Doctoral theses at the Department of Sociology/ Umeå University, No 65

Conflict, marginalisation and transformation

African migrants in Sweden

Jonathan Ngeh

Akademisk avhandling

som med vederbörligt tillstånd av Rektor vid Umeå universitet för avläggande av filosofie doktorsexamen framläggs till offentligt försvar i Hörsal E, Humanisthuset, fredagen den 20 maj, kl 13:15. Avhandlingen kommer att försvaras på engelska.

Fakultetsopponent: Associate Professor, Peo Hansen, Institute for Research on Migration, Ethnicity and Society (REMESO), University of Linköping, Linköping, Sweden

Department of Sociology
Umeå University, 901 87 Umeå
Umeå 2011

Ngeh, Jonathan. Conflict, marginalisation and transformation: African migrants in Sweden.
Doctoral Dissertation in Sociology at the Faculty of Social Sciences, Umeå University, May 20 2011

Abstract

Migrants from the Global South, coming to Sweden predominantly since the 1980s, have become a major focus of public discussions about immigration. The fears of and resentments toward the migrant 'other' appear to have shifted from European migrants to migrants of the Global South. Numerous studies (and official reports) showing the marginalisation of these migrants confirm their spotlight position. The aim of this thesis is to describe and explain the kind of challenges which African migrants face in their local Swedish context and to find out if they undergo any significant transformations affecting their identities and/or ways of life. This objective was pursued through a field study of African migrants from Cameroon and Somalia living in the city of Malmö. The empirical material consisted of semi-structured interviews with individuals and groups and participant observations at migrant cultural associations. The analysis utilised two main theoretical frameworks: theory of conflict transformation and theories of discrimination (racism). The choice of the former was made to illuminate the agency of migrants by highlighting their capacity to act in their own interests within the host society. A major strength of this approach is that it draws attention to the (re)actions of both 'natives' and migrants towards each other. Theories of discrimination address the important issue of unequal power relations working against migrants, which tend to be neglected in conflict theory. The advantage of using these different theoretical approaches is that they complement each other and thus strengthen the theoretical discussion in the thesis. Analysis of the empirical material indicated that established practices in major institutions, as well as individual actions at the micro level of society, contribute to the marginalisation of migrants. A major finding was that both migrants and 'natives' are involved in practices that produce experiences of marginalisation and discrimination for the former. Actions that produced conflicts, material deprivation and exclusion were identified with both migrants and 'natives'. However, actions by 'natives' had a more negative impact than those by migrants. This was seen as the result of the fact that 'natives' have greater influence in society because of their relative position of power. Finally, the thesis showed that migrants perceive the challenges confronting them in Sweden in different ways, due to the specific experiences they face in Sweden but also by reason of their experiences in their countries of origins and their different migration histories. Some of them saw the practices that produced their marginalisation as infringements on their basic rights and responded by actively fighting back. Others were less critical of similar practices and did little or nothing about them. Important differences between migrants were also noted in relation to their transformations in Sweden affecting important aspects of their lives: their identities, power relations among them and between them and the host society, gender relations, and their ways of dealing with the challenges with which they were confronted. These differences were seen as a result of the heterogeneity of the migrants under study, who nevertheless are often homogenised as the African 'other'. This heterogeneity consisted of hierarchical gender relations, varying access to material resources, and membership in exclusive networks of belonging based on particularistic national and regional identities.

Keywords: migrants, conflicts, racism, transformation, Cameroon, Somalia, Sweden, construction of otherness**.**

Language: English
ISSN: 978-91-7459-211-5
ISBN: 1104-2508
Number of Pages: 208

Doctoral theses at the Department of Sociology/Umeå University, No 65

Conflict, marginalisation and transformation

African migrants in Sweden

Jonathan Ngeh

Department of Sociology
Umeå 2011

Copyright © Jonathan Ngeh
ISBN: 978-91-7459-211-5
ISSN: 1104-2508
Electronic version available at: http://umu.diva-portal.org/
Printed by: Print & Media
Umeå, Sweden 2011

To all single mothers

Table of Contents

Table of Contents i
Abstract iii
Acknowledgements v
Chapter one. Introduction 1
Early migrants and immigration in Sweden 3
Migrants from the Global South as a 'problem' 6
The construction of otherness and its impact on exclusion 9
Ethical considerations 10
Outline of the thesis 12
Aim 13
Research questions 14
Justification of the study 14
Chapter two. Theoretical underpinnings 16
General theories informing the study 16
Specific theories used in the study 19
Social conflict *19*
Immigration and social exclusion *23*
Theories of migration and the construction of migrants *27*
Concluding remarks 29
Chapter three. Doing ethnography in Malmö 31
Setting 31
Migrants under study 39
Conducting fieldwork 43
Fieldwork with Somali migrants *45*
Fieldwork with Cameroonian migrants *57*
Fieldwork with 'native' Swedes and officials of some institutions *65*
Discussion about the research methods 67
Chapter four. Conflict relations 77
Identifying goals/needs in conflict relations 77
Case one: conflicts in school 78
Case two: conflicts in the workplace 89
Case three: conflicts within the Cameroonian migrant community in Malmö 95
Case four: conflict within the Somali migrant community in Malmö 100
Concluding remarks 108
Chapter five. Marginalisation of migrants 111
Labour market situation of the migrants in the study 112
Different experiences and perception of discrimination *113*
Denial of discrimination (racism) *123*
Housing situation of the migrants in the study 131
Housing situation in 'migrant residential areas' *131*

Mixed responses to the housing difficulties of migrants *135*
The impact of poor economic standing on getting housing *138*
Institutional/structural barriers in the housing market *140*
Concluding remark 143
Chapter six. Diversity and division in society **146**
Construction of difference: how migrants and 'natives' perceive each other 147
Seeing migrant culture(s) as a disadvantage *147*
Seeing Swedish culture as a disadvantage *151*
The (re)production of exclusion/inclusion in daily interactions 155
Migrants' social networks and their resourcefulness *155*
Concluding remark 164
Chapter seven. Transformation of migrants **167**
Transformation of how people construct their identity 168
Transformations of gender roles and power relations within the family and cultural associations 173
Transformations in the everyday 181
Conclusion **187**
References **192**
Bilagor **1**

Abstract

Migrants from the Global South, coming to Sweden predominantly since the 1980s, have become a major focus of public discussions about immigration. The fears of and resentments toward the migrant 'other' appear to have shifted from European migrants to migrants of the Global South. Numerous studies (and official reports) showing the marginalisation of these migrants confirm their spotlight position. The aim of this thesis is to describe and explain the kind of challenges which African migrants face in their local Swedish context and to find out if they undergo any significant transformations affecting their identities and/or ways of life.

This objective was pursued through a field study of African migrants from Cameroon and Somalia living in the city of Malmö. The empirical material consisted of semi-structured interviews with individuals and groups and participant observations at migrant cultural associations. The analysis utilised two main theoretical frameworks: theory of conflict transformation and theories of discrimination (racism). The choice of the former was made to illuminate the agency of migrants by highlighting their capacity to act in their own interests within the host society. A major strength of this approach is that it draws attention to the (re)actions of both 'natives' and migrants towards each other. Theories of discrimination address the important issue of unequal power relations working against migrants, which tend to be neglected in conflict theory. The advantage of using these different theoretical approaches is that they complement each other and thus strengthen the theoretical discussion in the thesis.

Analysis of the empirical material indicated that established practices in major institutions, as well as individual actions at the micro level of society, contribute to the marginalisation of migrants. A major finding was that both migrants and 'natives' are involved in practices that produce experiences of marginalisation and discrimination for the former. Actions that produced conflicts, material deprivation and exclusion were identified with both migrants and 'natives'. However, actions by 'natives' had a more negative impact than those by migrants. This was seen as the result of the fact that 'natives' have greater influence in society because of their relative position of power. Finally, the thesis showed that migrants perceive the challenges confronting them in Sweden in different ways, due to the specific experiences they face in Sweden but also by reason of their experiences in their countries of origins and their different migration histories. Some of them saw the practices that produced their marginalisation as infringements on their basic rights and responded by actively fighting back. Others were

less critical of similar practices and did little or nothing about them. Important differences between migrants were also noted in relation to their transformations in Sweden affecting important aspects of their lives: their identities, power relations among them and between them and the host society, gender relations, and their ways of dealing with the challenges with which they were confronted. These differences were seen as a result of the heterogeneity of the migrants under study, who nevertheless are often homogenised as the African 'other'. This heterogeneity consisted of hierarchical gender relations, varying access to material resources, and membership in exclusive networks of belonging based on particularistic national and regional identities.

Key words: migrants, conflicts, racism, transformation, Cameroon, Somalia, Sweden, construction of otherness.

Acknowledgements

Writing this thesis has been a great experience and learning process, which I believe transformed me into a better person. It has also been one of the most challenging undertakings in my life and would certainly not have been accomplished without the generous support and guidance of people who believed in me. I would therefore like to express my gratitude for all the support that I received.

First and foremost, my very deep thanks to the people who have been directly involved in this process from start to finish: my supervisors Nora Räthzel and Åsa Gustafson. You provided me with the essential tools and the knowledge that were needed for this thesis. Nora's attention to my ideas, discussions when we had different opinions, proficient advice and comments improved my understanding of the subject matter and helped me understand how to develop the thesis. Most importantly, Nora steered me in the right direction whenever I got confused. My second supervisor, Åsa, has also been a proficient and gracious adviser. Åsa's advice and comments were essential in providing a structure for the thesis and in helping me stay focused on the primary objectives. Nora and Åsa have been extremely patient with me too, and I applaud them for that. I also appreciate the concern and support from the two of you during the extremely cold winters when I fell ill. Nora's prescription of vitamin C really helped to treat my cold, and Åsa's recommendation for alternative Chinese medicine from her husband cured the 'undetectable' illness, which could not be treated at the regular hospital.

Important comments and suggestions also came from the people who read different drafts of this thesis. I am thinking of Simon Lindgren, Olle Persson, Abdul Kadhim, Jenny-Ann Brodin, Daniel Larsson (Department of Sociology, University of Umeå), Anders Neergaard (Department of Social and Welfare Studies, University of Linköping), Lucy Edyvean and Michaela Pelican, whose comments helped to refine the ideas for this thesis and improve on the earlier draft. Michaela has been most particularly instrumental in my academic work since the days when as an undergraduate I worked as her fieldwork research assistant in Cameroon. She taught me how to conduct ethnographic fieldwork and encouraged me to pursue my dreams in academia. I will forever be grateful to you.

