then given to the participants before the COPs by the local staff of UNHCR and IOM. Apart from sending the letters, I introduced myself and my research interest before each program. I also told the participants about my interest in the children's perspectives and experiences of resettlement, and that I wanted to study the COPs. The introductions were carried out with the help of an interpreter. Both the parents and the children were given information regarding the video recording, and were asked if I could video record during the COPs. Apart from the introductions in the whole group, I also presented myself separately in the children's groups. The participants did not ask me any particular questions during the initial introductions, but were quiet while receiving the information. The reason for this may be that it was the first time we met. Another reason may be

that they most likely saw me as part of the delegation, which reinforces the issue of power asymmetry between us. Instead, questions would come up during the fieldwork, which I will elaborate more on later.

Participants in the study

COP participants

The participants in this study are those who had been granted permanent residence by the Migration Board and were taking part in a COP. A total of 342 participants had been granted permanent Swedish residence in Kenya, whereas the number in Sudan was 249. These were given COPs. As the focus of the research was on children and youth, I primarily observed the programs held for them. Below, an approximate number of the participants of each group in every COP is provided. The numbers given are based on how many children participated in the introduction part of each program. As compared to the overall number given by the Migration Board regarding how many people under 18 were resettled, the numbers in the groups suggest that not all children participated. There may be different reasons for this. Many children would often walk between the adults' and children's groups. Often, the youth would attend the adult's sessions. Furthermore, it may also be that all family members did not attend the COPs. Although all families were invited and encouraged to attend COPs for the important practical information, they were not obligatory as they did not affect the decision of residence permit.

Children's groups in Dadaab and Nairobi

Child Groups	Boys	Girls	Total
Group 1 Dadaab	14	12	26
Group 2 Dadaab	16	9	25
Group 3 Dadaab	6	8	14
Group 4 Dadaab	13	13	26
Group 5 Nairobi	9	6	15

Children's groups in Khartoum

Child Groups	Boys	Girls	Total
Group 1	10	6	16
Group 2	6	4	10
Group 3	14	5	19
Group 4	8	10	18

Apart from the sessions for children, in Kenya two youth sessions were observed where one of them included 3 girls and the other one 8 boys. In Sudan three youth sessions were observed. Group one consisted of 12 girls and 2 boys, group two consisted of 10 girls and groups three consisted of 3 girls.

The two delegations

Each delegation consisted of seven persons, who in different ways worked within the field of migration; in this thesis I refer to them as representatives. The representatives worked as officials at the Migration Board, officers at the employment office and municipality officials. They had been selected through an internal selection process, carried out by the Migration Board. Each delegation consisted of a delegation manager who worked for the Migration Board and had prior experience of carrying out COPs in the country where the delegations were going.

Delegation to Kenya

Migration Board	4
Municipalities	2
Employment office	1
Total	7

Women	4
Men	3

Delegation to Sudan

Migration Board	3
Municipalities	2
Employment office	2
Total	7

Women	5
Men	2

The delegations included persons that represented different institutions that were to play a prominent role in the upcoming introduction phase in Sweden. The role of the employment officers in the delegation was to inform the adults about rules and regulations, and to prepare them for the way to employment in Sweden. The choice to bring along employment officers goes hand in hand with the change of law that took place in 2010, in which the main responsibility of the introduction was handed over to the Employment Office in line with the Government's emphasis on employment being the most vital part of becoming part of society. The municipality officials were from different municipalities that would receive the refugees. Their role in the delegations was to represent municipalities in Sweden and provide the participants with information about, for example, schools and housing.

One person in the delegation to Sudan and two people in the delegation to Kenya had a similar background to that of the COP participants. The Migration Board called them "bicultural" persons. They spoke the same language as the COP participants, and were seen as a cultural and linguistic asset within the delegations as well as role models for the participants. They were all employed at the Migration Board. Apart from giving the same information as the rest of the delegation and taking turns holding the COPs, they also held a session for the adults called "My Story". In this session they would talk about their own journey to Sweden and how it had been for them, and offer suggestions to the participants concerning what they should think about. These sessions clearly show how these representatives' ethnic backgrounds, and experiences of being refugees, were given special attention during the COPs.

Not everyone was entirely content with this role. During the fieldwork, one of the representatives told me she had explicitly made clear to the delegation manager that she wanted to hold other sessions as well and not only "My Story". She did not want to be part of the delegation merely on the

grounds of her migration background and ethnic belonging. The “bicultural” persons did carry out the same work as the rest of the delegation; “My Story” was an additional session given to them in order to talk about their own experiences of migration. This of course marked these particular persons as different and having different experiences as compared to the rest of the delegation who did not hold a “My Story” session. Although the intent regarding the “bicultural” person was that they were to be an asset during the COPs, some of them at times would tell me that the journey had not been what they had expected. When I asked Maahir how he thought the sessions were going, he told me that he was not receiving as many questions as he thought he would. He mentioned that the participants seemed uninterested and more focused on leaving the camps. Similar thoughts had been expressed during the COPs in Sudan. This seemed to surprise and disappoint them, as they had expected a great deal of questions and queries from the participants regarding their future country of residence.

This shows the complexity of their role in the delegations, as well as the dilemmatic nature of their work as both being viewed as role models, actualizing the idea of their having reached a certain position in society, and at the same time being expected to more easily be able to create a link and dialogue with the COP participants based on their background. But, moreover, it also made apparent a rather essentialist idea regarding ethnicity and culture permeating the COPs.

The information above gives an overview of the delegations that carried out the COPs in Kenya and Sudan. In total, each delegation consisted of seven persons (with me as the eighth). None of the representatives formally worked with children, although one had a background in working at a kindergarten. During the COPs in Kenya, no men carried out any sessions with children; instead, the responsibility was handed to mainly three of the women in the delegation. In Sudan, on the other hand, the roles were more mixed as the responsibility for the sessions for the children was rotated among all the representatives.

The field

The three-day preparatory course

Prior to the COPs the delegations attended a three-day course, during which they prepared for the programs. I took part in the course held for the delegation to Kenya, which gave me the opportunity to gain insight into the preparations. The course was held at the Migration Board's office in Norrköping. The personnel in charge of resettlement and COPs at the Board provided an introduction to the aims of the COP and the different topics that were to be brought up during the programs. Successful topics from previous programs were mentioned, such as playing an "airplane game" with the children, presented as an activity children loved. Information was given about the background of the groups being resettled, as well as about the overall refugee situation in the Horn of Africa. The rest of the course time was dedicated to planning the COPs.

Other than the overall aims and themes that were presented, the delegations were free to structure their own program. A great deal of time was dedicated to choosing images, movies and other artefacts to take to Kenya. The delegation manager and another official in the delegation, who had held COPs in Kenya the previous year, shared their experiences and what topics they believed were of importance and relevance during the programs. For example, they would tell how the children the previous year had loved playing football and that the delegation should therefore take along footballs they could play with during breaks. The COPs were based on instructions from the Migration Board and the previous experiences of two representatives, but also experiences of the rest of the delegation from working with migration issues. Other topics seemed to draw on more normative issues, such as the topic of gender equality, a recurrent conversation topic during the preparation course. For the COPs targeting children, this became apparent when one of the representatives suggested that they take along a Pippi Longstocking¹⁰ doll, which would manifest the strong, empowered, self-confident girl. There

¹⁰ One of Swedish children's author Astrid Lindgren's famous characters. The character is famously known as the "strongest girl in the world".

was also talk regarding the need to tell the participants about using garbage cans and keeping the environment clean. To me, it seemed that an idea permeating the course was an assumed need to prepare the people for “integration”, which seemed to include norms regarded as specifically Swedish.

The COPs in Dadaab, Kenya

Five COPs were held in Kenya, the first four in Dadaab and the last in Nairobi, during May and June 2011. I spent a total of two weeks in Kenya observing all the COPs, each of which lasted 1½ days.

There are two ways to get to Dadaab from Nairobi. Either you take the approximately eight-hour route by bus or car, or you fly from Wilson Airport. During my stay I was told that the bus route is dangerous, and especially so for international delegations because of violence and banditry around Dadaab. The danger of terrorism in the region was another factor mentioned. The route was used primarily by locals, and was the very route that would be taken by the COP participants in Dadaab in order to get to Nairobi and then fly off to Sweden. International delegations, however, took the hour-long air route that was trafficked twice a week. The delegation and I travelled to Dadaab, in a small propeller aircraft that was used to take international staff to Dadaab. When arriving at the destination, the first thing that struck me was that the compound area where international delegations resided, as well as where NGOs and organizations had their headquarters, was located outside the refugee camps. The short journey to the compound was all about driving through wired fences and guarded checkpoints. Once inside the compound area we were met with more fences and guards, each time the driver showing some kind of identification pass, the guards looking at it, glancing into the car and then letting us pass. This was the routine method of transportation for an international delegation (see Picture 2). It was a strong experience of the differentiation between being a part of an international delegation and being a refugee in Dadaab, an experience that would follow along all the way through the COPs.

Movement between and outside the compounds was restricted. This meant that one was largely dependent on the local staff and the drivers for taking you between different compounds. Since my primary contact was the Migration Board and the delegation with which I was travelling, I was viewed as part of the delegation and thus had to adhere to the security issues

just as the delegation was. One result of this was the constant feeling of not being able to move around freely. This was frustrating, as it would have been to any researcher wanting to explore a new field and gain as much knowledge as possible. Another aspect of this was the painful reminders of the dilemmas within the work of refugee humanitarianism. The security aspect actualized the contradiction that those who were at the center of attention for the complex setup in Dadaab were also the very people from whom international delegations needed to be guarded. On the other hand, being part of the delegation did give me unique insight into the context in which COPs were held and the hierarchies at work.



Picture 2. Entrance to the IOM compound from the inside, where the COPs in Dadaab were held. Author's photograph.

My brief time in Dadaab does not allow me to give an in-depth account of the refugee camps and the everyday life situation of those residing and working there. There are other scholars who have, based on more longitudinal studies, provided knowledge of the everyday life in the camps, not only from

the perspective of those residing in the camps but also through scrutinizing the humanitarian work being carried out (Malkki 1995; Hyndman 2000; Horst 2006). Hyndman's study is concerned with the overall organization of refugee camps and the work of UNHCR. In line with Malkki (1995), she argues that refugee camps can be viewed as a technology of both care and control. Hyndman shows the segregation between the international staff and the refugees in regard to separate catering and residence facilities, arguing that the very organization of the camps suggests a benefit factor for the international staff rather than for the refugees (Hyndman 2000). My experience in not only Dadaab but also Khartoum is based on my position as accompanying an international delegation. Hyndman's account of the segregation is something that I very much recognize. The differences between catering and residence facilities, with the residence facilities being in separate compounds surrounded by guards, was the very context in which the delegations carried out their programs, and it was also the context in which the current study took place. I will return to what this has meant for the study later in this chapter. The context of the COPs was based on the idea of the international staff being in need of security. This was a constant reminder of one's own privileged position and the differentiation towards the refugees. When it comes to the practice of COPs, it forms the way of understanding the complexity and tension in the aim of wanting to achieve a dialogue while at the same time being a delegation representing and informing about Sweden. This dilemmatic idea was manifested in the very structure of the environment where the COPs were held, and it provides an understanding of the difficulties in carrying out the program as well as some of the ways the program was held.

A particular instance that re-actualizes this doubleness of the work is the instance of the delegation visiting the refugee camps. On the second day in Dadaab, the delegation manager had arranged a visit to the camp area. Since this was a request of the international delegation the visit required arrangements, which included a van with guards accompanying the delegation. The aim of the visit was to acquire knowledge and see what the camps looked like. I decided to join the delegation, a decision I have afterwards wondered whether it was right or wrong. On the other hand, it was my only way to explore my ways into the field, which at that time was broad and included my interest in life in the camps. Furthermore, since this was my first journey I

was also obliged to stay with the delegation and not try to come up with projects and excursions of my own, which would jeopardize my relationship with the delegation. The journey to the camps included seeing schools and where the women collected water, but without further conversations with the camp residents. Long periods of time were spent in the van, looking out the windows watching children playing football, attending school and collecting water, occupied with their daily activities. Some of the delegation members took pictures, while others contemplated whether it was acceptable to do so. The driver encouraged picture taking, however, and from his way of showing us around he seemed quite familiar with driving international delegations and showing them the camps. During our rides in the van, some of the representatives would say that it felt like watching a documentary on television. Others said they wanted to show the images to their children, so they would be more grateful for everything they had. For them, this became an argument for taking pictures. There were of course comments regarding the poverty, and long silences manifesting contemplation of hardships and inequalities in the world. The visit was carried out before the start of the COPs, and it was the strongest manifestation of the hierarchy between the delegation and those residing in the camps. It was from these very camps that a group of people would later come to sit in a tent in the IOM compound to be prepared for their resettlement by the delegation. For me, this instance was very much a reminder of a kind of safari excursion, which made the whole experience difficult to come to terms with. Instances like these, to borrow from Hyndman (2000), easily explode one's sense of what "*humanitarianism*" means and what it includes. Despite the good intentions behind the work of the staff and officials – and in this case the international delegation coming with the news of liberation from the refugee camps – it also includes segregation, hierarchies and control.

The COPs were held in the IOM compound, where three tents had been set up by the IOM staff (see Picture 3). During the preparations for the COPs, a great deal of time was spent decorating the children's tent (see Picture 4). A television and a DVD player were placed on a table in order to show the participants movies brought from Sweden. Next to the television was a furnished doll house along with toy cars, a train, a buss, stuffed toys, and a Pippi Longstocking doll and her house. Balloons were hung from the ceiling giving the impression of an atmosphere of celebration. On one of the

walls a wire was put up, with pictures manifesting a linear plane journey, used to explain the journey to Sweden. The pictures depicted both different parts of an airport and the interior of an airplane, in order to show exactly what the journey to Sweden would be like. A globe was hung in the middle of the tent. The decoration of the children's tent manifested a will to create a playful and positive atmosphere. It indeed manifested the delegation's idea about and belief in presenting the best to the children regarding what was going to happen.



Picture 3. The three tents in IOM compound where the COPs were carried out. Author's photograph.



Picture 4. The children's tent from the front. The children attending one of the COPs are sitting and watching a children's movie brought by the delegation. Author's photograph.

Each COP started with an introduction for all the participants in which the representatives introduced the program. The participants were told why they were gathered, what the COP was about, and what was awaiting them. They were also assured that the program would in no way result in any change in the decision regarding the permanent Swedish residence they had been granted and they were encouraged to ask any questions they had regarding their resettlement. These introductions and most of the sessions during the programs were carried out through an interpreter.

The COPs for the children always began with the globe that was used in order to locate different countries starting with Kenya and then showing where Sweden was. The children were informed about the journey during an initial journey session in which the representative, with the help of the pictures hanging in the tent, told them how they would get to Sweden. A game was played in which the children pretended to board a plane. A school ses-

sion was held for children between ages 6-16, in which they were given information about the school system in Sweden. Apart from this various topics were raised, such as the Swedish climate, nature, law against corporal punishment, and equal opportunities for boys and girls, to name a few. When the more organized sessions were finished, the children were shown children's movies like Pippi Longstocking or Disney cartoons. They were given paper and colored pencils so they could draw. They were also taught some Swedish words and children's songs. During each program a special short movie was shown in order to manifest the daily routine of a family in Sweden. This movie included information of a practical character as well as topics that were more normative, such as the importance of being on time, conflict management and helping with household chores, to name a few. After the movie, the delegation initiated a conversation based on its content.

The COP in Nairobi

The fifth and last COP in Kenya was held in Nairobi, from where a smaller group had been granted permanent Swedish residence. This COP was held at the IOM transit center (see Picture 5). The participants, from the area of Eastleigh in Nairobi, came to the transit center in order to take part in the COP, which was held very much in the same way as the previous ones in Dadaab.



Picture 5. The entrance to the rooms where the last COP was held, at the IOM transit center in Nairobi. Author's photograph.

Pictures depicting a linear plane journey were placed on the walls, and sessions similar to those in Dadaab were held, such as the journey session, and the school session.

COPs in Sudan

Four COPs were held in Khartoum, Sudan, in August and September 2011. Each program lasted 1½ days.

Unlike the COPs in Kenya, those in Sudan were all carried out in the same place, Khartoum. The programs were held at a hotel where four suites had been rented by IOM. The participants, who came from the refugee camps in East Sudan and the city of Port Sudan, had travelled to Khartoum for the COPs as well as to get their travel documents ready from the Swedish embassy. They stayed at the hotel where the COPs were held, although in a different building. One of the suites was used for the COPs for children. The

room was virtually empty, with only a TV, a sofa in one corner, and a table and chairs placed in a circle (see Picture 6).



Picture 6. The children's room at the hotel in Khartoum where COPs. Author's photograph.

While the children's room was empty, there was one room that was decorated with an abundance of images. This room, called the "Sweden room", was used by the delegation to manifest different aspects of Sweden. It was decorated with images depicting the plane journey, Swedish nature, a couple of letters from people who had previously been resettled, and images of smiling and happy people attending introduction programs in Sweden. On one wall, images were hung depicting different occupations and advertisements for different high school programs. IKEA and H&M catalogues, various tourist brochures with images of Swedish nature, and grocery store flyers were placed on a table and hung on the walls for the participants to browse through during the breaks. The children were given information about Swe-

den in this room, and many children as well as adults would go to the room and look at the images and publications.

Each day the delegation would start with the finishing preparations and a briefing meeting. As was the case during the COPs in Kenya, each program started with an introduction of the aims of the COP before the participants were divided into two adult groups and a children's group. The COPs for children in Khartoum had more structured activities as compared to those in Dadaab and Nairobi, where more images were used. Just like the COPs in Dadaab, the program for children started off with the globe and finding different countries, such as the country of destination, Sweden. The information given in Khartoum and Dadaab was similar regarding the climate in Sweden, school information, and learning some Swedish words. Apart from this, gender equality was a prominent topic during the youth sessions, along with school information and spare-time activities. Whereas the youth sessions in Dadaab and Nairobi were held more sporadically and spontaneously, the COPs in Khartoum had organized youth sessions during all COPs. In Dadaab and Nairobi youth sessions were held for both boys and girls, although separately. In Khartoum the first youth session was held for both boys and girls together, however the delegation decided to hold the rest of the youth sessions separately resulting in that rest of the youth sessions were only held for girls. The reason why there were no youth sessions for boys has eluded me. One thinkable practical reason could be that there were not enough male representatives who could hold youth sessions for boys, which meant that boys were instead part of the men's sessions whereas girls formed a separate group. Another aspect could be the overall idea of empowering women and girls that permeated the COPs. When the rest of the youth sessions were held, the representative would often mention the fact that there were only girls in the room and that they could talk about "girl stuff" which indicated an idea of wanting to pay attention to specific topics that were specifically for girls.

Visual images played a prominent role during the various sessions, in order to depict different aspects of Sweden. For example, the youth sessions were based on images used in order to spur conversation. During a memory game, the children took turns picking up cards with different images of tooth brushing, children skiing, children reading books, the alphabet, etc. During the journey sessions, the whole children's room was turned into an airplane

and an airport, and the children would pretend to board an airplane. Simultaneously, images of an airplane and airport were shown in order to prepare the children and show them what the journey would be like. A movie was shown in which the children could follow the life of families who had been resettled from different countries and lived in different municipalities in Sweden. The focus here was on not only visually showing what apartments, kitchen, buses, schools, playgrounds, etc., looked like, but also following the families' experiences and lives in a new country. After the children had watched the movie, the representatives would usually ask them what they had seen in the movie and whether there was anything special they had reacted to or found different. The children also made drawings. One of the representatives had brought drawings made by her children and their classmates especially for them; the children were given these drawings, and were asked to draw pictures for the children in Sweden. This was an occurrence that manifested the will to make the children feel welcome. The children also learned some Swedish words and children's songs, and were shown the classic Swedish educational program "Fem myror är fler än fyra elefanter" (Five Ants are More than Four Elephants).

Since the COPs in Sudan were held in Khartoum and not in or near refugee camps, the hierarchies were not as stark as they had been in Dadaab. However, the constant travel between official meetings with UNHCR and the Swedish Embassy, as well as the meetings with the COP participants, still actualized the privileged position of an international delegation. This was apparent not least after a lunch at the home of the Swedish ambassador when one of the representatives, Marianne, told me she felt uncomfortable and uneasy with the stark contrast between meeting and speaking to the COP participants on the one hand and being part of an international delegation, with access to the "nicer" spheres of society, on the other. So, while the context in which the COPs were held in Khartoum was not attached to the camps directly, one was constantly reminded of one's privilege.

An ethnographic approach

I entered the field with a broad interest in the area of migration, resettlement, and the experiences of the children. I was also open to new topics that might

emerge along the way. My initial time in the field was hence exploratory (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007).

I attended the official meetings the delegations had with different actors, where I took field notes as a means to acquire knowledge of the context. My field notes consisted mostly of practical information: facts and figures that would help me gain knowledge about the overall refugee situations in Kenya and Sudan. I also took field notes during the preparation course held for the delegation going to Kenya, noting background information on the groups to be resettled as well as what different activities were carried out during the meetings. Apart from this, I sometimes also took field notes during the COP sessions in order to remember certain occurrences that had caught my interest.

Carrying out fieldwork actualizes the need to be alert and flexible concerning the people who are part of the field. For me, the fieldwork in Dadaab and Khartoum was a new experience. The unfamiliar setting meant that I often found myself in new and often unpredictable situations, such as while visiting the camps. Also, I was constantly among those who were part of the study. On the one hand this gave me the opportunity to understand the work of the delegations, whereas on the other it also meant that there were really no “breaks” from the fieldwork. One of the ways I sorted out my thoughts and experiences and elaborated on them was to make audio notes every night. Using an audio recorder, I would talk about different experiences and instances that had occurred during the day. Most of my field notes are thus not based on written text but rather on my talking into an audio recorder.

Apart from field notes and audio notes, I also collected the images that were used during the COPs in Kenya and Sudan. A total of 738 images were collected, including those the delegations had used, those given to me by the Migration Board, and those I took myself. The excerpts presented in the articles are based on data that were audio and video recorded. However the field notes, along with collected documents, reports and evaluations of earlier COPs as well as those held in 2011, UNHCR reports on the refugee situation, the Resettlement Handbook has also been an important means for understanding the resettlement process and the COPs.

Reflections on video recording

The most central method for collecting data during the COPs was video recordings. Using a video camera is not only a way to record what is being done, but is also a process in which knowledge is produced (Pink 2007). This calls for some reflection on this method and its effects.