Next, I would like to thank the Department of Sociology at Umeå University for funding this project and providing a great working environment for my study. In particular, I thank the entire administration for providing all the technical assistance throughout my study, researchers for sharing their ideas

during seminars when I consulted them, and fellow PhD students at the Department for the support which we provided to each other. Other institutions that kindly welcomed me with open arms during this process include: the Department of Sociology at the University of Berkeley, California during the autumn of 2006, and the Department of International Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMER) at the University of Malmö in the spring of 2008, where I was fortunate enough to present my research work and get some good feedback.

Without the warm welcome of people in Malmö, this project would have hit a dead end. My gratitude goes to all the Cameroonians, Somalis, Swedes and others who participated in this study. You opened my eyes to so many things, treated me with so much love and inspired me never to give up. Special thanks to: Warsame Osman, for introducing me to part of the Somali community and for allowing me to use your office and its facilities for my research. Michael NjuaKom (Damike), for taking time out of your busy schedule to show me around Malmö, introducing me to the Cameroonian community, discussing relevant topics for my research with me, and for being a true friend ever since we were classmates in secondary school. Susanne Sjögren, for your advice about the institutions (organisations) and officials to contact for the information that I wanted. Thank you also for providing me with many documents and reports about the research topic.

I was extremely fortunate also to have a strong social network outside the university, who brought a lot of joy into my heart and provided much-needed secondary assistance for this project. My friends in Umeå: Bruno Janvier Johan Bergvall (Deejay Jahone), Sarah Wennerberg, Emmanuel Mukumu, Tah Hopkin, Jeff Caissey, Chi Celestine, Frida Norman and the community of Cameroonian students in Umeå. Were it not for the support that you provided on the sidelines, I would have lost the motivation to finish this project. Special thanks to Bruno Janvier for lending me your laptop when mine crashed in the final days of the dissertation. I also appreciate the fact that you let me win in squash sometimes, probably to make me feel that I was capable of succeeding.

Finally, I would like to thank my beloved siblings: Patrick Nji and Jacqueline Nkwembe F., for the continuous support that they have provided throughout my life.

Umeå, Sweden, April 2011
Jonathan Ngeh

Chapter one. Introduction

> *The history of the human species, for all intents and purposes, can be told as the histories of human migration. It is the history – really, the histories – of movement and resting, regenerative settlement and renewed mobility. With emerging European exploration and expansion from the late fourteenth century on, it is also the history of miscegenation and cultural mixing, of increasing physical and cultural heterogeneity (Goldberg 2002, p. 14).*

This short quote represents migration and related practices as age-old phenomena. The presence of Arab traders and conquerors in parts of Europe, Africa and Asia long before European voyages of exploration that increased their contact with the rest of the world, see for example Cleveland (2004, pp. 37-56), underscores the significance of migration in human history. Between 1820 and 1913, it has been estimated that 50 million Europeans migrated out of Europe with about three-fifths moving to the US and the remainder to Canada, South America, Australia and Southern Africa (Hatton & Williamson 2002, p. 9). In addition to migration, historical accounts indicate that miscegenation between Europeans and Africans, Europeans and Arabs, Africans and Arabs among others had been occurring in Africa, Europe and the Middle East for many centuries before Europeans settled in North America (Davis 2001). In unequivocal terms, Davis states that because of miscegenation 'the European settlers in the American colonies were not all pure whites, and the slaves they brought were not all pure African blacks' (ibid, p. 29). The underlying point here is that migration, together with miscegenation and cultural mixing, predate the modern 'nation-state'.

Despite the long history of people migrating from one part of the world to another, Goldberg (2002) rightly notes that most discussions about population movement today give the impression that it is a new phenomenon. Likewise, the common view about practices related to migration such as miscegenation and cultural mixing is that they are new developments. Often, these supposedly new developments are seen as destabilising the perceived tranquillity, ethnic and cultural homogeneity of the receiving society. Actually, what is perhaps new about migration today is that it has increased in volume and frequency; but given the increase in the world's population and general improvement in communication, there is no reason to be surprised by the higher volume and frequency of today's migration.

It therefore comes as no surprise that the dominant political and media discourse in Sweden (and many countries) today problematises immigration (Runblom 1994; Abiri 2000; Fryklund 2008; Horsti 2008; Khosravi 2009).

This is especially true for immigration from the countries of the Global South[1]. In effect, government policies in Sweden since the 1980s, as noted by Ålund and Schierup (1991), have become increasingly restrictive to immigration from the Global South. Concurrently with the restrictive immigration policies the public's reaction has been for the most part unfriendly towards migrants from the parts of the world which are the targets of the restrictive immigration policies (ibid; Pred 2000; SOU 2006: 79). Seeing immigration nowadays as a new phenomenon and as something that is problematic evidently legitimises restrictions against it as well as promotes anti-migrant sentiments. With restrictions on immigration and anti-migrant sentiments almost entirely directed at a specific target, it is obvious that all immigration and all migrants in Sweden are not seen as a problem. Only when they are tied to countries of the Global South or other undesired countries are they viewed as such. This is because the focus of immigration policies in Sweden (like many other countries) is on countries or regional areas of the world, not so much on individuals. With respect to Denmark, Bulent Diken (1998) has explained that immigration policies have different effects on migrants depending on whether or not they are from the Nordic countries, the rest of the EU, North America and other Western countries, or from the Global South. He points out that policies toward these categories differ in relation to questions of rights, privileges and duties, resulting in a situation where migrants from the Nordic countries have the most and those from countries in the Global South have the least rights. As a Nordic country and member of the EU, the same argument can be made about Swedish immigration policies.

Given that restrictive immigration policies and anti-migrant sentiments today target specific regional areas and migrants, it might be tempting to think that, in the absence of immigration from the targeted regional areas, the restrictions and anti–migrant sentiments will wane. Different analyses of immigration and public attitudes towards migrants in Sweden since the end of the Second World War suggest that this might not necessarily be the case. Here it is important to note that it was around the end of the Second World War that Sweden emerged as a country of immigration. Not long before this happened, Sweden was a country of emigration with a majority of Swedish emigrants emigrating to the USA (Hatton 1995)[2]. Studies carried out in the

[1] The Global South refers to economically poor and less industrialised countries, known collectively as 'The South', while wealthy and industrialised countries, known collectively as 'The North', are referred to as 'The Global North'. The division is not wholly defined by geography as countries that comprise The Global North, for example, can be found in both the Northern and Southern hemispheres, though a majority of them are from the Northern hemisphere.

[2] Between 1870 and 1914, about 1 million Swedes emigrated to the United States, and about 1 hundred thousand more during the postwar period up to the Great Depression in the 1930s (Powell 2005, pp. 284-285)

1960s and government reforms on immigration around the same period when migrants in Sweden were Europeans show similar anti-immigration sentiments as those existing today. A short presentation of Swedish immigration history after the end of the Second World War will help to put the discussion about migrants and immigration in Sweden into perspective.

Early migrants and immigration in Sweden

According to historical accounts, immediately after the Second World War, Sweden (which did not enter the War) witnessed economic growth and a shortage of labour. This led to demands for labour migrants in Sweden. The need for foreign labour to satisfy growing industries in Sweden saw the beginning of the first phase of immigration to Sweden, which lasted from around the 1950s to the early 1970s. Commonly referred to as 'labour immigration', it was the first large-scale migration to Sweden and the migrants came from European countries – first from Scandinavia and the Baltic states, and later on from Southern Europe (Blanck & Tydén 1995; Bevelander 2004). To facilitate and guarantee the supply of labour, Sweden signed an agreement with Nordic states in 1954 that became known as the Nordic Labour Market, eliminating travel and employment restrictions for citizens of member states. Swedish companies also sent agents abroad to actively recruit workers while they were still in their home countries (ibid).

The era of labour immigration officially came to an end in the early 1970s, when the recruitment of labour outside the Nordic states was stopped (ibid; Slavnić 2009). Before this happened, a new immigration law requiring all labour migrants from outside the Nordic countries to obtain a work permit and accommodation prior to entering Sweden was passed in 1968 (Lundberg 1987, pp. 9, 62). Later, in 1969, the Swedish Migration Board (*Migrationsverket*) was formed with the aim of controlling cross-border migration and overseeing migrants' activities (ibid). Migration from mostly Southern European countries was affected by the immigration reform because Southern Europe was the major source of labour migrants (outside Scandinavia) to Sweden (Westin 2000, pp. 3-4). Although the restriction on labour immigration is largely blamed on economic recession in the early 1970s, increasing public disapproval of migrants who were seen as taking jobs away from 'native' Swedes is considered to have been a major push behind the new restriction. Among those who expressed this concern and pressed for a halt to immigration were trade unions and women's movements (Blanck & Tydén 1995, p. 59). It was also known during this period that the labour migrants in Sweden were facing problems of discrimination and pressure to assimilate. These and other problems which affected migrants led to the Swedish government taking some measure to

address the plight of migrants. The state's response came in the form of an integration policy that embraced cultural diversity. Established in 1974, the underlying goal was to create the possibilities for ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities in Sweden to maintain and develop their own cultural and religious life (ibid, p. 63). All these developments show on the one hand the Swedish state adopting policies that restrict immigration and on the other hand policies that show tolerance to the cultures of migrants. In the former, immigration was seen as a problem, hence the need to place a restriction on it; while in the latter, the state felt that the existing system did not ensure fairness to migrants.

Different analyses of the above shift in official policy towards migrants and immigration in Sweden indicate that it was a response to a) public frustration with growing labour immigration that was perceived as a problem, and b) challenges facing migrants such as discrimination. A more thorough analysis by Slavnić (2009, pp. 101-102) considers the shift to have been influenced by three contradictions that, according to him, were characteristic of the Swedish political reality in the 1960s and early 1970s. The first is the realisation that labour migrants had come to stay and prevailing negative attitudes towards them were producing negative effects such as a polarisation of the society. Second, existing practices of marginalisation of migrants sharply contrasted with the inclusive political principles that integrated those citizens who were perceived as being 'real' members of the Swedish nation. The third challenge was that Sweden tried to establish an international influence and reputation on the issues of democracy and human rights both at home and abroad, which made it necessary to lead by example. These three challenges, according to Slavnić, seem to have pressured the authorities in Sweden to develop a more inclusive policy for migrants in the country and to extend solidarity to refugees and migrants who were in need of humanitarian assistance[3].