The children showed interest and curiosity in the technical equipment, especially in the beginning. Whereas they sometimes would ignore the camera, at times, they would touch the equipment, place their hands in front of the lens in order to see them through the camera, or ask if they could try the camera. Sometimes they would ask me to take pictures of them. Sparrman (2005) shows how the children in her study would use the camera for different purposes to make sense of its presence, for example singing in front of it and imagining an audience on the other side. Similar experiences took place with the camera in both Kenya and Sudan, and it was obvious that what the children sometimes did was directly related to the presence of the camera. During one COP in Dadaab, waiting for their parents' session to finish, the children played with the footballs and other toys in the children's tent. I had placed the camera in one corner of the tent, and at one point a 12-year-old girl who was playing with the Pippi Longstocking doll approached the camera and started singing a Somali children's song while making Pippi dance in front of the camera. At another instance after a COP session in Khartoum, two girls around 13-14 years old, walked up to the camera and started making model poses and blowing kisses at it. The children, both in Dadaab and Khartoum, made use of the camera by associating it to an overall global consumption culture, relating the camera to the common idea of performing in front of it (cf. Sparrman 2005). What was clear during the fieldwork was that the children and youth were manifesting the global consumption culture that they were part of, with their favorite international pop stars, and football players, but that was also being highlighted within the COPs (see further Article 1).

Letting the children spend time with the equipment, ask questions about it and use it became a way of making them feel comfortable with my filming (cf. Sparrman 2005). This can be seen as an important way for me as a researcher in the field to avoid people feeling uneasy. I was refused permission to record on very few occasions. One such instance was in Khartoum, where

one girl participating in the COP told me she did not want me to film her. For me, her way of telling me not to film her was a positive indicator that the participants, at times expressed their views; she felt she could do so, and indeed had the authority to do so. Another girl being resettled from Dadaab, Hani, wanted me to show her a clip from the video recordings. For Hani and her friends, the video of her attending a session spurred thoughts of how she looked on the video; just like any other person she commented on and laughed at her appearance, but did not manifest any unease or reluctance regarding taking part in the study. Letting her and her friends watch parts of the recordings was a way of showing and telling them what I was studying and how I would use the data. It was also a way to engage in a mutual conversation, which I will return to. When I showed clips to Hani and her friends, I told her that the information was being gathered for research purposes and that the videos would not be shown publicly.

Due to the visibility of the technical equipment, the video recorder spurred conversations that included continuously asking for permission to record. The camera hence became a constant reminder, something that prompted questions regarding consent throughout the fieldwork, which in a way can be seen as positive. In a setting like the COPs, the camera places at the forefront issues of the ethics of consent as well as the need to constantly be aware of the participants and their views regarding the filming.

There were also instances when some of the representatives would ask about the video recordings. Sometimes they would smilingly ask after a session whether I had gotten anything interesting or if I had gotten the material I wanted. Reflecting on these questions in the aftermath, I realize that these questions were probably asked in curiosity about the material and my study, and were perhaps even a manifestation of uncertainty. Answering these questions was tricky. There were many different topics that drew my attention while I was in the field. On the other hand, answering *I don't know* would make me come across as a researcher who did not know what she was studying. In these instances I would usually answer that I would take a look at the recordings later, and the conversations did not really develop any further. There were also a couple of instances when the representatives said no to video recording before certain sessions and meetings after the COPs. I will return to this later in the chapter when I discuss my role in relation to the delegations.

There are several reasons why video recording was chosen as a method. Part of my interest was the very meetings and conversations taking place between the representatives and the children. I also believed that video recording would be the most practical way of gathering data, given the short time of the fieldwork in what for me was a new setting. The shortage of time, as well as the many participants in the COPs, meant that I would not be able to remember all the participants' names and faces. This would make it difficult to relate voices to a specific person during the analysis process. Video recording also enabled me to capture the environment in which the COPs were being carried out in a way that field notes would not be able to do. Here, the video recording served as a kind of note-taking of the physical environment (Pink 2001). Furthermore, video recording became an important way of capturing conversations that evolved around specific images, which was a common way of carrying out the COPs for children. Through the recordings I was able to note both the interaction and the image around which it was taking place. Another reason was the fact that I did not know the languages of the COP participants; video recording enabled me to observe facial expressions and body language during the conversations.

The video recordings were usually carried out either by placing the camera in a corner of the room or tent on a tripod, or occasionally by me walking around with it. Since most of the sessions were held in a setting reminiscent of a classroom, it was easier to simply place the camera in a corner. However, since I did not use any external microphones, this also meant that parallel conversations taking place between the children were sometimes not audible in the data. This also meant that the representatives' voices and talk were easier to hear than those of some of the children, since the representatives usually spoke in a louder tone. This issue was lessened in, for example, the youth sessions that included smaller groups, where it was easier to follow what everyone was saying. At other instances when activities would take place and there was more movement in the room or tent, I would walk along with the camera. I video recorded the conversations between the representatives and the participants. At times, I would also video record conversations between myself and the children during the breaks. This would usually happen in relation to a session that just had finished, and I would let the camera continue recording. Using a video camera put me in the role of passive observer. In a way, it helped me establish a role distinct from that of the dele-

gations (Sparrman 2005). I quickly assumed the role of the one with the camera. However, using a camera can also be seen as a barrier in some instances, such as when I wanted to speak to the children more spontaneously. In such instances I would often ask for permission to audio record the conversations.

What can be seen in this part is that technological equipment is indeed never “just there”. It usually leads to curiosity, people’s glances, hesitation, spurring conversations regarding the equipment itself. However, instead of viewing these instances as distractions such encounters can become a way of engaging in a conversation and learning more about the people, like with the children and Hani, as well as a way of talking about one’s research. They serve as a basis for actualizing some of the ethical issues, such as questions from the representatives about what I would do with the material. But they also tend to actualize new knowledge, for example regarding how the children make use of the camera and its presence, and what questions they ask.

The issue of the ethics of consent

There is always a hierarchical relationship between researcher and participant (Krulfeld 1998) that needs to be considered when conducting empirical research. Earlier in this chapter, when I described the field in which the COPs were held, I accounted for the hierarchies and segregation aspects embedded in the very context in which the COPs were held. Since I accompanied the delegations, this hierarchy becomes equally important to reflect on in regard to my role as researcher. There is a dilemma in conducting research among people who are going through a resettlement process, and participating in a program held by representatives of the very country that has granted them permanent residence. The dilemma lies in the difficulty of being able to determine whether the participants voluntarily agreed to participate in the study or felt obliged to. It raises the question of the extent to which the COP participants felt they did not have to participate in the study. My way of dealing with this issue was through the several steps of informing about the aims of the research, as well as continuously asking them whether or not they felt comfortable being recorded (both video and audio). This meant that I also needed to be more thoughtful concerning how people reacted to my

presence and the video recording, and sensitive to their views and questions. Some of the children and youth would ask about my research and my interest in their resettlement process, upon which I would answer their questions and explain my study. I have elaborated on this in the previous section on video recordings, and will discuss it more later as regards my relationship with the participants; how these instances led to a kind of give-and-take of information.

Another way of being careful was that I refrained from asking questions related to hardships and war experiences. I kept my concern to their current situation and thoughts on COPs, and the future. Regardless, there will always be a chance that some felt they could not say what they wanted, reinforcing the importance of being aware of and attuned to how they reacted to my presence. In this study, intuition played a part as a tool that we as human beings use, not least in areas and situations that are new and marked by uncertainty. The lack of language skills and the limited time in the field, as well as the segregation aspect, made it more important to focus on other aspects such as people's body language and how they reacted to my presence. This included facial expressions, or whether they looked away or expressed unease at my presence or the video recording. This does not mean that it always led me the right way, or that I made the right decision at all times; neither does it guarantee that everyone in the field was always positive about the recording. There were instances when I would initiate a conversation or ask a question and the person did not want to engage in the talk. I can hence never be completely sure of why people took part in the study or whether they took part because they actually wanted to, or whether they continuously felt positive towards the study and felt they could cease participation along the way if they wanted to. Despite my efforts I will not be able to provide surety for this. For me, along with the effort to follow the formal ethical ways¹¹ of informing and asking for permission, it was also very much a case of following my intuition or gut feeling when approaching someone or asking for permission to do something. For me, this was an important way of navigating the field.

An important point to remember is that the COPs were going to be carried out regardless of whether this study took place. This means that the is-

¹¹ The methodological procedures were also reviewed and approved by the Regional Ethical Review Board of Linköping (EPN) Dnr 2011/117-31.

sue of whether the COP participants chose to take part in the program or felt obliged to do so because it was offered by the Migration Board would still remain, regardless of whether I conducted my study. In a way, carrying out a study with this particular group can also be seen as a way to place the focus on a group of children and youth who have previously been more or less ignored. It is my hope that this thesis can play a role in highlighting an understudied group undergoing an institutionalized practice, and spur discussion and reflection on how to best meet the needs of children going through resettlement.

The role of an interpreter

Many of the sessions were conducted through an interpreter, except when they were held by representatives who spoke the same language as the participants. Interpretation was thus imbedded within the institutional practice of the COPs. The interpreters were provided to the delegations by IOM, and had previous experience of interpreting for delegations from other countries holding similar programs. The interpreters in Dadaab and Nairobi translated between Somali and English. The interpreters in Khartoum translated between Arabic, Tigrinya and English. The fact that the interpreters were provided by IOM had certain implications. On the one hand it meant that the interpreters had experience and knew the context of the COPs very well. On the other hand, it also meant that their ideas of what a COP was, as well as what information should be given and how it should be given, would sometimes lead them to do more than merely interpret. Wadensjö argues that norms and people's expectations and ideas inevitably play a part, even in communications carried out with an interpreter. An interpreter is thus never invisible in a conversation (Wadensjö 1998). An example that shows this occurred during a session in Khartoum: the Representative Marianne is telling the children about what the Swedish winters are like. She shows pictures of children playing in the snow, and asks the children if they have seen snow or if it is strange to them. The interpreter not only translates what Marianne says, but also encourages the children to say that this is indeed very strange to them (Wadensjö 1998). This shows how the interpreter slides between the

role of interpreter, conversational partner (Wadensjö 2009), and adult managing the behavior of the children.

In both Sudan and Kenya I was provided with an interpreter, who was with me during all the programs. I always met with the interpreter at the beginning of the COP to discuss the aims of the research. I would explain that I was interested in what the children had to say, their concerns and perspectives. The interpreters assisted me during the COPs. During the instances when entire sessions were held in language other than English, the interpreters would translate parts of the sessions while they took place. This allowed me to understand the overall topics being spoken about.

The children's answers and talk were translated not only during the conversations during the COPs but also, at times, during the conversations between myself and the children. This again actualizes the issue of how much children's voices can be brought forward, a question that is relevant not only for this thesis but also for COPs in general. There were times when the children approached me and said something and the interpreter was not with me at that moment, which made for a difficult situation. Furthermore, at times the interpreter would sometimes add his/her own questions (with the intention of helping me), or start explaining what I meant by my question when the participants did not understand or wanted me to repeat it. Whereas I would initially make an effort to have conversations, these efforts became fewer. However, having fewer conversations proved to be richer, as those I did have were with the youth, who sometimes also spoke some English. The practical circumstances, as well as some ethical aspects, stirred my focus towards observations and the conversations carried out during the sessions.

Since a few of the sessions that were video recorded were in languages other than English, interpreters helped me translate the observation material that was in Somali, Tigrinya and Arabic. These translations were done in Sweden along with the transcription process, meaning that part of the material was translated afterwards. The help of the translators enabled me to double-check and discuss certain words in order to grasp what the children had said, as well as be aware of the sequences in which the interpreters had done more than simply interpret. At the same time this also means that when it comes to certain parts of the analysis of my data, I have been dependent on the translator's understanding of the conversations.

Furthermore, the representatives' speech was not translated, as they usually spoke English. Moreover, the video recordings came in handy as they allowed me to register people's body language and facial expressions, which became even more important when there was a language barrier.

My role in the field

Although I accompanied the delegations and spent most of my time with them, my role was quite different from that of the delegations, and so I was part of them and yet I was not. I was viewed as part of the delegations by the officials of UNHCR and IOM and probably by most of the participants. At the same time, my aim was different from that of the delegations, as I was not an official who was going to prepare the participants for their resettlement. For the most part, I felt accepted within the delegations as I would be included in conversations and activities outside the COPs. Some of the representatives would reflect on migration and integration issues with me. However there were also instances where negotiations were made regarding our different aims and roles during the journeys.

I did not actively take part in or hold any sessions during the COPs. However, there were a couple of instances when I was asked to take part in an activity. For example, during a youth session in Khartoum everyone including the interpreters was asked to pick a card and talk about their hobbies, and what they thought about the particular card they had chosen. I was also asked to choose a conversation card and talk about it, which I did.

During the programs, at the end of every day the delegations would have a meeting to discuss and summarize the day. I attended the meetings in Dadaab a couple of times, but did not video record them. When I was not attending the meetings, I spent my time transferring the video material to the computer and sorting my field notes. However, I did feel that my absence from these meetings was noticed by the delegation. Although, no one would explicitly ask me to take part in various activities, such as the visit to the camps, I always had the impression that the delegation manager wanted the whole delegation, including me, to stay together. I hence occasionally attended the meetings. In Khartoum I decided to attend all the meetings and asked the delegation manager if I could record them, whereupon she de-

clined. She wanted the meetings to be a space where the representatives could talk about anything, a kind of debriefing session. I assumed that she wanted the meetings to be only for the delegation, which resulted in my not attending them. In this instance my role as observer became prevalent, as not only having the meetings recorded but also having me attending them created a slight unease. Situations like these were a reminder of the different roles and expectations regarding my presence in the delegations. This re-actualized a hesitation to let me take part in and record meetings and gatherings that were strictly related to the Migration Board itself. I had been granted permission to study the COPs for children, but when a question was posed about other areas, the delegations and those in charge of resettlement would be hesitant. A hesitancy which I, upon reflection, believe relates to the fact that the Migration Board often is subject to critical scrutiny.

Apart of some instances I was overall accepted by the representatives. Besides these negotiations regarding the recordings as well as my participation in different instances, the time I spent with the delegations also meant I could hear the representatives' reflections on their work and the COPs such as the occasional skepticism concerning whether the COP was a sufficient platform for dialogue (written about earlier in this chapter). At other instances the representatives would continue reflect upon instances during the sessions.

Then there is the question of my role in relation to the COP participants. The overall context strengthened the dichotomous relationship between me, a researcher coming with an international delegation, and the COP participants. The questions concerning the hierarchical relation and segregation aspects hence highly relate to my role regarding the COP participants as well, and not only the role of the delegations. This reinforced the difficulty in getting to know the participants. If this was difficult for me, then the case was the same for the delegations.

However, there were some aspects that, upon reflection, I believe together enabled me to speak to some of the participants. Some of them knew English, which allowed us to have a conversation without an interpreter. The girls would ask me questions, such as where I was from. I would tell them I was born in Sweden, where my parents had migrated from Pakistan many years ago. I realized that my position as a woman with a skin color darker than most of the other representatives suggested that I had another back-

ground. Also, the fact that I was younger than the representatives, along with the fact that I did not hold any sessions but instead often sat among the rest of the participants and listened or was handling the camera, seemed to make it easier for me to come into contact with some of the participants, especially the girls. They would sometimes ask me questions about why I was doing this study and where I lived in Sweden, questions that were related to me personally. I would also be asked other questions, such as one instance when a girl, during a conversation after a COP in Khartoum, hesitantly asked me whether she would forget the Arabic language, and later also asked whether she would be able to come back and visit Sudan once she had gone to Sweden. These questions were different from those raised during the sessions, which were more related to the information being presented. In other instances the participants would repeat parts of the information they had been given, either to ask for more information or as a kind of confirmation. They would ask whether the town they were going to was near Stockholm. They would also ask, while looking at a map brought by the delegations, whether I had been to Sweden's neighboring countries like Denmark and Norway, telling me they would travel and see different places in the future.

During a conversation with Hani and Isir, two girls from Dadaab participating in the COPs, they had been telling me about the previous session and what the representatives had talked about. After some time, Isir asked me where I live and I answered that I live in Linköping. Remembering the letter I had written, she then told me that I study in Sweden at the university and I answered that I do. The girls continued repeating information about me that I had given in my letter, and commented on the fact that the information letter I had sent was in Somali, whereupon I told them that a good friend of mine with a background in Somalia had helped me translate it. The conversation then moved on to Isir and Hani asking about learning Swedish; how long it would take, and whether they could get by with only learning English.

This is what the conversations between myself and the participants would sometimes look like. We were able to engage in conversation that was based on giving and receiving information (cf. Wickström 2008). I was seen as a person who in a way was part of the Swedish delegation and someone of whom they could ask questions (which I sometimes could answer and sometimes could not). When they asked me questions, I took this as knowledge about what had made an impression on them during the COPs.

When I first started this study my area of interest was broad. I did not know what the fieldwork in Kenya would result in. I was interested in the resettlement process, the lives of the COP participants, and the COPs. My interest in the children and youth going through resettlement led to my traveling to Kenya with an interview guide with questions related to life in a refugee camp – which, however, I soon abandoned. It boiled down to the practical circumstances, which I elaborated on earlier, as well as the different positions between myself as an accompanying researcher of the delegation and the participants. To carry out structured interviews within that context would have been inappropriate. This meant that the interviews that were held were spontaneous, often involving conversations with few of the participants. I asked fewer questions and the answers given were understood in relation to the context in which the conversations took place. The main focus instead shifted toward observing the sessions.

Regardless of these points, I was able to carry out my research from a privileged position as a researcher from Sweden. This actualizes questions regarding how to be able to highlight the voices of those who are on the margins of society and how to carry out meetings and conversations in as ethical ways as possible. Spivak declared that it was impossible to highlight the voices of the subaltern because of the unequal power asymmetries at hand and the enormous privilege an academic has; however, she also argues for the continuous effort of trying (Spivak 1988; Landström 2001). Other scholars, such as Narayan (1993), stress the need to move away from defining a researcher as insider or outsider, and instead focus on the quality of the conversations and the relations that are held with those who are part of one's research, as well as making sure that the research does not result in strengthening of ideas of the generalized other. In the case of my study, the alternative would have been to not carry out the study at all. Despite the difficulties, I do believe in the need to bring to light institutional practices and work carried out with groups on the margins of society. My carrying out this research, including going along to the camps, gave me an understanding of the ambivalence and tensions within refugee humanitarian work as well as the work of an international delegation. Part of the effort also lies in reflecting on one's own role as well as the difficulties at hand within the specific context in which the study presented in this thesis took place; in this chapter, I have tried my best to do this.

On having a critical stance

In this chapter I have elaborated on the context in which this thesis took shape. A reason for presenting the context has also been to provide an understanding of how my research focus came to evolve in the field. When I entered the field my specific aim was to study the COPs for children, but at the same time my area of interest was broad as I was not sure what my fieldwork would result in. My navigation in the field, the different instances I have elaborated on in this chapter, and an understanding of the context in which the COPs were held put at the forefront the basis of the critical stance from which I came to view some of the practices that arose during the COPs, and decided to write about them. I discuss what this means more in Chapter 4 on postcolonial relations and children's agency.

In her study on teachers' work of the othering of children categorized as "immigrants" at a secondary school, Gruber (2007) discusses the ultimately different roles of what the participants of the study expect from the study and what a researcher's role is. I can relate to this dilemma between the delegations, and those in charge of these efforts, who want to know how to give better information and be able to set the basis for a more "effective integration", and my focus on deconstructing the information and the very categories in use. Some of the examples shown in the articles are rather problematic. However, they are not extreme cases but rather part of a range of recurring work that was carried out during the COPs. I would argue for an understanding of the delegations' work as engrained in notions and ideas regarding migration to and integration in Sweden, as well as within the international humanitarian refugee work, ideas of what a refugee is and hence what he/she needs to know before starting a life in the new country in the West. The critical understanding needs to be regarded as related to the taken-for-granted ideas that are actualized and worked on within many spheres of society when dealing with people with a refugee background. My emphasis has been on the practices of COPs and how the work of preparing the children is carried out. During the course of the research, the Migration Board was working with the development of the COPs. They were specifically interested in developing a program for children and in targeting the youth, which in one way shows a realization among those in charge of resettlement and COPs of the need to enhance the voices, perspectives and needs of children

and youth being resettled. There has also been an interest on the behalf of some municipalities, which have worked to provide especially the children and youth being resettled with the support they need. It is my hope that this thesis will add to further reflection and discussion regarding efforts to meet the needs of the children going through resettlement as well as other various organized efforts targeting these groups.

Children and youth

Although the delegations had age limits regarding who was to attend the different groups, it was impossible to be sure whether the children were within this particular age range. The youth and some of the smallest children would often move between the adult group and the children's group, which made the age range as well as the number of participants in each session vary throughout the COPs. This of course has implications on the thesis. Since the programs were held during a brief time period and many children took part in each program, it is difficult to provide the exact age of each and every participant in each group; hence, an age span has been given regarding the COPs for children. This is also the reason why the age of every participant is not explicitly noted in the articles. On the other hand, I do not consider information regarding the exact age of each child relevant or necessary. The meaning we assign to age is highly related to the overall societal context and certain norms regarding what we view as childhood. In many parts of the world, children's roles are marked not by numerical age but by other aspects (Morrow 2013). The notion of a "normal" seven-year-old, looking a certain way in regard to height, clothes, education etc., may be very different in different contexts such as in Sweden or in a refugee camp.

Although I do not note the age of every participant explicitly, I nonetheless refer to them as "children and youth" throughout this thesis. The UNESCO definition of youth is persons aged up to 24 years (UNESCO 2014). The oldest participant in this thesis among the young people being resettled was 25, and took part in a youth session in Dadaab, hence he is included in the thesis. Since these participants are over 18, I use the term youth to manifest a broader age range than up to 18.

The refugee label

In the articles I often make use of the word refugees when speaking of those going through resettlement. This label is not entirely unproblematic, as it trades on stigmatizing assumptions about people (Nyers 2006). In Articles 2 and 3 the term is used in a rather un-reflected way, whereas in the thesis I have also made use of “persons going through resettlement” or “people with a refugee background”. I have also continuously referred to those being resettled as COP participants. Another way has been to use a fictive name when speaking of a specific person¹². This has been my way of highlighting those being resettled as individuals. At the same time, refugee is a definition that was used throughout the COPs in reference to the participants. It is a taken-for-granted, institutionalized definition that is used in both official documents and much of the prior research on resettlement. This makes it hard to completely overlook the definition; thus when I refer to prior research I do use the definition that particular study uses. One may also reflect on the fact that using “refugee” and highlighting people as participants during their resettlement can be viewed as a way to reclaim the definition as including people with agency, who should be viewed as everything else but passive. Hence, that I have sometimes used the term refugee and sometimes avoided it my discussion serves to show my reflection on the use or the non-use of a word that is problematic yet taken for granted in a great deal of literature as well as in practice.

Analysis

This thesis is based on a social constructionist stance, which means that the focus has been on studying people’s ways of meaning-making rather than an attempt to find an objective truth “out there”. This stance has of course had implications on the choice of methods and how the study unfolded. Whereas methods indeed can be viewed as a means of discovery, they are also a constraint (Heap 1982). The choice of methods and our ways of analysis bring us closer to understanding certain perspectives and phenomena while making

¹² All persons included in the articles, participants in the COPs as well as the representatives, have been given fictive names.

it difficult to grasp others. Method thus cannot be seen as something innocent that merely report something that is already there (Law 2004).