Restrictions on labour immigration in Sweden failed to halt immigration (from outside the Nordic countries) completely, because the newly instituted immigration restrictions did not apply to immigration that was based on humanitarian needs. As a result, a growing number of the migrants who came to Sweden from the 1970s onwards were refugees and they came, for the most part, from the Global South (Sverige Utrikesdepartementet 2001).

[3] The Aliens Act [1989: 529] (*Utlänningslagen* in Swedish) defines a refugee as someone 'who is outside the country of which he is a national, owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or religious or political opinion and who is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country' (Lundberg 1987, p. 16). I adopt this definition of refugee in my analysis.

This saw the beginning of the second era of immigration in Sweden, which is generally referred to as the era of refugee immigration.

Continuous immigration by refugees shifted the focus of anti-migrant sentiments towards them. The Swedish government policies towards migrants and immigration also underwent some reformulations that became most noticeable in the mid-1980s onward (Abiri 2000). Basically, the shift in government policies placed restrictions on refugee immigration and limitations on the kind of migrant cultural or religious practices that can be tolerated in Sweden (ibid; Ålund & Schierup 1991; Blanck & Tydén 1995). Common sense dictates that the shift in policy, from a policy that gave migrants the possibility to maintain their cultural lifestyles to one that placed restrictions on the kind of migrant cultural practices that can be tolerated, is an indirect call for migrants to assimilate into the dominant Swedish culture. Ålund and Schierup (1991) view this reform as a retreat from the more progressive policy of cultural diversity that was introduced in the 1970s. They also find it troubling that the reform took place at a time when discrimination against Swedish 'new migrants' was quite blatant.

> *It is highly significant that these subtle reformulations of official policy are taking place at a historical moment when openly expressed racism is growing within the country. With the increased immigration of Third World refugees during the 1980s, the ideological climate has gradually changed in ways that seem to bring Sweden into line with the sombre face of Fortress Europe, i.e. with the new scenario emerging from the restructuring of the international migratory system which was begun in the 1980s (ibid, p. 6).*

Today, the debate on immigration in Sweden shows a tendency to romanticise labour immigration and to problematise refugee immigration. While the labour migrants of yesteryear are represented as hardworking and adaptable to dominant Swedish norms and values, the 'new migrants' are viewed in negative terms: prone to becoming criminals/fundamentalists and supposedly less hardworking and difficult to adapt (ibid; Runblom 1994, p. 634; Scuzzarello 2008, pp. 18-19). As indicated, public perception of labour migrants in Sweden was not really favourable in the past. Complaints by labour and women's movements against labour migrants in the 1960s suggest that the Swedish public or segments of it saw them as a problem. Additionally, public opinion polls in 1957, 1958 and 1965 conducted by the Swedish polling agency *Svenska Institutet för Opinionsundersökningar* (SIFO) shows that a larger percentage of Swedes were unfavourable to the liberal immigration policy than favourable in all three polls (Rose 1969, pp. 107-108). In his analysis of news articles about Finnish and Yugoslav migrants in a small industrial town near Norrköping in the 1960s, Slavnić (2009) shows that the media represented these migrants in very negative

ways. Slavnić's analysis shows how the media discourse depicted migrants as causing unemployment for 'natives', being deceitful, infected with venereal diseases in significant numbers, idling around, not adapting to the Swedish way of life, et cetera. A quote from a newspaper article in 1966, for example, reads:

> *'Why are foreigners used to being turned out of our pubs?' – Five Yugoslavs enter a pub in Norrköping. There are already a handful of cheerful Swedish young people. The Yugoslavs sit around a table. The Swedish youth, for no obvious reason, start jeering at them: 'Bloody foreigners, go back to Yugoslavia!' Then a waitress arrives and the Yugoslavs are being turned out of the pub. When they protest in surprise, she threatens to call the police. Finally they choose to leave the pub. At the same time the Swedish youth are undisturbed and allowed to remain where they were. This happened in one of Norrköping's pubs some time during this year. And this is not a unique episode.…The owner of the above–mentioned pub said that he was not particularly happy with Yugoslavs. 'We have had trouble with Yugoslavs. They are noisy people, who give an impression of always trying to be superior. They want to sit in here without ordering anything, and do not listen to what they are being told. I do not know about this particular case, but I understand the waitress. They are so many that we are not at all happy about it. I wish they would simply disappear. If only they were like ordinary people. But they seem not to be able to adapt themselves. The authorities should make sure that they work, but as far as one can see now many of them are on sick leave. I don't have anything against foreigners in general. But Yugoslavs in particular seem to be especially troublesome' (FÖ, 660314) (ibid, p. 98).*

Yugoslav migrants in the pub are jeered at for apparently no reason, instead of coming to their assistance the bartender sends them away, and the news report about the incident appears to blame the Yugoslav migrants for the problem. Their supposedly negative characteristics are used to justify the unjust treatments against them. The exclusion of migrants in this case works through a logic that naturalises ascribed negative characteristics. These are then used to legitimise unjust practices against them (Delanty et al. 2008). What the Swedish youth customers, waitress, bartender and newspaper which reported the incident share in common is the idea that Yugoslav migrants are not members of the Swedish nationhood and pose a threat to social cohesion in Swedish society. For these reasons, the Yugoslav migrants were seen as unworthy of being treated as equals.

Migrants from the Global South as a 'problem'

Given that refugees in Sweden are facing challenges that are similar to those faced by labour migrants in the past, today's tendency to romanticise and problematis past and current immigration respectively simply highlights the shifting nature of exclusion. It suggests that in today's context of the political unification of European states within the EU, the threatening 'others' are migrants from the Global South. This development can be seen as an

example in which the idea of exclusion or inclusion changes under different circumstances and in relation to different people. The meaning of exclusion here follows Ruth Wodak (2008, p. 60), who defines it as the '*deprivation of access* through means of explicit or symbolic power implemented by the social elites'. Wodak continues by stating:

> *I assume that 'inclusion/exclusion' of groups, people, nation-states, migrant groups, changes due to different criteria of how insiders and outsiders are defined in each instance. In this way, various typologies, or group memberships, are constructed, which sometimes include a certain group, and sometimes do not, depending on socio-political and situational contexts and interactions (ibid, p. 55).*

What Wodak highlights is that the inclusion/exclusion of people is not fixed, but changes under different circumstances and in relation to different people (cf. Neergaard 2009).

Against the background of an emerging European belonging, the new discourse of 'otherness' appears to focus more on migrants from the Global South[4]. Support for this argument can be seen from the fact that the increasing harmonisation of migration and asylum policy within the European Union has led to stricter immigration policies for refugees from countries outside Europe. A major target of these restrictive immigration policies across the EU is immigration from Africa (Horsti 2008). Horsti's analysis points out that the migration of Africans crossing Southern European borders is represented in the media across Europe as a crisis and a serious challenge to European states. The same is true, she shows, for the media coverage of the issue in Finland and Sweden. Looking at how the popular newspapers *Dagens nyheter* in Sweden and *Helsingin Sanomat* in Finland covered the migration of Africans to the Canary Islands in 2006, Horsti notes that the two papers framed the event as a problem. In particular, they framed it in terms of illegality and high numbers of arrivals (which suggests an invasion). Differences were identified in the ways that the two papers covered the issue. While the Finnish newspaper represented the migration as a 'border crisis', the Swedish paper constructed it as a 'humanitarian crisis'. The overall effect of the media representation of this issue as a crisis, according to Horsti, appears to be the othering of African migrants in Europe:

[4] The representation in public debates of refugee immigration as a problem does not mean that immigration from other European countries is wholly accepted as unproblematic. Public debates in Sweden in the 1990s indicate that some people saw immigration from the former Soviet Union States as refugee invasion. Anxiety about this 'invasion' was openly expressed by the then Prime Minister of Sweden, Göran Persson – a social democrat, who complained that the eastward expansion of the EU would lead to Sweden suffering from what he called 'social tourism'. He argued that people from the Eastern European countries that were about to join the EU would come to exploit the generous Swedish social welfare (Khosravi 2009, p. 49).

> *In the context of African migration, the Nordic press can be seen to justify and promote a collective mindset favouring persecution of migrants taking place in European societies at large. Patrolling and deportation are legal actions according to European law, but they are stimulated by extremist views in society. In this sense the coverage partly supports construction of the European identity against 'the other', that is Africa (Horsti 2008, p. 52).*

While Horsti's analysis is largely focused on how the migration of Africans to the Canary Islands is perceived by media outlets in Finland and Sweden, studies in Sweden suggest that the migration of ethnic minorities to Sweden is also framed as a threatening crisis (Pred 2000; Norman 2004; Khosravi 2009). Khosravi argues that the Swedish state is adopting discursive practices that both restrict and criminalise refugee immigration. Restrictive measures, besides the usual tight border control, include detention and deportation of migrants who try to stay in Sweden after they have been asked to leave. According to Khosravi, there are five permanent detention centres for migrants who are awaiting deportation and about 95 percent of the detainees in these centres are usually asylum seekers whose applications have been rejected. The detention and deportation of unwanted migrants, as explained by Khosravi, symbolises the purification of the Swedish nation-state and is sometimes accompanied by celebrations.

> *On Friday, we will celebrate together...We will redeem X's promise of champagne after a certain family left Sweden. Today I have received confirmation that the deportation went off well, albeit with foot shackles and handcuffs...so join us in our kitchen for a toast (Berggren, as cited by Khosravi 2009, p.52).*

From the discussion so far, it is evident that restrictive immigration policies and public anti-migrant sentiments in Sweden today are, in most cases, directed against migrants from countries in the Global South. It is also well-known, from many studies and official reports in Sweden, that migrants from the Global South face more challenges in Sweden than 'natives' and migrants from the Global North (Ryding 2001; Bevelander 2004; Bask 2005; Sverige Integrationsverket 2006, p. 47; Bråmå 2008). Consequently, many of these migrants remain trapped at the bottom of the social class. With respect to migrants from Africa, their situation appears to be particularly deplorable as they face very severe material deprivation, especially when it comes to access to the labour market (see Sverige Integrationsverket 2006, p. 47; Bråmå 2008). This is particularly important because the labour market represents an important sphere of social life. It provides the financial resource that is needed to acquire many of the goods and services that are useful in life. Additionally, participation in the labour market serves as a window of opportunity for migrants to meet new people and learn about the new society.