The focus of this thesis has been on a small part of the resettlement process, with data mainly based on video observations. The focus on a particular kind of institutional work means that the data and results are not to be generalized; this has not been the aim of the thesis. Instead, carrying out observations has been a way to gain a more in-depth understanding of how the preparation programs for people going through resettlement were carried out in practice. Here lies my interest: in an ethnographic approach that actualizes social meanings and activities in naturally occurring practices. The fact that it is not interviews that are the primary source of data means that the experiences and perspectives of the participants have not been the center of attention. Instead, it is the meetings between the delegations and the participants that have been focused on, facilitated through video observation. The interest in practices includes discursive practices, in other words, how people talk and engage in meaning-making processes (Wetherell et al. 2001).

The work of analysis starts already when you are in the field (Braun & Clarke 2006). Upon transporting the data from the camera to the computer, I would label the different files with a number marking the specific COP and the name of the session recorded in it. The constant shuttling between collecting the data and sorting it out was an initial analysis. During the fieldwork I would make a note of situations that had drawn my attention in order to both continue analyzing them in the field as well as explore the material and various instances once I was back in Sweden. The topic of gender equality is an example of such a theme that caught my attention and interest already in the field (Article 3). Another example is the work of contrasting.

Structuration and transcription

Preparing transcripts is always a selective process, heavily dependent on the aims and interests of the researcher. The transcription process and the analysis have been guided by my interest in and focus on the practices taking place during the COPs.

Once back in Sweden, I went through the material and made descriptive notes in order to organize it and go through all the recorded videos. This meant that I watched all the recordings and made notes on what happened as well as what topics were discussed in the recordings. The descriptions I

made were rough; I used them to create an overview of the whole body of material, and organized them according to the different sessions such as the school session, painting session, youth session, etc. Sessions that had been carried out in a language other than English were noted by the more general topics set aside for translation. The next step was the transcription process. All sessions involving organized activities between the COP participants and the representatives were transcribed. This means that all conversations held during, for example, the school sessions, youth sessions, timeline sessions, memory game sessions and journey sessions, as well as discussions concerning the movies and images that were shown, were transcribed. Besides this, all my conversations, including the audio recorded interviews with the children and youth, were transcribed. The transcriptions thus both include typical occurrences during the COPs such as the sessions that were held continuously, as well as rare instances that occurred only once or twice. However, most of my audio recordings containing my research reflections were not transcribed but rather only listened through.

Furthermore, instances of the children painting, playing with the toys brought by the delegation, watching movies or playing football – hence the more unorganized activities – have been noted (which means that I have written down what is happening within the initial structuring of all the material) but not transcribed. My recordings of the environment in which the COPs were held have also been used for more contextual purposes, and are hence not transcribed. This is partly because of my interest and the aims of the research, which during the fieldwork came to be more directed towards how the COPs were carried out in practice. Hence, the conversations between the representatives and the children were in focus, actualizing the idea of the transcription process being part of the researchers' interest and gaze. Another reason that is more practical was that the organized sessions were easier to video record, transcribe and translate with clearer recordings than, for example, when different activities were going on at the same time, with overlapping conversations in different languages.

The sessions held in language other than English were translated in Sweden. I was always present during this work so that I could ask questions and have words and meanings checked. The work of translation was carried out during the transcription process. Since I made use of a translator in order to analyze these particular instances and sessions, the analysis bears on the un-

derstanding and interpretation of the translator. I have hence been dependent on other people's interpretations regarding certain sessions. However, I still decided to include the instances in my analysis that made it possible for me to understand and be able to analyze meetings that had another kind of dynamic and flow.

During the transcription phase I strived not to make any changes to correct the English language used during the COPs. The excerpts furthermore include instances such as laughter and facial expressions such as smiling, nodding and shaking one's head, as well as turning away. I also noted pauses or silences during the conversations (see appendix A). These instances were included in the transcripts based on the interest in highlighting the agency of the participants and how they responded to the information during the COPs; here, for example, non-verbal gestures such as nods or shaking one's head are also seen as an important way of manifesting agency. These gestures also became important in order to get a fuller understanding of conversations involving an interpreter and different languages.

A transcript is never a complete reflection of the exact situation that has taken place. This is also true of all kind of activity that involves the transformation of a real-life situation into written text. Hence a transcription process is always a selective process that is guided by the researcher's analytical interest and theoretical perspective (Bucholtz 2007). It is often a rather messy endeavor, which I can indeed attest to. When interactions between many people take place, one often finds parallel conversations going on and voices overlapping each other. Depending on how near or far from the camera people are, some are heard clearer than others. This means that the exact occurrences and the details of a situation are extremely difficult to capture during a transcription process. In other words, transcription and analysis forces the often painful process of only being able to present a piece of a situation. What I have done in this part is to describe this very messiness, and my process of structuration and transcription of the material.

Analysis of discursive events

The focus of the analysis has been on the practices, what people say and do during the COPs. The one feature that binds together the different articles is a focus on how the COPs are carried out. Besides this, the articles have been analytically worked on in different ways in order to suit the different aims

and the somewhat different kinds of material presented. Rather than adhering to one specific kind of analysis method, I have instead let my data, aims and interests guide me to make use of ways I have found suitable for this particular study.

After the transcription phase the transcripts were re-read and the video recordings were watched several times. This process was informed by a constant moving back and forth between reading the transcriptions and watching the video clips, as well as presenting data at various seminars to colleagues, and writing the articles. The analysis process has indeed been a nonlinear process (Braun & Clarke 2006). There was a continuous engagement between analyzing the excerpts and going back to the overall data material. The excerpts presented in the articles were chosen on the basis of my analytical focus, which was developed during the fieldwork. This included my focus on the work of differentiation, a re-occurring practice within the COPs. But differentiation was also part of the very context in which the COPs took place. I have tried to offer an understanding of how these dichotomies came about. This understanding, or observation, of the field together with the talk taking place within the COPs made me initially focus on these aspects. Another focus from the fieldwork was that of the talk revolving around gender equality, which was also a re-occurring theme in my material. I found it interesting every time gender aspects were brought up by the delegation, as it seemed to involve certain paradoxes (see Article 3).

In order to demonstrate variations in the material I have worked to include instances that also show other work, such as answering the children's questions, the work of providing excitement for resettlement (see Article 1). At the same time, it is important to remember that the format of the articles actually assumes that one argument is followed through clearly rather than encouraging variations or nuances of the material. The work of analysis has involved a constant weighing between making a clear argument in an article and simultaneously providing variation of the material. Regardless of this, there are parts of the material and themes that have not been included, such as the material from the journey sessions carried out in both Kenya and Sudan. Other themes include further analysis of the children's perspectives on the COPs and the information given, a theme that will be addressed in an article outside the scope of this thesis.

One way of manifesting the complexities within a material has been to present lengthy excerpts of talk. This is done in both Articles 2 and 3. This of course means that although only a very small part of data can be presented, the analysis presents dilemmas and complexities that arose during the conversations. The interest lies in the discursive practices during the COPs, with conversations being the center of attention. In Article 3 I make use of Billig's (1988) work on dilemmas and lived ideologies, which became a helpful tool for showing ambivalences taking place within the work. The focus in the analysis has been not only on *how* things are said but also on *what* is being said and how it relates to the overall taken-for-granted understandings within society regarding refugeeness. Hence, discursive work is not viewed as detached from society but rather as something that trades on ideas and common-sense understandings (Wetherell 1998; Billig 2001). In this vein, the excerpts are not based on detailed transcriptions, which would have resulted in a thesis with focused on the work of the interpreters; this was not the aim or interest of this research. Moreover, article 2 is driven, with the theoretical definition of agency being used and thus informing the analysis more than in the other articles. This has been done by examining the different ways children's agency comes about in relation to what is said by the representatives.

Article 1, which differs in some ways from the others, deserves a comment. The first article was in fact the last to be worked on, and is the result of continuous questions concerning an elaborate account of the COPs. The idea was to give a broader view of the programs. In order to do this I have presented the examples more descriptively. This way of presenting data and analysis also meant that I was able to introduce several new themes, analyzed through a long engagement with the data. Images were a common way of engaging in conversations with the children and youth during the COPs, so I found it interesting to examine this graphically mediated work. The interest here has been on what images were shown as well as how they were talked about.

In this chapter I have presented the field in depth, elaborating on my way into the field as well as given a contextual understanding of the field in which the COPs and this study took place. I have furthermore presented the informants, and reflected upon some ethical dilemmas and how I worked with them during my fieldwork. I have explained and discussed my methods

as well as my role in the field, in relation to not only the delegations but also the COP participants. I have also elaborated on the analysis that ultimately resulted in three articles, which I will summarize in the following chapter.

Chapter 6

Summary of Articles

Article 1: Representing a future in Sweden - Preparing children for resettlement through the use of images

Mehek Muftee (submitted for publication)

This article focuses on the images brought by the delegations and commonly made use of during the COPs for children. The article examines how these images were used to establish certain ideas of the future country of residence. It shows how the use of visual images can be understood as tailored to the particular group of children being resettled. It also examines what notions regarding Swedishness came about during the programs. Hall (1997) points out that images are devices of representation, and that representation inevitably involves the construction of meaning as well as power relations. As scholars have pointed out, in order to fully grasp the meaning of an image, analysts also need to attend to the social aspects involved in its use: images do not represent an objective truth but are instead always made sense of within a certain context (Rose 2007; Hall 1997).

The article presents four themes: *material welfare*, *schooling*, *an active lifestyle* and *hygiene and tidiness*. Material welfare is one of the most prominent themes during the talk revolving around the images. The delegation makes an effort to show the children images of things as well as how people live in Sweden. Images of different kinds of houses, such as apartment buildings and small traditional houses, are shown together with a hut (manifesting

where the children live, according to the representatives) as a means to show how their housing situation will change. Although the children are more interested in the image of the apartment building, representative Rickard steers their attention to the hut image, which is presented first and related to Sudan. He then moves on to relate all the other houses explicitly to Sweden. In doing this he prompts the children to compare the hut with the houses found in Sweden, manifesting a change regarding their housing situation. Things like computers are shown in an exciting way to the children, presenting a consumption society. The talk, taking place within this material welfare theme, realizes a future country of not only material welfare but also choice and opportunity. However, what is not talked about is financial circumstances, a topic hardly ever spoken about with the children during the COPs; the focus is on what the things are and their functions rather than how to acquire them.

Other themes, such as that of schools, also show how images are sometimes used both as a means to show something in a positive light and as a way to initiate fact-based information, such as that of how the school system in Sweden works. Another major theme is that of the active lifestyle, with talk revolving around images depicting children and adults engaging in various, often outdoor, activities as a means to stress the importance of being active. These images, as part of life in Sweden, are often explicitly related to the representatives themselves and thereby to Sweden. The choice of topics that are worked on also highlights notions of an ideal citizen who actively makes the most of all opportunities that are granted. In a way, keeping oneself active can be seen as a way of manifesting a person who takes responsibility and is continuously engaged in advancement, being a self-controlled individual (Lupton 1995).

The article also shows that, while the children happily engage in the activities, there are also instances when they clearly wonder what the purpose of showing the images really is. One such example occurs during a youth session when, upon being shown an image of ice hockey, Diana asks her friends what the representatives want them to do and whether the representatives want them to engage in this activity, leading to laughter among the girls. Here, the activity and image shown is mocked. Whereas the images are used to spur dialogue, what becomes apparent when studying the practice is that it is the representatives who often want to convey a message through the specific images. The representatives in various ways not only show the chil-

dren fun activities they can try in Sweden, such as skiing, but also engage in the more pedagogical work of manifesting the need for example tooth brushing. Some of the images are used in a clear socialization purpose, trading on rather disturbing ideas of what is regarded as relevant for this group of children to know. What can be seen is that using images also seems to be a way to get across messages that, if said outright, would be viewed as prejudiced.