> *Working life represents the labour migrant's first and most substantial contact with the new society. In contrast to public arenas outside the context of work, the immigrant cannot remain completely anonymous at work, but is forced to integrate into the process of labour and is confronted with the rules and demands of fellow workers. Integration in the context of working life is of fundamental importance for immigrants' social opportunities in society. The workplace therefore represents the first and most important pathway to integration in other public arenas in society. Work is the primary point of departure for contacts, communication and friendship with the indigenous population, ramifying from working life out into other social contexts (Schierup & Ålund 1987, p. 91)*

Exclusion from work is therefore likely to contribute to exclusion in other spheres of social life. The question therefore is not whether or not migrants face problems of exclusion in Sweden, because this has been shown to be the case both in the past and at present. That is, both European and non-European migrants have faced problems of exclusion in Sweden.

The construction of otherness and its impact on exclusion

The construction of nations or other kinds of belongings produces otherness. National belonging is very important in this process because the nation-state and its sovereignty are the major reasons for strict regulation of cross-border migration in the 20th century. National cultures construct identities by producing meanings about the nation with which people can identify. These are contained in the stories which are told about it, memories which connect its present with its past, and images which are constructed of it (Hall 1992, p. 293). In the process of social construction, as explained by Stråth (2008), the 'essentialisation' of differences plays a central role. Sometimes this plays out in the form of generalisation of differences into negative categories and their attribution to whole groups (Delanty et al. 2008). We see this whole process playing out when undesired migrants at a particular point in time are portrayed as 'invaders' with distinctive but common negative characteristics, which threatens social cohesion in society. However, the construction of otherness can change over time, though often it is considered to be fixed and natural at a given time since it works through the logic of essentialising differences. The construction of otherness has material consequences which affect people directly. An example is the case of undesired migrants who are subjected to violence in the forms of detention and expulsion. The discursive construction of otherness can therefore be seen as (re)producing exclusion in society.

The discourse of immigration in the era of labour immigration constructed a Swedish identity which excluded labour migrants from other European states. The establishment of 'multiculturalism' as an official government policy in 1975, when migrants were predominantly European, indicates that

they were not perceived as members of the Swedish nation. The otherness of European migrants could also be seen in the exclusionary practices against them. Besides discrimination in their daily encounters with 'natives' (Slavnić 2009), they faced discrimination in the labour market and housing (Knocke 2000). The political and economic integration of European states today has helped to forge a sense of a common European belonging. The construction of a European identity (and belonging) also works through a logic that evokes and embraces the idea of a shared culture and history. Emphasis often is on Europe's heritage of classical Graeco-Roman civilisation, Christianity and the ideas of the Enlightenment (Stråth 2008). However, the construction of a unifying European identity depends on the construction of an outsider or 'other' (ibid). The presence of many migrants from outside Europe helps to fill this void, as they constitute the non-European other. Otherness in the context of a common European identity (and belonging) is defined through non-Europeans. The shifting forms of belonging from Swedish to European belonging indicate that the construction of otherness varies depending on who the self –against whom the other is constructed – is.

Another important aspect about the discursive construction of otherness is that there are often different and sometimes competing discourses. For example, while anti-immigration sentiments appear to be strong in media and political debates in Sweden, pro-immigration sentiments and support for refugees can be found among some segments of the Swedish population. The most notable are organisations and NGOs such as the Red Cross, Save the Children and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Sweden, which have openly protested and criticised deportations of migrants and the restrictive immigration/asylum policies in the country (Westin 2006, p. 9; Khosravi 2009, p. 41). However, the support for immigration and the plight of migrants by these organisations/NGOs appears to be overshadowed by the discourse that opposes and criminalises immigration. The reason to think so is the fact that asylum policies in Sweden have become more restrictive and deportation is more common than before (ibid). One can therefore argue that the discourse of anti-immigration and anti-refugee is dominant and the competing discourse that supports immigration and people seeking refuge in the country is marginal.

Ethical considerations

The Swedish Research Council has provided some ethical guidelines for research in the humanities and social sciences, which are generally reflective of ethical considerations in social science research manuals

(Vetenskapsrådet 2002). The research guidelines entitled 'Forskningsetiska principer: inom humanistisk-samhällsvetenskalig forskning' seek to ensure that social science research does not cause any harm to research participants. In a way, the guidelines provide standards for the relationship between the researcher and the research participants. The research guidelines by the Swedish Research Council are contained in four general points: informing research participants about the aims and objectives of the research (information requirement), ensuring that research participants have the right to determine their involvement in the research (informed consent), protecting the identity of research participants and making sure that no information is revealed that could be damaging to them (anonymity and confidentiality), and ensuring that data collected on individuals are used only for research purposes (protecting research participants from harm). These guidelines, which are also found in social science research manuals (see Lewis 2003; Ryen 2004), have been used to protect the research participants in this study.

A major research method in this study was participant observation, which required participation in some of the daily life activities of the research participants. Before undertaking observation, the participants were first informed about the study, its aims, and why I wanted to spend time with them. This information was disseminated to individuals before any interview. Copies of a letter from my supervisors describing the aim and objective of my study were also presented (issued) to research participants during our first meetings. They were also made to understand that participation was voluntary and that they were free to raise any concern or objection, especially during interviews. In many cases, several meetings were held with individuals before an interview was conducted. This gave them time to decide whether or not they wanted to participate in the study. They were also told in advance how long interviews were expected to last and in all cases they decided the date and venue for interviews. All steps of this procedure helped to ensure the principles of information requirement and informed consent.

In the presentation of data and analysis, measures were taken to ensure anonymity and confidentiality. The measures included using pseudonyms for the research participants and avoiding the use of comments or information that could reveal the identity of research participants. Absolute guarantee of confidentiality can be very difficult to ensure (ibid; Lewis 2003). For example, people in small communities (like the migrant communities under study) know almost everybody and what goes around in their community, making it quite easy for them to know some of the participants in the study. This limitation was made known to the research participants but

nevertheless some measures were taken to make their identity less obvious. Background information presented on research participants was deliberately made a bit vague and changes were made to some minor details to disguise identity. Finally, all the data collected have been used strictly for the purpose of research and have not been shared with another person or organisation.

Outline of the thesis

The structure of this thesis is guided by two systems of logic. The first is the interplay between theory and empirical analysis. Secondly, it is based on a process-oriented chronology, which begins with an analysis of the challenges faced by migrants and ends with a conclusion of how migrants are transformed. The thesis includes seven chapters.

The first chapter presented a general introduction of the thesis, ethical consideration and will in the following include a specification of the aim, justification of the study and stating of the research questions. Chapter two outlines the epistemological underpinning and theoretical framework of the thesis. The discussion on epistemology is focused on the constructivist (social constructivism) approach and examines the theories of conflict transformation, social exclusion and migration theories. The third chapter provides an ethnographic description of the research setting, people who participated in the study and a discussion on how the study was conducted. Here, attention is on the ethnographic method used, problems encountered in the field and data analysis. Chapters four to seven are the main empirical chapters. The fourth chapter begins with analysis of the encounters involving migrants which caused tensions. My objective here is to understand the challenges in the lives of migrants that arise from their interactions with 'natives' and with each other, analysing them from a conflict point of view. This approach helps to map out the kind of issues which migrants consider problematic to them and why they see them as problematic. The analysis examines some single case studies that involve migrants and 'natives' as well as migrants from the same national origin. Chapter five examines more of the challenges that migrants face but does so from a different perspective. Taking into consideration the unequal power relations between migrants and 'natives' and the structural constraints in society that affect them, the chapter looks at the effects of these structures on the material situation of migrants. Chapter six analyses everyday encounters between migrants and 'natives'. Since the preceding chapter examined the impact of structural and institutional factors on material deprivation, the focus of this chapter is on interactions at the micro level that have possible effects on the same problem. The attempt of the thesis is to integrate macro and micro analyses and show the relatedness of structural relationships and everyday practices.

Drawing from the previous chapters, chapter seven seeks to explore the ways in which migrants have been affected and transformed by the life in their new society – Sweden. The thesis ends with a conclusion.

Aim

Against this historical and societal background, the primary aim of this study is to describe and explain the kind of challenges which African migrants face in their local Swedish context. Furthermore, the aim is to find out if migrants undergo any significant transformation affecting their identities and/or ways of life. In the context of the encounter between migrants and 'natives' the two sides can be affected in ways that transform all of them, though in probably different ways. My interest, however, is on whether and how migrants are transformed through their experiences in the host country. The focus of this study is Africans from Cameroon and Somalia. Coming from Africa, these migrants are relative latecomers whose presence in Sweden became noticeable from around the late 1980s[5]. They also face similar tight migration control and anti-migrant sentiments in Sweden that target the 'new migrants' (refugees). All the same, Cameroon and Somalia show differences in their political history (economic development), and the circumstances under which people have migrated from the two countries to Sweden are very different.

Whereas nation-building in Cameroon after independence appeared to be less ambitious as the state supported (tacitly at first, then openly later on) regional, tribal and other more particularistic forms of identification (Mercer et al. 2008), the state in Somalia embraced a strong nationalist policy and nation-building project (Shehim & Searing 1980; Lewis 1991). This was well illustrated by the open desire and effort of the Somali governments, after independence, to unify all the territories in the Horn of Africa in which ethnic Somalis are the predominant population (ibid; Wolde-Mariam 1977). Public dissatisfaction with the state and economic underdevelopment has generated serious internal problems in the two countries. The problems deteriorated into a civil war in Somalia (not Cameroon), while tension between regions, tribes and different ethnic groups remain high in Cameroon (Eyoh 1998; Nyamnjoh & Rowlands 1998; Jua & Konings 2004;

[5] Official population statistics in Sweden show that a significant number of Africans started migrating to Sweden in the 1980s and the major sending countries are Ethiopia and Somalia (Sverige Statistiska centralbyrån 2009, pp 20 -21).

Pelican 2008). As a result of the civil war, many Somalis migrated to Sweden (and other countries) as refugees to escape the violence. In Cameroon, migration is motivated mainly by economic and educational considerations. Given the differences (and similarities) between Cameroon and Somalia, and the migration histories of migrants from the two countries, it is important to find out how these might affect the ways in which migrants from these countries experience their lives in Sweden and how they relate to each other and to 'native' Swedes.