This article shows how the representatives use the images to mainly pursue the idea of what they view as an ideal future country. It is a work that is regarded as giving the children a sense of hope and to make them feel excited. The notion of the modern consumption society goes hand in hand with a strong national idea of Sweden, which is seen through the images of traditional red and white houses (Ehn et al. 1993) and of skiing, nature and outdoor life. The images carry with them a traditionalist idea of the *people's home* (Swe: *folkhemmet*), which is strongly related to the national image of Sweden. The article also shows how the last themes of being active and hygiene trade on ideas of the ideal citizen. An idealized place is linked to notions of the ideal citizen; so while Sweden was portrayed during the COP sessions as a land of means and opportunities, the two themes on active lifestyle and personal hygiene materialize a squarely normative view of what one is expected to be like, indirectly also actualizing what one is *not* supposed to be like. The images being shown and spoken about in a way manifest ideas very different than traditional images depicting refugees (Malkki 1995).

Article 2: Children's agency in resettlement: a study of Swedish cultural orientation programs in Kenya and Sudan

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This article focuses more closely on the children's and youth's agency during the COPs. The article also offers a glimpse of some of the questions and information the children and youth bring up during the meetings. In order to examine the aims, the concept of thick and thin agency (Klocker 2007) is used as a means to show not only how the children are given the opportunity to ask their questions but also how their participation is thinned by the representatives' work to convey a specific message. What is shown in the article is how the children sometimes initiate questions. For instance, Nora, who wants to know how her family will afford food in the new country, prompts the representatives to answer her questions. The article describes instances when the representatives provide a platform for basing their information on what the children and youth tell them or the questions they ask. What can also be seen is how the youth negotiate with each other regarding what image of the situation in the refugee camp is to be shown to the representatives; during one session, Ali and Nasir talk about the life of young people in the camps in Dadaab where Ali shifts the topic from football to hardships in the camps. The youth in particular display work on managing the meetings.

This article brings up a tension within the COPs that is based on being both a humanitarian effort as well as part of an assignment given to the delegations to present and represent the nation state Sweden. It is argued that the representatives shift between the idea of universalism, with equality for all, and a more particularist idea of a certain specific Swedish culture with certain values that need to be adhered to (Azar 2006). This work, as the article

shows, occasionally leads to a work of contrasting that positions the participating children and youth at the other end of what and how things are in Sweden, according to the representatives. The work of presenting rights as well as certain norms tends to be done through contrasting them to the children's current situation and lives. Examples are shown how the children and youth sometimes resist the ideas the representatives seem to trade their information on. They sometimes correct the representatives' ideas, such as Simret and Delina who informs representative Susanne about the school situation in Khartoum. The participants sometimes position themselves in a certain way, often as differentiated from, for example, the current host society.

There are, however, instances when the children's agency is thinned and the conversations are very much dictated by the representatives and the information they want to give the children. The article shows how the representatives, while informing the children about the Swedish law against corporal punishment, ask certain questions in order to receive certain kinds of responses regarding how good this law is and how it is different from the situation in the camps. They solicit certain answers. The representatives are more preoccupied with informing about certain norms through differentiating them from the children which, however, manifests a thinned agency yet also shows how the children manage a conversation in which they are positioned as potentially not adhering to a norm. The article also shows that, when the talk regarding norms like that of the wrongness of physical violence is worked on, Abdi, Amiin and Asad quickly learn what answer representative Sarah is looking for and thereby manage to answer with merely shaking their heads, thus avoiding further questions on the topic or being "lectured".

This article shows that there are instances when the children are given room to ask questions and tell the representatives about their situation and life in the camps. The work also trades on the idea of what Malkki (1992) has referred to as viewing refugees as being in a condition of "uprootedness" or "bare humanity"; thereby the need for socialization. The article shows how tension arises between wanting to welcome and inform the children of their rights and opportunities on the one hand and presenting a rather essentialist idea of Sweden through the work of differentiating on the other, and as a consequence sometimes strengthening a notion of "us" and "them". The

children meet the educational aspirations through sometimes small gestures, such as shaking one's head or answering accordingly, but also sometimes correcting the representative as a means to resist certain categorizations. What this article shows is that the children express awareness of the context and what is expected of them, and negotiate and adjust their answers according to what is being said.

Article 3: Empowering refugee girls: a study of cultural orientation programs in Kenya and Sudan

Mehek Muftee (2014). *Journal of Multicultural Discourses* 9(1), pp. 44-60.

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[http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17447143.2013.876029#](http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17447143.2013.876029#.U66nTv1_uHM).
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This article examines how conversations regarding gender equality were held during the COPs. It sets out to examine how opportunities for girls are talked about and what notions are drawn on regarding gender relations, and how these are actualized during the talk. As a means to continue actualizing the young person's agency within COPs, the article also sets out to examine how these notions are managed by the girls. Gender equality was one the topics given to the delegations as an example of what to discuss. Prior research has shown that the idea of gender equality is in fact highly imbued within a notion of Swedishness (Towns 2002). According to Towns (2002), the development of the idea of gender equality in Sweden has gone hand in hand with the construction of the gender inequality of women with a migration background. What this article shows is how this idea very much permeated the COPs. These notions are also rooted in the discursive practices through which matters of resettlement and integration are handled; practices that are imbued with ideology. This article makes use of Billig's (1988) concept of lived ideologies when studying the representatives' discursive work of stereotyping. Lived ideologies are viewed as the "common-sense" of a society or ideas that are taken for granted, on which we tend to draw our un-

derstandings of the world. Drawing on the concept of lived ideologies, the article shows through analysis of the conversations how the representatives carried out talk regarding gender equality.

The article shows how the representatives at their own initiative bring gender aspects into conversations as a means to highlight how women and men in Sweden have equal opportunities. This work often comes about in an ambivalent manner; for example, representative Susanne also lets the girls know that there is still work to be done in Sweden regarding gender equality. Sometimes the topic is actualized when something else is being discussed, such as the girls telling the representative what they like to do in their spare time, resulting in the representative telling them that in Sweden the activity is available for both boys and girls. As shown in Article 2, the representatives ask certain kinds of questions in order for the girls to answer in a certain manner, often prompting them to compare their current situation with the information the representatives are giving regarding Sweden. The girls are given examples of how they can attain gender equality within their families. Their work hence trades on notions of the girls as being in need not only of being informed of their rights but also of learning how gender equality can be practiced.

What is also shown is how the representatives manifest the idea that creating a life for oneself is of importance, whereas a life only involving getting married and having children is denounced. One of the strongest dilemmas in the article is between stressing the right to build a life for oneself and at the same time telling the girls what this life ought to include.

The article shows how the girls respond in different ways to the information they are given. They sometimes talk about the hardships in the camps, and mention differences between boys and girls. They also make sure to position themselves in a way resisting the stereotypical ideas the representatives seem to draw upon. For example, Yohana, a young girl from the town of Shagareb in Sudan, tells the representatives that the Eritrean women indeed work, as opposed to the Sudanese and Tigre community. Hani and Isir from Dadaab, who have attended a session where the topic of marriage has been talked about, stress that Somali women indeed do marry out of choice today. The article clearly shows how during the COPs the girls are made to negotiate the positioning of them as potentially lacking in gender equality, which they in different ways resist.

What this article shows is that the talk regarding gender equality is carried out mainly at the initiative and on the terms of the representatives. In practice, the dialogue is more of a work carried out by the representatives as a means to inform the girls about gender equality and what it entails. The information indeed trades on a stereotypical notion of what these girls' lives are like and what they need to know. Whereas the girls are indeed provided with information regarding some of the basic rights and opportunities they will have in the new country, they are also categorized as needing to learn gender equality. They are to both lead a life on their own terms and conditions and yet at the same time actualize a specific kind of gender equality. Furthermore, problems related to being an African woman with a refugee background in Swedish society are hardly ever talked about, whereas potential problems related to the girls' families and themselves are.

Chapter 7

Concluding discussion

The overall aim of this thesis has been to explore how children and youth were prepared for resettlement to Sweden during the COPs (Cultural Orientation Programs) in Kenya and Sudan. I have examined how ordinary life in Sweden was presented, as well as what notions regarding refugees and resettlement the representatives drew upon in their work. I have also wanted to highlight and examine children's agency, to show their ways of navigating through the COPs and the initial meetings with officials from the new country. In this chapter I discuss some of the main findings of the thesis. In so doing I discuss some paradoxes within the COPs as well as the strategies used by the children and youth during the meetings with the representatives.

The aims of the COPs were to actively engage the participants in the resettlement process, prepare them through information and knowledge about the resettlement and Sweden, and to create a platform for dialogue that, besides offering information, could cater to the participants' needs and questions. As I argue in Chapter 2, the aims of these programs could be understood as embedded within an overall global trend of a neoliberal project of empowerment that aims to form responsible, self-governing and independent citizens. The overall idea was to prepare the participants to actively take part in the upcoming introduction and to be able to take responsibility for their resettlement, ultimately becoming independent and self-sufficient citizens in the new country (MOST 2008).

However, this thesis points to certain paradoxes that arise within the work of COPs. The most prominent one is between the aim of attaining dialogue as a way to cater to the participants' needs and that of providing them information about Sweden. Here, the work of the representatives seems to draw on a kind of socialization project, based on certain notions of refugeeeness

and a developmental discourse (Escobar 1995). Emancipation, which is the idea of humanitarian efforts, that of giving refugees a chance to live a life in independence, goes hand in hand with their incorporation into another homogeneity, another “us”. Whereas this incorporation is built on practical information such as that about the school system in Sweden, laws and rights, it constantly shifts between practicalities and more normative-orientated information regarding certain norms and values that are viewed as part of a Swedishness.

Paradoxically, the work of empowerment and emancipation from the life of a refugee goes hand in hand with self-improvement and change on behalf of the participants. Consequentially, the work of presenting Sweden is realized through positioning the participants as othered (Hall 1997). Another consequential paradox that is manifested is how the work of actively involving the participants, an important aim of the COPs, at times seems to thin their agency contrary to the purpose of the programs, giving them less room to maneuver and engage in conversations based on their questions. Before moving on to discuss some of the findings more in-depth, I would like to mention what I view as the main contributions of this thesis.

The main contribution of this thesis lies in its focus on a program that has not been given attention within research on migration, namely COPs for refugees going through resettlement. Within this unexplored field my research brings attention to an institutional practice that targets refugees before their resettlement to Sweden. Furthermore, this thesis advances the understanding of institutional efforts by examining the very conversations between officials and children and youth before resettlement. Focusing on the conversations between officials and children has been rare within research on migration, in which the method most frequently used, tends to be interviews. The thesis thus contributes to an understanding of how an institutional effort is actualized in practice as well as how the meetings are managed by the children. Another important contribution is the focus on children and youth, a group that is understudied within research on migration but even more so within resettlement research. The thesis advances prior research through a critical investigation of an important part of the resettlement process, placing it within a postcolonial understanding and, from there, analyzing practices of categorization, and children’s agency. It is an empirical contribution to postcolonial theory, whereby the practices of stereotyping are examined. It fur-

thermore adds to research within childhood studies, focusing on childhood experiences outside the West through studying a Swedish institutional practice that targets children and youth being resettled from Kenya and Sudan.

The gift of hope and reciprocity of change

The articles show how the representatives invest effort into bringing with them images, toys and movies, which they make use of in different ways during the COPs. This thesis begins with an example of how the representatives make use of a globe in order to show the children where they are moving. In article 1 many example are shown where they enthusiastically make use of images, clearly indicating the effort to show positive aspects of both the resettlement process as well as Sweden. Images of children playing in the snow, students receiving help from teachers, and technological equipment such as computers, as well as information about the law against corporal punishment (Article 2), actualizing rights that children in Sweden have, manifest what as well as how positive aspects are brought up.