Research questions

The following research questions provide a methodological guide to the data collection and analysis.

- What kind of challenges do migrants from Cameroon and Somalia face in Sweden? How do they resolve those issues?
- How do 'natives' in the local community and the government, through state institutions support/infringe the rights of migrants?
- What kinds of resources do migrants mobilise to solve the challenges that they face? What kind of solutions do they find?
- How do interactions between migrants and 'natives' and among migrants produce conflicts?
- How does the experience of migrants in Sweden transform them?
- In what ways are the experiences of conflicts and challenges in Sweden of Cameroonians and Somalis different/similar and why? Do they respond differently to those experiences and, if so, how can this be explained?

Justification of the study

Studies with exclusive focus on African migrants in Sweden are quite few, at least in the social sciences, and much of the studies have focused on African migrants as a homogeneous group or part of a broader category, such as people of African descent (Sawyer 2000; 2003; Pred 2004; Schmauch 2006). These studies have illuminated the difficulties and exclusionary practices which people of African descent face in Sweden. However, in analysing the challenges that are common among these migrants, the attempt has not been made to show internal differences between them. In an

endeavour to depart from this approach, this thesis is about migrants from specific African countries, that is, Cameroon and Somalia. While agreeing that people of African descent face similar challenges in Sweden, largely because society constructs them as a homogeneous 'other', differences of national origin can cause them to experience and deal with the problem in different ways.

Two major theoretical perspectives dominate studies on African (and other) migrants in Sweden. They are theories of discrimination and culturalism which represent migrants in ways that can suggest they are either victims or a problem. While theories of discrimination see the deprivation of migrants as the outcome of discrimination from the dominant society, theories of culturalism view the same problem as the outcome of socio-cultural constraints that are characteristic of migrants. To bolster the position of migrants as actors, the empirical analysis will start by looking at relations between migrants and 'natives' from a conflict perspective. This portrays migrants as actors who have some influence on their fate. The conflict perspective therefore represents a departure from common theoretical approaches used in studies on migrants in Sweden. It analyses the relationships among migrants and between migrants and 'natives' by trying to understand the goals which guide the interactions between them. It pays equal attention to all the actors in a situation and does not concentrate primarily on migrants as the 'objects' of actions by 'natives' or on 'natives' as the perpetrators discriminating against migrants. Rather, both migrants and 'natives' are understood as acting within social relations where different interests have to be negotiated. Theories of discrimination address the important issue of unequal structural power relations, which tend to be neglected in conflict theory. It is for this reason that the thesis also adopts some of the perspectives of theories of racism and discrimination. Together with conflict theory they could provide a deeper understanding of the complex problem constellations under study.

Chapter two. Theoretical underpinnings

This study is informed by different theoretical views, which aim to provide a better understanding of the subject matter. They form an integrated understanding and should be seen as complementary to one another. This chapter firstly presents the conceptual and analytical framework of the theories that are used; secondly, it examines the theoretical discussions informing the analysis. The aim here is to explain the meaning of key concepts, to outline their underlying assumptions, and highlight their relevance to the research questions. The theoretical discussions provide a framework for formulating the research questions and for the choice of methods. Theories that are used in the analysis of my empirical material will be presented in the process of the analysis itself.

General theories informing the study

On the epistemological and ontological levels, the study is largely influenced by constructivism. The underlying premise of constructivism is that knowledge (or meaning) is socially constructed.

> *Constructivists do not deny the existence of the material world. However, it is not the material world which conveys meaning: it is the language system or whatever system we are using to represent our concepts. It is social actors who use the conceptual systems of their culture and the linguistic and other representational systems to construct meaning, to make the world meaningful and to communicate about that world meaningfully to others (Hall 1997, p. 25).*

What this suggests is that knowledge is not something that is fixed or objective; rather, it is something that we negotiate. As to how knowledge is socially constructed, Hall explains that we use representational systems to construct meaning of the world around us. He defines representation as 'the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through *language*' (ibid, p. 17). The key words in this definition are *concepts* and *language*. A *concept* as used by Hall is what enables us to think about things. A concept is important because we can only think with the concept of things and not with the actual things. Language, on the other hand, is broadly defined to include any sound, word, image or object which is capable of carrying and expressing meaning. Representation thus is 'the link between concepts and language which enables us to refer to either the 'real' world of objects, people or events, or indeed to imaginary worlds of fictional objects, people and events' (ibid, p. 17).

Hall's theory of representation talks about systems of representation, which means there are different processes involved. He describes the first as a

system by which all sorts of objects, people and events are correlated with a set of concepts or mental representations. Without such a system, he argues that it would be difficult to interpret the world meaningfully. He explains that meaning depends on the system of concepts and images formed in our thoughts, which can stand for or 'represent' the world, thereby enabling us to refer to things both inside and outside our minds. According to his explanation, people need to share the same conceptual map, that is, build up a shared culture of meaning for them to be able to share their thoughts and express ideas about the world to each other. The other system of representation is language. He explains that a shared conceptual map must be translated into a common language so that we can correlate our concepts and ideas with certain written words, spoken sounds or visual images. As Hall explains, meaning does not pass transparently from one person to another because the relationship between a *sign* (language) and a referent (concept) is not clear-cut. Therefore, at times, meaning can slip and slide away into uncertainty. The way that people (with shared conceptual maps and language systems) know that a given *sign* refers to a particular concept, however, is by having access to shared *codes*. Code is what tells us which concept is being referred to when we hear or read a particular *sign* (ibid, p. 21). Codes stabilise meaning within different languages and cultures and make it possible for people who 'belong to the same culture' to pass meaning from one person to another effectively. What signifies (carries meaning) usually is not the thing in itself nor the concept or word for it. The constructivists argue that 'meaning depends on *the relation between* a sign and a concept which is fixed by a code' (ibid, p. 27). This highlights the importance of *relationality* in the meaning-making process.

The translatability of meaning from speaker to listener, according to Hall, is not given by nature; rather, it is the result of a set of social conventions, underlying the principle of constructivism that knowledge is socially constructed. In the words of Schwandt (2003, p. 305), '...constructivism means that human beings do not find or discover knowledge so much as we construct or make it'. Since *reality* is socially constructed, proponents of constructivism believe that the key to adequately understand a phenomenon is to view the phenomenon in its social context (ibid, p. 306).

In this study, the focus is on contentious relations between 'native' Swedes and migrants from the two African countries of Cameroon and Somalia and the marginalisation of these migrants in society. From the point of view of constructivism, one can see the establishment of exclusive social identities as a major factor that promotes tension and marginalisation in society. The constructivist approach can therefore hone our understanding of these issues by drawing attention to specific questions that are related to them (and to

the issue of identity). For example, how are migrants (and immigration) represented in Sweden? How do 'natives' and migrants from Africa experience each other and how do they narrate the experiences of their encounter (represent this experience)? How do competing forms of representation (by the dominant society and by migrants) influence relations between 'natives' and migrants? These questions together with the overall research questions presented in chapter one can help us understand the issues under considerations.

Constructivism uses critical analytical perspectives to deconstruct and show how dominant representations of *reality* (re)produce relations of inequality (Foucault 1981; Fairclough 2001). Foucault's theory evolves around what he conceptualises as 'discursive practices' and discourses. The creation of discourses, from Foucault's (1981, 1990) point of view, is a practice of representation (using language) as well as a spatial practice – arranging bodies in place, for instance. Foucault therefore speaks of 'discursive practices', intending to capture the multiple dimensions of practices. The production of discourse, as explained by Foucault (1981, p. 48), is governed by a set of rules, systems and procedures whose effect is to make it virtually impossible to think outside them. Those who try to think outside the dominant practice are defined as mad, as being beyond comprehension and therefore reason. These rules, systems and procedures, according to Foucault, comprise a discrete realm of discursive practices which he has coined in his inaugural speech as the 'order of discourse'. The 'order of discourse' is thus 'a conceptual terrain in which knowledge is formed and produced' (ibid, p. 48). The major contribution of Foucault's conceptual framework to the theory of representation is that discursive rules are linked to the exercise of power. In relation to the power of discourse, Foucault writes that:

> *In every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality (ibid, p. 52).*

The constructivist approach (and critical theoretical perspectives) can be used to provide an alternative view to the current representation of migrants from the Global South as problematic (cf. Norman 2004). It allows for discussions about the categorisation of migrants and the impact it has on the relations between the host society and different categories of migrants. This approach also gives room for self-criticism because it acknowledges that the researcher is not neutral either. The researcher's perception of the world has considerable influence on his/her analysis of a social phenomenon. Consequently, the outcome of his/her research finding can either legitimate

or challenge the dominant representation of the world. This represents an ethical problem which many researchers are faced with. However, the strength of social constructivism lies in its potential to presents an alternative view of the world. By drawing attention to the different forms of representation and unpacking the processes by which 'truths' are constructed and accepted as 'truth', it can develop a critical perspective on dominant views about the world. It thereby also allows researchers to situate themselves in relation to those 'truths'.

Specific theories used in the study

This study relies on some key theoretical concepts which provide a framework for the analysis. The discussion in this section looks at the key concepts that are used in the analysis. They include the theoretical concepts of conflict transformation, theories of exclusion and migration.

Social conflict

Conflict theories in general hold that contentious relations arise because of competing *interests* or *goals* between actors (Elwert 2001; Galtung 2004). Social conflict between migrants and 'native' Swedes is therefore comparable to other forms of conflict, which are driven by competition for scarce resources or the desire to dominate. In conflict theory, competition or *difference* (perceived or not) is a necessary condition for social conflict. I use the term 'conflict' in the same sense as Elwert (2001), who defines it as 'an action based upon the perception of [partially] incompatible *interests* or *intentions* between two or more persons' (p. 2542). He explains that both parties must not necessarily share this perception but that what is considered an interest (or intention) depends on the social context.

Conflict theory is a very broad perspective that represents different sub-fields. Aggestam (1999) identifies conflict resolution, conflict management and conflict transformation as three dominant perspectives in conflict studies. Although these perspectives share some ontological and epistemological assumptions, they represent different paradigms. Each presents a particular worldview and understanding of conflict, actor, strategy, change and how to resolve conflict. They represent divergent and contrasting analytical frameworks and highlight distinctive understandings of the origin and processes of conflict (ibid).