The work during the COPs trades on an idea of instilling hope among the children, hope for a better life in Sweden. In this sense, hope can be viewed as a gift that the representatives grant the children through the images and information, a gift that has been made possible through permanent Swedish residence. The COPs are hence a forum where this gift and its meanings are manifested in various ways. Moreover, for the representatives, who are thrown into a task many of them had never carried out before, hope can also be understood as an important way for professions dealing with uncertainty to carry out their work, believing in their task and creating a sense of meaning in their work (Agić 2012). Furthermore, the representatives' work with hope was also related to the children and youth themselves who, because of their young age, were viewed as having the potential to quickly become part of the new society.

However, one of the main results of this thesis is that the idea of an impending resettlement to a country that will entail change goes hand in hand with an initial socialization of the participants. According to Mauss (1997 [1923]) the logic of the gift is that it creates an obligation on behalf of the receiver to reciprocate. Whereby hope is to be seen as a gift, the change re-

quired on behalf of the participants can be said to be part of the reciprocity of the gift. Hope is thus something that becomes a necessary, an unquestionable part of the COPs. Paradoxically, then, while the children are granted hope and given information about the vital rights they will have, they are also being told what to strive to *become*. In Article 3, Yohana and the rest of the girls are told about their right to choose and their individual freedom, but they are simultaneously told what these choices ought to be, also suggesting what they may currently lack and need to learn in order to fit the ideal version of life in the new country. Emancipation seems to go hand in hand with improvement on behalf of the participants, whereby individual freedom entails change and incorporation into something else.

Ong's study of the resettlement of Cambodians shows how social workers and other officials carried out their work from a point of what Ong terms "refugee love" (Ong 2003:147). According to Ong, the officials actualized the need to instill autonomy and self-reliance within the clients, eventually leading them towards creating a productive life. In this work, the officials drew on what they saw as specific "American values". But this "refugee love", Ong argues, included a kind of humanitarian domination whereby certain values were viewed as important to be instilled in order for the refugees to become ideal American citizens. What Ong shows is how the social workers engaged in a civilizing mission that both included nurture as well as disciplining efforts. What the present thesis shows is how the delegations indeed trade their work upon a kind of "refugee love" and perhaps even, as shown in Article 3, a "feminist infused refugee love" (Ong 2003:147).

As is shown in the three empirical articles, some of the ideas manifested during COPs involve the need to be active and not passive, clean not dirty, calm not aggressive, to strive for gender equality and dispose of familial shackles, focus on education and not only on having children. These ideas are worked on in various ways during the COPs either through images, discussion cards or showing and discussing a movie. The work draws on dichotomous stereotypical notions that, according to Hall, set up a frontier between the normal and the deviant, the acceptable and the unacceptable, that which belongs and that which is "other" (Hall 1997:258). The idea of being activated permeated the COPs actualizing the notion of the passive other (e.g. Eriksson Baaz 2005), in the case of this study, the passive refugee. The representatives seem to draw upon what Escobar (1995) called "a develop-

mental discourse”, where signifiers such as hunger, illiteracy and poverty have been formed into fixed ideas of what underdevelopment constitutes. Malkki stresses that the idea of refugeeness, as it crystallizes in media as well as in international humanitarian refugee work, is that of a symbol of “bare humanity” (Malkki 1995:11). What this thesis shows is work that trades upon a kind of granting back “humanity”, which is linked to being incorporated into a nation state.

Whereas the change is sometimes related to the circumstances, actualizing informing about certain rights the children will have, the representatives’ work shifts between the change regarding the participants’ situation and change on behalf of the participants themselves, such as in Article 2 in which Saeed and the rest of the boys are asked whether they engage in physical violence or not, consequentially ending up being categorized as potentially aggressive. There is also a shift within the work of providing practical information, such as regarding the school system in Sweden, and moving on to engage in more normative issues related to ideas regarding gender equality (Articles 2 and 3) trading on ideas of the children and their current circumstances. Whereas change is to be seen as reciprocity of the gift of hope, the idea of inclusion in the new country besides having permanent residence permit (which the children and youth have already been granted) is further worked to include norms and values that are viewed as specifically Swedish (Azar 2006). The paradox lies in how change, which is what the resettlement is about, and the hope for a better future simultaneously include the idea of the children and youth as being different. Whereas they are informed about resettlement and Sweden, they are paradoxically also being provided with a self-image based on an idea that they lack certain aspects, which is seen as a threat to the future portrayed of a country and its ideal citizens.

The dilemmatic dialogue

As has been shown, the representatives invested much effort and ambition in engaging participants in dialogue. Separate COPs were held for children, including specific youth sessions. The idea behind the youth sessions was that the youth often attended the COP sessions for adults. It was believed that separate sessions would give them space to talk about issues that mattered to

them and ask more questions. Moreover, in Article 2 we see representative Maahir starting off his session by asking the group about football, drawing on a topic that links him to the group. Hence, the representatives do engage in talk regarding similarities between themselves and the participants, and also encourage questions during the COPs. Besides this, a great deal of enthusiasm is manifested when the children and youth mention their interests in sports or other hobbies. This often leads the representatives to tell them how they can continue with their interests in Sweden. Enthusiasm is further enhanced when particularly the girls talk about their hobbies, and interest in activities such as sports.

This thesis shows that the most prominent aspect of the COPs' aims was that of giving information and presenting Sweden, pursued at the price of dialogue. This is not a surprise. Practical circumstances such as the short amount of time and language barrier are some of the factors that should be kept in mind, as they played a role in making a dialogue more difficult to accomplish. The very practical circumstances are in fact built for COPs as an informational program rather than anything else.

The main work of COPs seems to result in dialogues that are held as a way for the representative to get through certain messages. According to Appadurai (1996), translocal spaces open up for imagining a life somewhere else, somewhere better. In a way the COPs can be viewed as a specific forum where this work is carried out, the difference being that the imagining is organized, structured, and based on what the representatives believe is important and ideal. The imagining of the future and the ideal again relates to what to hope for (and strive to become), as well as the need to be aware of what one should not be – all that which poses a threat to the ideal.

This thesis shows how the representatives often work on soliciting certain answers by asking specific questions in specific ways. This is apparent not least when they want the children to compare their current life with the image of Sweden as presented by the representatives, such as when Rickard shows images of the different kinds of housing while asking the children where the different houses can be found (Article 1), again actualizing how things will change for the children and thus what the gift of hope entails.

Another example is that of tooth brushing, which is included in a memory game, and is spoken about when a child happens to pick it up during the game (Article 1). This shows how ideas that run the risk of being classed as

prejudiced also tend to come about tacitly (Phoenix 1998; Wetherell & Potter 1992). The children and youth themselves are to realize how their life will change for the better. They are to come up with the “correct” answers regarding what is seen as ideal in the new country. In this sense, the COPs indeed reflect the overall neoliberal work of producing self-regulatory and self-conscious individuals (Rose 2000). Thus, in a way, the self-realization part means that the reciprocity – or what the children and youth are to hope and strive for – is sometimes implicit.

Stereotypes and beyond

One of the central aims of the thesis has been to analyze children’s agency during the COPs. Before moving on with the discussion, what needs to be remembered are the limitations of this thesis, particularly with respect to children’s agency. Because of its focus on the practice of COPs, this thesis is not able to highlight children’s agency during the rest of the resettlement process. This opens up for future investigations, perhaps following along with some families through their entire resettlement process. A longer time frame and adequate language skills would open up for a better understanding of the children’s perspectives as well as their agency. The agency examined in this thesis is hence to be viewed within the realm of the COPs.

What knowledge can be achieved then regarding children and migration through this study? One of the findings of the thesis is that young persons on the verge of being resettled actively work to manage their resettlement and the meetings with the Swedish officials. Having led a life as refugees includes continuous encounters with various officials, not least through the interviews and meetings required when one is to be resettled. What became clear to me during the fieldwork was how the children and youth seemed to manage the COPs. This at times included enduring the meetings. The young persons would invest effort in not jeopardizing their upcoming resettlement. They would sometimes talk about problems but they would also resist the occasional stereotyping. Children within migration processes, in this case resettlement, hence negotiate, show resistance, and occasionally endure meetings. This is quite the contrary to the image of the passive refugee.

During this study, the children and youth sometimes negotiated among each other what image they should give the representatives of their current situation. This is apparent not least in Article 2, when Ali and Nasir disagree on the topic of drug use among young people in Dadaab. Some of the participants highlight the hardships within their current circumstances which also can be seen in article 3. This is not a surprise, since the context of the COPs and resettlement, entailing vulnerability and the need for protection, is the very basis for resettlement to take place. The idea of the resettlement being a means of change to something better is hence upheld by both the representatives and the participants. Believing that what is to come is better becomes a necessary aspect of moving to a new country as a means to build a better life. But it also actualizes hope as the obligatory idea to adhere to during the COPs, something which is not to be questioned.

At the same time the participants also seem to be reluctant to the positioning of them as different and lacking certain aspects. In Article 3, Yohana makes sure to tell the representatives who have been telling them about gender equality in Sweden, that when Eritrean women came to Sudan they worked in cafés. This information is opposed to the Tigre community and the local Sudanese women who, according to Yohana, do not work. The participants at times create their own otherings in order to position themselves as distinct from other local groups in current country of residence, and as more similar to the ideas worked on by the delegations. This again shows their strategies of maintaining the meetings and the idea of them being suitable for resettlement but it simultaneously becomes a means of countering the stereotypes upon which the representatives seems to trade their work. The children also correct the misconceptions of the delegations, another way of showing resistance providing them with new information (Article 2).

This group of children is going through a regulated process; hence the concept of agency cannot be viewed in a liberal sense (Valentine 2011). As this thesis shows, during the COPs the children and youth are not able to position themselves in any way they wish. Hence they are highly dependent on the parameters set by the representatives during the COPs. Instances are shown in which the children, through small gestures, sometimes endure certain situations. When Saeed's answer in Article 2 is exploited by Sarah to get across her message of the wrongness of violence, the rest of the boys make use of small actions such as shaking their heads in order to not be asked fur-

ther questions. Instances like these can be referred to as what Klocker (2007) refers to as thinned agency. Even though they may be seen as small gestures, nonetheless, they are strong manifestations on behalf of the children, who sometimes remain quiet, shake their heads, or in other instances, mock in their own language the information given by the representatives, such as when Diana, turns to her friends and questions the aim of the image of ice hockey being shown (Article 1).

Focusing on children's agency has, for me, been a means to avoid making children and youth invisible within the COPs. They comply with, negotiate and sometimes manifest resistance. Moulin (2010), discusses whether and how the voices of marginalized groups can be highlighted in research. She uses the term "border language" to refer to ways and maneuvers used by refugees to manage situations that are marked by uncertainty. For her, these maneuvers do not necessarily need to include vocalized resistance or lengthy answers, and do not necessarily lead to any greater change, but they do provide a better understanding of a situation and of how the management of dominance is carried out. If we relate back to the work of stereotyping, what can be seen is a work of not only reproduction but also efforts to resist and disrupt stereotypes (Phoenix 2009). The young participants are marginalized but they also counter the work of othering such as Hani and Isir who, after a session, makes sure to tell me how they are free to choose their partners (Article 3).

Here I would like to put the findings of this thesis within a larger context. This is a very limited episode in the lives of the participants, which means that how their identity work evolves in the new country is unknown and open to myriads of pathways. Research has shown how children with a migration background in Sweden, on the basis of skin color, gender, ethnicity and religion, often need to negotiate their background in encounters with different spheres of society (Runfors 2003; Gruber 2007; Wiltgren 2014). It is moreover well known that people of African background are a particularly marginalized group in Sweden (Englund 2003; Mångkulturellt centrum 2014). Furthermore, the children's identity work also depends on factors such as peer groups, and family situation. These factors will indeed form and impact the children and their future life paths, opening up for further studies of the perspectives and experiences of children who have taken part in COPs, regarding how their lives unfold in Sweden.