Conflict resolution implies that conflict is a short-term phenomenon that can be resolved. Conflict management, for its part, assumes that conflicts are long-term processes that often cannot be quickly resolved. However, the

notion of management suggests that people can be directed or controlled as though they were physical objects (Lederach 1995). Conflict management emphasises reduction or control of volatility as opposed to dealing with the actual source of the problem (ibid). In the above perspectives of conflict management and resolution, the general consensus is the conceptualisation of conflict as something that is negative. This negative view of conflict is expressed by the desire to control or resolve conflict. The discourse of immigration in general adheres to this perception of conflict as negative. Often, confrontations between migrants and members of the dominant society are viewed in this manner, and measures to address them usually aim at prevention, control or elimination of conflict. Such approaches fail to see the positive potential of conflicts: namely, that actors can learn something about each other, and that dealing with a conflict can improve not only the actors but also their relationships. Therefore, the conflict perspective that is adopted in this study is conflict transformation, which analyses the productive potential of conflicts. Below, I outline its underlying assumptions and its conceptual and analytical frameworks.

Conflict transformation

This perspective on conflict shares some epistemological assumptions with conflict resolution but diverges ontologically because of its emphasis on structures (for example, economic, patriarchal and religious) as causes of conflict (Aggestam 1999; Laderach 1995). Even though agency is highlighted as an important factor, conflict is generally considered to be an outcome of structural discrepancy between actual and potential states of being. Galtung's (2004) work, however, pays considerable attention to the subjective causes of conflict by looking at its micro causes.

Galtung begins with the assertion that conflict is an outcome of conflicting goals. Goals, in his view, refer to anything (positive or negative) to be pursued or avoided. Goals, as he explains, could be *basic needs*, which are different from other goals because they are essential to our very survival as human beings. On this basis, he holds that *basic needs* can neither be negotiated nor compromised. According to his analysis, conflict occurs because where there are goals there are contradictions. The underlying cause of conflicts, from Galtung's point of view, is that there are always people who try to question or attack the basic needs of other people. It is largely for this reason that the theory of conflict transformation considers conflict to be inevitable in all social relations.

As mentioned earlier, the distinguishing character of conflict transformation from the other concepts of conflicts is its focus on how it transforms rather

than on the elimination or control of conflict. Two kinds of transformation are envisioned depending on their sustainability. If the outcome of a conflict is sustainable the transformation is viewed in positive terms and vice versa (Laderach 1995). Galtung's analysis identifies different possible outcomes of a conflict, as shown in table 1.

Table 1. Possible outcomes of a conflict

Conflict outcome	*Remark*
Victory/defeat	One goal is realised, the other not. One party is a winner and the other is a loser. According to Galtung, this is unsustainable because acceptability and sustainability cannot last in a situation of winners and losers. The loser will always want to take revenge, harming/hurting the other party, while the winner easily acquires the very habit of wanting to win again. This outcome as explained by Galtung leaves room for continuous struggle.
Withdrawal/postponement	No goal is realised and both parties end up neither winners nor losers. In this situation, the parties involved try to ignore the problem because they might not be ready to face it. This is sometimes seen as a solution to some conflicts but in conflict transformation this is viewed as *negative* transcendence.
Compromise/negotiation	Both parties yield a little. A consensus is reached about an outcome that satisfies nobody. This too is an unsustainable outcome.

Transcendence/dialogue	Refers to positive transformation. This is the key to conflict transformation and requires a lot of creativity and imagination in order to create a new 'reality'. What transcendence does is transform the conflict into a form that is 'manageable'. It requires a modification of the goals (changing the very nature of the conflict) so that the conflict is viewed from a different perspective.

The outcome of conflict transformation could either be negative (a situation that produces more conflict) or positive (a situation that produces less conflict and is thus sustainable). The quality of transcendence in a conflict lies in its potential to transform the relationship that causes conflict from mutually destructive, unstable and harmful expressions toward a mutually beneficial and cooperative relationship (Laderach 1995).

The above perspective of conflict transformation, which is rooted in peace research and influenced by the Gandhian philosophy of non-violence, has been criticised as utopian. Georg Sørensen (1992) argues that there are contradictions built into the concept of peace:

> *Peace (development) becomes a utopian value in the sense that it is impossible to point to societies where miseries, violence, repression and alienation are absent and it is also difficult to devise strategies of peace/development leading to such societies (ibid, p. 137).*

In this analysis my interest is not in how to obtain some kind of peace where there is the absence of *violence*, as Sørensen highlights in his critique. Galtung clearly conceptualises conflict transformation as a transformation of a relation characterised by intense tension into one of moderate tension, which is seen as sustainable. What I find particularly interesting in his concept of conflict transformation is the attention that is placed on structural relations as the underlying causes of conflict. However, Galtung's theory of conflict transformation fails to address the issue of power relations between actors who are in conflict. By not addressing power relations between conflicting actors who occupy different structural social positions, Galtung's theory underestimates the problem of inequality and its impact on conflict relations and the process of *transcendence*. Galtung does not theorise the issue of structural inequality and power relations, which are part of the problem in conflict relations. To fill this lacuna, I turn to theories of inequality.

Immigration and social exclusion

Integration of migrants in society

Social exclusion in the forms of partial acceptance of minorities as second-class citizens or their complete rejection in society, as explained by Neergaard (2009), is a major problem for migrants. Most societies of immigration in the past recognised the exclusion of migrants but saw it as a short-term problem that would fade away if migrants adopted the cultural competence of the dominant society. This was typical of the USA with its 'melting pot' slogan grounded in the belief that all migrants were eager to shed their social and cultural heritage (Hirschman 1983; Portes & Stepic 1985). The dominant approach to problems of inequality affecting migrants in Sweden (and other European countries) adopted a similar position. The assimilation of migrants was seen as the only way that they could become full members of society (Runblom 1994; Blanck & Tydén 1995). Basically, *assimilation* refers to a process whereby individuals grow into a cultural community and gradually acquire the norms and values of that community to the point where the individual's values cannot be distinguished from those of the community (Brochmann 2003). Inherent in this view is the belief that migrants are a homogeneous whole and that the host society has a monolithic culture. The assimilation perspective also conceptualises the incorporation of migrants in a very predictable way: newly arrived migrants start at the bottom of society, doing menial jobs and also forming tightly knit communities of solidarity, and then gradually move into the mainstream society; a painful process that could be completed only after several generations (Portes & Stepick 1985).

The perspective of assimilation views the exclusion of migrants in society as a problem that arises because of their failure to acquire the technical skills and cultural competence required in that society. From this point of view, discrimination against migrants can be ignored. The perspective of assimilation can therefore contribute to the exclusion of migrants in society. Brochmann (2003) explains that the dominant view towards assimilation today is negative and that assimilation is widely seen as a strategy that was used against minorities in former times to force them into the lifestyle of mainstream society. In fact, critics of assimilation argue that it is intolerant to diversity and that it challenges the underlying principles of any democratic society (Parekh 2000).

As a result of the shortcomings of the assimilationist approach to the exclusion of migrants in Sweden (and in other countries), attention has shifted to the approach of *integration*, which has been conceptualised in

different ways. Bosswick and Heckmann (2006), for example, conceptualise integration as a learning and socialisation process. They define social integration as an interactive process between migrants and the host society through which the migrant is included and accepted into the core institutions, relationships and positions of that society (p. 11). They explain that integration for migrants means the process of learning a new culture, acquiring rights and obligations, gaining access to positions and social status, building personal relationships with members of the host society and forming a feeling of belonging to, and identification with, that society. For the host society, they explain that it means opening up institutions and granting equal opportunities to migrants; and that in this interaction, the host society has more power. We find in this notion of integration that the overall goal is for migrants to acquire the cultural skills of the dominant society and be able to participate properly in the dominant institutions. Though integration in this sense appears to be more respectful of the migrants' ways of life, it shares the same goals with the assimilationist approach. They both require migrants to adopt the norms and values of the dominant culture. Integration from this point of view is therefore open to the same shortcomings that are associated with the assimilationist approach.

A different conception of integration by Schierup and Ålund (1987) views the cultural background of migrants as a resource. They see integration as a process that occurs simultaneously on two different levels: the first being the level of development of migrant ethnic communities, which they refer to as internal integration; and the second being the level of integration of members of migrant ethnic communities into the dominant society. The basic theme of their conceptual framework and main argument in the study is that a high level of the internal integration of migrants can facilitate their integration into the larger society (ibid, p. 18). Their perspective of integration views the formation of migrants' ethnic communities as a resource and thereby rebuts any conception of migrants' ethnic communities as a problem. Integration, as explained by Schierup and Ålund, can be seen as a process of incorporating migrants in a way that creates a sense of belonging and loyalty (cf. Brochmann 2003, p. 27). The distinguishing character of this concept is the view that society is heterogeneous and that, by acquiring equal opportunities, different *groups* – cultural, ethnic, class, and so forth – can be woven into society. However, there are several processes within the broader society that pose a hindrance to the process of integration, one of these being the 'racialisation' of migrants.

Racialisation of migrants

The concept of racialisation as explained by Miles (1989, 1993) is a process whereby existing or ascribed somatic characteristics, such as skin colour and other phenotype features of minorities, are attributed with specific negative character traits, thereby constructing them as 'different by nature'. Such constructions serve as a basis to legitimate exclusion and domination. As Miles argues, by representing a collective as inferior by nature, the 'Self' is represented as the opposite, that is, as superior. Through this process of representation people are placed in distinctive social categories, which are ranked on a vertical scale. He defines this process as racialisation, i.e. as a process in which socially acquired or presumed differences are naturalised, thus constructing specific groups as 'races'. According to Miles, not only the social groups but also the practices in which they participate and the structures/institutions that result from them become racialised in the process. He conceptualises racialisation as a dynamic process, the specific features of which differ according to the particular (historical) context within which it takes place. Following Stuart Hall, he asserts that:

> *...in certain historical conjunctures and under specific material conditions, human beings attribute certain biological characteristics with meaning in order to differentiate, to exclude and to dominate: reproducing the idea of 'race', they create a racialised other and simultaneously they racialise themselves (ibid, p44).*

Bonilla-Silva (1997) speaks of a racialised social system. He describes this as a social system in which relations are partially structured at the economic, political, social and ideological levels by placing actors in racial categories, which are organised on a hierarchical scale. He notes further that a racialised social system is only partially structured by *race* because modern social systems articulate two or more forms of hierarchical patterns. According to him, once social categories have been racialised the process acquires some autonomy and conceals the fact that racialisation is embedded in other structurations. The hierarchical nature of a racialised social system, as he explains, produces specific social relations between the racial categories. Those on top of the hierarchy have power and control over those below in all spheres of social relations and use this to their advantage. The totality of these racialised social relations (and practices) is what he refers to as the racial structure of society. Miles (1989, 1993) and Bonilla-Silva (1997) conceptualise racialisation as a process that excludes a minority population through a mechanism of categorisation, using assumed or existing somatic and phenotypical characteristics that are transformed into signs representing them as an inferior Other.

Pred (2000) in an influential study on migrants and people with a non-European background and Muslims in Sweden views the exclusion of migrants on the basis of cultural difference as an outcome of racialisation or racism

> *Cultural racism – wherein negative ethnic stereotyping leads to racist effects, to discrimination and segregation, to marginalization and exclusion; wherein skin pigment, hair color, and other bodily markers are unreflectedly translated into highly charged cultural markers; wherein outward biological difference and cultural difference become automatically (con)fused with each other and entire groups thereby racialized is, practically and discursively, now clearly the most prevalent form of racism in Sweden (Pred 2000, p. 66).*

Pred explains that the subordination of non-Europeans and Muslims in Sweden today is a reworking of historically sedimented practices of racialisation. He argues that the rise of nationalism in Europe around the 18th century coincided with the development of narratives about a homogeneous European identity, and that this notion of a homogeneous European identity laid the ground for racialisation of those considered non-European. Further, he views racialisation today as not just a continuation of racialisation in the past but a response to capitalism's developments and globalising effects that have brought hardship and many uncertainties. Pred considers structural changes in the economy, and political transformations in Sweden and abroad, to be causing changes and anxieties which are sometimes attributed to the presence of the newly arrived non-European migrants. Another study (Schmauch 2006) explores historical relations between Swedes and Africans and comes to similar conclusions. Schmauch argues that historically Africans were represented as an inferior 'Other' in the dominant Swedish (and European) discourse and that relations between Swedes and Africans were hierarchical, one indicator of this being Sweden's involvement in colonising Africa and in the transatlantic slave trade (see also Pred 2004).

The above concept of racialisation highlights the potential for conflicts in the relations between migrants from Africa and 'native' Swedes. It points at some of the differences, perceived or real, and the possibilities for domination based on the way in which assumed or existing differences are constructed. Racialisation, as explained above, is largely driven by the desire to subdue and dominate. However, those subject to a regime of racial domination can resist this system and fight back in different ways (Miles 1989). Another body of literature deals not only with the way in which migrants and other minorities are constructed, but also with the perceptions of migration as a process.

Theories of migration and the construction of migrants

The way migration is conceptualised as well as the way it is viewed impacts on the lives of migrants depending on whether they are viewed as a resource or a liability. In this final part of chapter two, I look at the different ways in which migration is conceptualised and I also indicate some of the limitations of theories that make a distinction between different migration flows, often by associating different migration flows with specific causes and patterns.

Migration studies are primarily concerned with population movement and their outcomes. Questions about causes, patterns of movement, composition and integration among others usually form the basis of inquiry in migration studies. Trying to answer these questions, social scientists have developed different theories to explain why people migrate. Below I examine two theoretical approaches which dominate migration studies today

Economic view

This approach views population movement as a phenomenon that is driven by economic needs. It has been used to explain the mass migration from Europe to the United States in the 19th century (Hatton & Williamson 1994; Hatton 1995) and post-war inter-European migration (Rose 1969; Salt & Clout 1976). This view holds that the prospects of better economic opportunities encourage people to move from poorer to richer economies. Often, a number of other factors – political repression, adventure, social and cultural ties and so forth – are taken into consideration but economic motivation is seen as the overriding force.

In their theory, Hatton and Williamson (2002) express the economic motivation of migration as a ratio of the individual's economic earnings in the destination country to his/her earnings in the country of origin (including the economic costs of migration). They argue that people turn to migration if there is an economic advantage in doing so. However, given this economic advantage, there are also factors restricting or facilitating migration: age, selection based on skills, social networks of migrants in the receiving country and restrictive policies that place quotas on different sending countries. In the first case, they explain that migration declines with increasing age; that the older one gets, the more the time that could be spent working is reduced, and that this raises the costs of migration. Next, they explain that when receiving countries have a preference for skills, migration will increase with a growth in skill level among potential migrants and vice versa. The argument regarding the social network effect is that migration will increase if a large migrant community is already present in a host country

because it can provide both social and economic assistance to new migrants. Finally, they explain that restrictive polices like quota programmes reduce immigration because they increase the costs. This happens, for example, through increased competition for available places. The conclusion is that high migration costs, imposed by policy or otherwise, negatively affect the movements of potential migrants from poor countries while low migration cost has the opposite effect.

This focus on the economic dimension of migration has its conceptual merits but it also distorts the complexities of migration. The idea that population movement is driven by employment opportunities and higher wages at the receiving end is too simplistic because it presupposes that job vacancies and higher wages in the host country cause immigration. Evidence from past migration suggests a rather more complex picture. There is no doubt that employment opportunity has a bearing on migration but this opportunity does not necessarily present itself in the form of readymade jobs with higher salaries. Self-employment is higher among the foreign-born than among "natives" in many countries (Borjas 1986; van Tubergen 2005; Aldrich & Waldinger 1990)**,** which means that migrants are not just getting available jobs but creating them as well.

Second, the economic focus disregards the social, political and ecological factors that influence migration. By doing so, it attempts to place an economic value on all the forces behind migration. While restrictive measures such as quotas and preference to certain skills may have an economic impact, this does not mean that their implementation is motivated merely by economic considerations. Some migration policies are explicitly racist because they grant no quota or skill preference to potential migrants but instead restrict entrance on the basis of their country of origin. For instance, the US Immigration Act of 1924 barred movement for citizens of Japan, China and many other countries (Ngai 1999). Potential migrants from these countries could not make the journey to the USA simply because of their national background, and it did not matter if they had enough money to cover the migration cost or if they had the skills required. Their inherited background, something which they could neither discard nor replace, disqualified their eligibility to migrate to the USA. The 1924 Act represents a glaring example of migration constraints that are not taken into consideration by Hatton's and Williamson's economic theory of migration and migration policies.

The notion of forced migration

The second approach sees migration as a response to life-threatening events that pushes people to flee. In other words, it conceptualises migration as a 'forced' or 'involuntary' phenomenon (Wood 1994; Shreuder 1996; Castles 2003; Turton 2003). By defining migration in this way, a dichotomy is established between 'forced' and 'free' or 'involuntary' and 'voluntary' movement. This differentiation appears to be so important that some scholars have suggested that 'forced' migration should be treated under a separate sub-field in sociology – 'the sociology of forced migration'. Stephen Castles contends that this sub-field should have its own theoretical framework, topics of study and methodological principles. Wood (1994) shares the same view in his theory of 'forced' migration. His argument is that countries with demographic pressures today are plagued by life-threatening crises like violent conflict, environmental hazards, dictatorship and extreme poverty, which push people to flee.

The concept of forced migration and the distinction between 'forced' and 'free' or 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' migration has been criticised. After exploring both macro and micro processes of migration, Richmond (1988) concludes that the majority of population movements today are a complex response to the reality of a global society in which ethno-religious, social, economic and political determinants are inextricably bound together. All human behaviour is constrained (and enabled) and our freedom of choice is always limited in relation to the circumstances at hand. From this point of view, Richmond views migration as *proactive* or *reactive*, depending on the degree of autonomy of the actors involved. He represents this degree of autonomy on a continuum from maximum to minimum, which represents *proactive* and *reactive* migrants respectively. His classification of migrants on the basis of their degree of autonomy challenges the notion of helpless migrants that is generally assumed in the concept of 'forced' migration.

Concluding remarks

From the perspective of constructivism, we can say that our representation of a phenomenon like immigration has direct material consequences. If immigration, for example, is perceived as a resource, it is very likely to get public approval and support. On the other hand, if it is seen as a threat to job security and social cohesion of the 'native' population, it is likely to face opposition and generate strong anti-migrant sentiments (Abiri 2000, Norman 2004). The way that researchers conceptualise the issue of immigration also affects the dominant perception of migrants in society. For example, the notion of labour immigration can promote a positive view

about migrants during periods of labour shortages. By drawing attention to the material consequences of representation, the constructivist approach highlights the importance for a critical analysis of discursive practices.

Chapter three. Doing ethnography in Malmö

This chapter provides general background information of the research setting and the people under study. It also presents a discussion of how the study was conducted with particular attention on the research methods, data analysis and research problems. The chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section presents a description of the city of Malmö where the study was conducted. The second is a presentation of the research subjects and the final section deals with how the study was conducted.

Setting

Located in the southern part of Sweden, near the border with Denmark, Malmö is the third-largest city in Sweden. According to a report by Elisabeth Pålsson (2007), published by Malmö stad (Malmö City Council), the city's population in the beginning of 2007 stood at 276 000. Approximately 37 percent of the population is of migrant descent and 24 percent foreign born (ibid; Broomé et al 2007a, p. 20). The migrant population in the city comes from 171 different countries, with the largest migrant groups originating from the former Yugoslavia, Poland, Iraq, Denmark, Lebanon, Hungary, Finland, Rumania, Chile, Germany and Somalia in descending order of size (ibid). The city is divided into ten major districts (with many sub-districts), as shown in the map in figure 1.