What knowledge can then be achieved regarding refugee resettlement through the focus on the practice of COPs and the meetings between the children and young persons and the delegations?

This thesis has shown examples of how the management aspect of resettlement comes about within COPs for children. It manifests the tension within the resettlement process, a humanitarian protection effort that actualizes the idea of “national order of things” (Malkki 1995:5). The COPs as they were carried out for children, traded on the common-sense idea of integration being that of assimilation, namely the need for the “immigrants” to learn about and adhere to Swedish society (Eastmond 2011).

The COPs are a part of an effort that sets out within an overall development of accomplishing “quick and better integration” (MOST 2008:12), but in which this effectiveness is directed towards the group being resettled through interventions that are to empower them as individuals. In Article 3, the overall idea within the conversations revolves around emancipation and change on the behalf of the girls, as well as on their family situations. Issues like racism and discrimination are seldom touched upon. Financial circumstances are not highlighted either, unless the children ask such questions, which, as in Article 2 shows with Nora, they sometimes do. The problematic aspects related to the overall society are instead viewed as potential threats to the granting of hope to children and youth, and are hence avoided.

Given the context and the practical circumstances, could the COPs be anything else than an information program based on the delegation’s ideas of what the refugees need to know?

The focus on what others *lack* runs the risk of obstructing the possibility to gain insight into the lived meanings that displacement and migration can have for the specific group (Malkki 1995:16), in this case the children and youth being resettled. This runs the risk of creating a gap between children’s experiences, perspectives, uncertainties, and dreams on the one hand, and the work of the officials, on the other. Efforts of empowerment are best held by recognizing that people can be victims, yet empowered and capable despite – or maybe even due to – hardships. Being a refugee is about all else than being passive (Nyers 2006), something that this thesis shows. The paradox lies in that, in the quest to grant hope by presenting the ideal prospective future, there lays an exclusionary practice. The efforts that are intended to empower participants instead seem to position them as not only passive but also de-

pendent to the ideals actualized by the representatives. The idea of the passive, inferior, and uncivilized refugee needs to be abandoned in order to avoid the pitfalls for institutional efforts, which otherwise runs the risk of becoming the first steps towards segregation.

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Appendix A

Transcription notations

(Word)	Gestures such as smile, nodding, coughing, or other body language.
(...)	Part of conversation omitted.
Pause	A short break/silence in the conversation.

Appendix B

Letter of information given to the delegations

Hej!

Mitt namn är Mehek Muftée och jag är doktorand på Tema Barn på Linköpings universitet. Under hösten 2010 har ett samarbete mellan Tema Barn och Migrationsverket inletts gällande barn i vidarebosättningsprocess och mer specifikt Sverigeprogrammet. Samarbetet har resulterat i att ett forskningsprojekt på Tema Barn, Linköpings universitet har utvecklats. Inom ramen för mitt projekt kommer jag att följa med er under Sverigeprogramresan till Kenya. I detta informationsbrev vill jag berätta mer om projektet och dess syfte, frågeställningar och metoder.

Syfte och frågeställningar

Detta projekt har två delsyften där det ena syftet är att studera kvotflyktningbarns upplevelser och erfarenheter av vidarebosättningsprocessen och där det andra syftet är att studera Sverigeprogrammen och dess genomförande och mottagande. Frågor som är av intresse för det första delsyftet om barns erfarenheter och perspektiv är följande:

- Vilka uppfattningar finns hos barnen gällande nationell identitet, medborgarskap, tillhörighet och hem då de befinner sig i en vidarebosättningsprocess?
- Hur förhandlas dessa uppfattningar under en vidarebosättningsprocess?
- Vad har barnen för uppfattningar om sin situation?
- Vad har barnen för bild av Sverige? Framtidstankar?

Följande frågor ligger till grund för det andra delsyftet i studien som handlar om genomförandet av Sverigeprogram:

- Hur genomförs Sverigeprogrammet?
- Vilka frågor tas upp under programmet? Hur sker mötena?
- Vilka uppfattningar har deltagarna om Sverige?
- Hur implementeras ett barnperspektiv i Sverigeprogrammets praktiska genomförande?

Ett viktigt syfte med studien är att lyfta fram barnperspektivet i denna del av vidarebosättningsprocessen. Att framhäva barns perspektiv genom att låta unga flyktingar komma till tals på det sätt som de själva finner lämpligt möjliggör för inblandade instanser att kunna tillgodose barnens bästa (jmf FN:s barnkonvention

artikel 3). Vidare framhävs även vikten av att se till barnets bästa i samtliga fall som rör barn i Utlänningslagen (UtlL 1kap 10§). Ett barnperspektiv medverkar till att myndigheter såsom Migrationsverket men även mottagande kommuner, sjukvården och skolor genom att ta del av barns erfarenheter och perspektiv på bästa möjliga sätt kan tillmötesgå deras behov. Flyktingbarns röster och erfarenheter behöver därmed belysas.

Sverigeprogrammet och dess genomförande kommer att observeras. Någon form av återkoppling kommer sedan att ske till Migrationsverket i syfte att bidra till en vidareutveckling av verksamheten. Fokus här kommer också att vara på barnperspektivet där Sverigeprogrammet kommer att studeras i sin helhet. Tanken är att denna del av syftet förhoppningsvis även kommer vara till nytta för introduktionsverksamheter som genomförs för flyktingar i Sverige. Även annan mer internationell verksamhet där man genomför liknande program för flyktingar såsom IOMs Cultural Orientation Program kan tänkas ha nytta av studien. Studien kan förhoppningsvis även vara relevant för andra typer av interventioner som riktar sig specifikt mot flyktingbarn. Relevansen för studien kan därmed både ses som nationell och internationell.

Metod och genomförande

Den första delen av studien kommer att genomföras vid Sverigeprogrammet i Dadaab och Nairobi, Kenya under våren 2011. Därefter är tanken att flera Sverigeprogram kommer att ingå i studien vid senare tillfällen. Målet för denna studie är att genomföra deltagande observationer av Sverigeprogrammets genomförande inklusive dess förberedelser samt genomföra enskilda och gruppintervjuer med flyktingbarnen.

Jag kommer att genomföra deltagande observationer under de förberedande mötena inför resan och under resan till Kenya. Gruppsessionerna i Sverigeprogrammet i Dadaab och Nairobi är tänkta att video filmas där även observation och fältanteckningar kommer att föras. Både sessionerna för vuxna och barn (7-18 år) kommer att studeras. Kameran kommer att skötas av mig som kommer att genomföra observationerna och intervjuerna under resan. Videoinspelningen kommer att ske i samråd med ledaren för varje grupp.

Under studien av Sverigeprogrammet är tanken även att flyktingbarnen kommer att intervjuas. Målet är att genomföra både gruppintervjuer och enskilda intervjuer. Dessa intervjuer kommer att video eller audioinspelas beroende på deltagarnas samtycke. Tanken är att genomföra en gruppintervju per dag under resan. Grupperna kommer att bestå av barn som är i ungefär samma ålder. Gruppintervjuerna är tänkta att ske främst med de yngre barnen där barnen bland annat kommer att få prata och reflektera kring det material som de producerat såsom teckningar samt filmer som de sett under Sverigeprogrammet. Förutom detta är tanken att minst en enskild intervju ska genomföras per dag med de äldre barnen.

Studien riktar sig främst mot barn i skolåldern dvs. mellan 7-18 år. Mer informella samtal kommer också att ske under pauser, luncher etc. med deltagarna under Sverigeprogrammet.

Hantering av datamaterial, avidentifiering

Datamaterialet kommer att utgöras av fältanteckningar, videoinspelning av sessioner samt inspelade intervjuer med barnen. Teckningar, bilder och filmer som används och som produceras av deltagarna är också tänkta att samlas in. Detta material kommer att bevaras i låst säkerhetsskåp på Tema barn, Linköpings universitet och enbart ansvariga forskare för studien kommer att ha åtkomst till originalmaterialet. Materialet kommer enbart att användas för forskningssyfte och samtliga namn och annan information som kan röja deltagarnas identitet kommer att tas bort eller ändras. Denna avidentifiering kommer att ske under transkriberingsprocessen. Videomaterialet kommer att transkriberas till samtalsutskrift, fältanteckningarna kommer att renskrivas och intervjuerna kommer att transkriberas. Materialet kommer sedan att bearbetas och analyseras av mig. Materialet kommer inte att förvaras på arbetsdator utan på extern hårddisk eller USB, vilket också förvaras inlåst på Tema Barn.

Samtycke och deltagande i studien

Er medverkan och viktiga kunskaper kring vidarebosättningsprocessen och generellt arbete med flyktingar är givetvis mycket viktiga för mig i min studie. Jag är därmed mycket tacksam för att jag har fått tillfälle att få ta del av detta Sverigeprogram. Denna studie är baserad på frivillighet gällande deltagande vilket innebär att man som deltagare kan välja att inte delta eller avsluta sitt deltagande när som helst. Jag hoppas givetvis på att erhålla djupare kunskap inom fältet och ert arbete med Sverigeprogrammet samt att i samarbete med er utveckla studien vidare. Om det finns tveksamheter eller osäkerhet rådande deltagande i mitt projekt vill jag mycket gärna att ni hör av er till mig. Mina kontaktuppgifter finner ni nedan.

Publicering av resultat

Studien kommer dels att resultera i vetenskapliga artiklar som publiceras i diverse vetenskapliga tidskrifter samt utgöra delar i en avhandling som beräknas bli klar 2014. Förutom detta kommer någon form av återkoppling att ske till Migrationsverket.

Jag kommer att presentera projektet under kursdagarna som äger rum den 18-20 april. Ni kommer då att få möjlighet att ställa fler frågor och ta upp sådant som är oklart. Ni får givetvis också höra av er till mig på antingen tel. nr 013 282888 eller via e-post mehek.muftee@liu.se

Med Vänlig Hälsning

Mehet Muftee (doktorand)

Linköpings universitet

Appendix C

Letter given to the participants of the COPs

Dear participant in the Swedish Cultural Orientation Program,

My name is Mehek Muftee and I am a doctoral student at Linköping University, Sweden. I am doing a research project on experiences of refugee children who are going through migration process.

Aim of the study

The aim of my study is to better understand the views and experiences of refugee children regarding migration to Sweden. Another aim of this study is to examine the Swedish Cultural Orientation Programs which you will be participating in. I am interested in studying how it is carried out with special focus on the children's groups.

How will the study be conducted?

In order to carry out this study I will, as a researcher, participate in the Swedish Cultural Orientation Program. I would like to video record the group sessions with focus on the children's groups. Apart from the observations and video recordings I will be carrying out informal conversations with the children and families during the program. My question for you is whether you and your family would like to take part in this study?

If you have any questions regarding my study please feel free to contact me or speak to me before the program. See my contact information bellow.

Participation on voluntary basis

This study is strictly on a voluntary basis and the choice to participate or not is entirely at your discretion. Your participation in my study will in no way affect the decision of your Swedish permanent residence. You will also have the right to refuse to participate whenever you want.

Protection of identity and personal information

The video material will be transcribed and during this procedure all names and other identifications of the participants will be removed. The identities of the participants will be protected in any publications resulting from this research. The video recordings will only be used for research purpose and no one outside the research group will have access to the recordings. The material will be preserved locked up at the department of Child Studies at Linköping University. This study will result in a dissertation.

Thank you very much for your time!

Kind regards

Mehek Muftee

Contact details

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PART II - ARTICLES

Articles

The articles associated with this thesis have been removed for copyright reasons. For more details about these see:

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