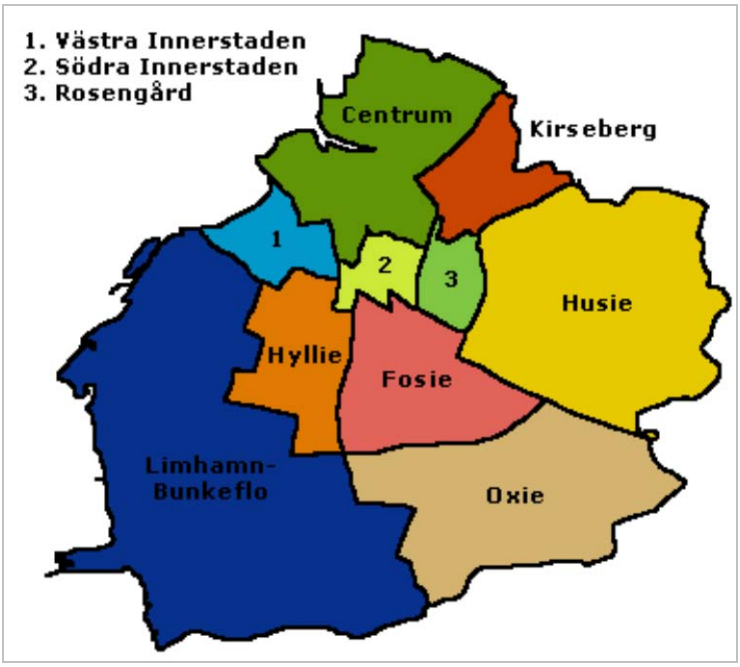

Figure 1. Malmö stadsdelar (Malmö's districts). Source: Wikipedia[6], 16/10/2005. See also Pålsson (2007).

Malmö has a history as an industrial harbour city with a strong working-class base. The city's industry-based economy gradually transformed into service and information-related businesses during the second half of the 1900s (Castro & Lindbladh 2004; Broomé et al 2007a). International labour immigration before the 1970s and refugee immigration thereafter, as in other parts of Sweden (and Western Europe), also transformed the city by increasing its ethnic (and cultural) diversity. Malmö today can therefore be said to be a culturally diverse and post-industrial city[7]. Even though this description of Malmö connotes a specific image and therefore a uniform picture, there are marked differences between different parts of the city. Analyses of the city's population, for example, indicate that most people who are economically stable and those who are not live in different districts (Malmö Stad 2006). Using several indicators such as levels of education, employment, income and living space as an index of the welfare situation of the city's ten districts, the report has ranked them in order of the living standard of their residents. Starting with the district that has the best welfare

[6] Online link: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Tsujigiri_-_Malmo_stadsdelar.png [Accessed on 15th January 2011]

[7] The city council of Malmö also represents the city as culturally diverse. MALMÖ STAD, 'Malmö – a city in transition'. online. URL http://www.malmo.se/english [accessed on 3rd January 2011]

indications – i.e. highest employment and income, and living in the least overcrowded situation – to the one with the worst welfare indications, the ranking is as follows: Västra Innerstaden, Limhamn-Bunkeflo, Husie, Oxie, Centrum, Hyllie, Kirseberg, Södra Innerstaden, Fosie, Rosengård. This ranking, which shows how the city is segregated in terms of social class, is also reflective of the uneven distribution of the migrant population in the city. Statistics of the number of migrants and people who have a migrant background shows that the proportion of migrants and people with a migrant background in the population increases from Västra Innersaden to Rosengård (Pålsson 2007). Table 2 gives a clearer picture of the distribution of migrants across the ten districts of Malmö.

Table 2. Malmö population breakdown by districts

Districts	Total population	Population with migrant background	
		numbers	percentage
Västra Innerstaden	31 264	4 302	14
Limhamn-Bunkeflo	35 254	5 338	15
Husie	18 363	4 028	22
Oxie	11 045	2 718	25
Centrum	39 446	11 573	29
Kirseberg	14 028	4 658	33
Hyllie	30 828	11 412	37
Södra Innerstaden	32 528	13 808	42
Fosie	39 925	21 565	54
Rosengård	21 955	18 845	86
Malmö total	276 244	99 236	36

Source: Elisabeth Pålsson 2007

A look inside the official Malmö tourist office brochure or website shows the 'must-see' and important places in the city[8]. The images also indirectly highlight the disparity between the affluent and the deprived areas of Malmö as it shows a concentration of the famous places in the former. Amongst the close to 25 different tourist sites on the official tourist brochure are places like Västra hamnen, located in the district of Centrum.

Figure 2. Västra hamnen (The Western Harbour). Source: Malmö Tourism

Next to this picture is the following description of Västra hamnen:

> *Malmö's new city district attracts people with its exciting architecture, lovely beach promenades and green spaces and a fabulous view over Öresund. An award-winning ecological housing area finished in 2001 for the major European housing expo Bo01 is found here. The buildings were designed by several internationally renowned architects including Gert Wingårdh, Ralph Erskine and Mario Campi. The neighbourhood is home to a wide variety of flora and fauna. Water is also a vital element of the environment, expressed in canals, ponds, small-craft marinas and swimming beaches. The Western Harbour was once an industrial area where Kockum's world-famous shipyard operated, now replaced by Malmö University and companies in the IT and telecommunications industries. The Malmö Exhibition & Convention Centre is located in the former Saab factory. The dance company Skånes*

[8] Malmö tourism, 'Attractions – sightseeing.' Online URL http://www.malmotown.com/en/list/attractions-sightseeing?page=1 [accessed on January 4th 2011]

Dansteater is based in one of the vaulted halls, Båghallarna, and an exciting, specially designed concrete skateboarding arena has been constructed around one of the old ship ramps.

The Western Harbour is home to the Turning Torso – a landmark in Malmö that is hard to miss. With a height of 190 meters (623 feet) and 54 storeys, the Turning Torso upon completion in 2005 was considered the tallest building in Scandinavia and the tallest residential building in the EU. Certainly, the Western Harbour is an affluent district and home to a large middle-class population. Another 'must-see' area is Möllevången, which is located in the district of Södra Innerstaden.

Figure 3. Möllevångstorget. Source: Malmö Toursim

The most colourful district in Malmö. The market trade is lively here and the shops and restaurants have roots all over the world. Möllevången was the first planned, large-scale working-class neighbourhood in Malmö and the result of the growing industrial city in the late 19th century. The labour movement gained tremendous influence here. The workers' newspaper Arbetet and the cooperative association Solidar were founded in Möllevången, which was also the site of the first Folkets Park ('Community Park') in Sweden.

In relation to figure 2., the picture in figure 3 represents a different side of Malmö. The buildings are older and the scenery is quite different. The flower-shop on the square connotes an image of beauty, which seems to fit quite well with the description of Möllevången as colourful. Associating this beauty with the presence of shops and restaurants, whose roots stretch all over the world, can be seen as a celebration of cultural diversity.

Many Malmö inhabitants would likely notice from the list of 'must-see' places in Malmö that they are not evenly distributed across the city. The places are concentrated around the northwest and western parts of the city. This means that some entire districts have very little or nothing to attract visitors. One such district in Malmö is Rosengård, which lies next to Södra Innerstaden, the southern centre of the city. In fact, nothing in Rosengård is on Malmö's city tourist office list of 'must-see' places in the city. In spite of this, Rosengård is perhaps the best-known place in Malmö apart from the Turning Torso – though it is not known as an attraction but as a 'problem' area. Negative publicity of Rosengård in the local and national media has earned it a place on the list of 'no-go' districts in Sweden.

Figure 4. Rosengård. Source: Malmö Stad (2010) 'Fakta om Stadsdelen Rosengård'

Of Rosengård, Malmö Tourism says very little. A section on Malmö Tourism's homepage about the history of the city mentions Rosengård briefly.:

> *Following World War II, the lack of housing was greater than ever and work was begun on what are known as neighbourhood units, or new towns, such as Mellanheden and Augustenborg. In the 1960s, these neighbourhood units increased in scale under the Million Programme, a Swedish housing project that aimed to build one million new homes over a ten-year period. Rosengård, Holma and Kroksbäck are examples of this type of housing project.*

The laconic statement about Rosengård in this excerpt opens a window into a better understanding of the district. Here, it should be noted that the 'Million Programme' project in Sweden was a socially engineered housing programme by the Swedish government aimed at addressing severe housing shortages around the country. The houses under the project were constructed for mostly working-class industrial labourers (Andersson 1998, 1999). From figure 4, it can be seen that Million Programme houses are mostly characterised by high-rise buildings, but closer examination indicates that they are composed of small flats suitable for singles or small families (ibid). In addition to this, the Million Programme houses have been described as having a lack of focus on outdoor living facilities and no division of public, semi-public and private space (Fayolle 2008, pp. 59-60). Rosengård, as already indicated, has the lowest living standard and highest concentration of people with a migrant background compared to the other districts of Malmö. Also, Rosengård's migrant population comes from many different countries, which makes the ethnic mix very diverse. In 2007 the inhabitants of Rosengård could be identified from 119 different countries (Pålsson 2007).

While Västra hamnen and Möllevången can boast some thriving businesses, the district of Rosengård does not appear to have a flourishing economy, nor as much to offer as some of the other districts. This and other disadvantaged conditions in Rosengård like poor housing-planning present a rather bleak image of the district. The high migrant concentration adds to this image because in the public imagination a large migrant population signals 'problem'. A clear indication of this is the dominant view about cultural diversity. In the description of Möllevågen, the place was described as the most colourful district in Malmö, with shops and businesses that have roots all over the world. If having roots all over the world makes a place colourful, then Rosengård – whose inhabitants have roots in 119 different countries – would be another good example of a colourful district. It makes no sense that Möllevågen is seen as colourful (or mixed) while Rosengård is not seen as such. Instead, Rosengård is represented in the media and public debates as homogeneously 'migrant' or Muslim and a 'problem' district (Ristilammi 1994; Ures 2009).

One reason why a place like Rosengård, with people from so many different national backgrounds, is seen as homogeneous has been provided in a study on migrants in the densely populated migrant district of Tensta, Stockholm. In her analysis, Räthzel (2005) explained that it is not the variety of cultures as such that earn the labels 'mixed' or 'varied'. Rather, it is the presence of 'natives' that makes of a supposedly homogeneous migrant area a diverse and lively area. From this point of view, it appears that only when migrants

live side by side to 'natives' can their presence be seen as colourful. Otherwise they are seen as 'segregated' and 'problematic', even if the migrant population in question consists of people from more than 100 different countries, as in the case of Rosengård.

The images of these different districts reflect the uneven distribution of resources in different parts of Malmö. Talking about the disparity between different parts of Malmö, Anja van Heelsum in a report published by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (2008, p.8) writes:

> *Today Malmö must be described as ethnically and socio-economically segregated, with middle-class neighbourhoods in the west and working-class neighbourhoods in the south and east. Unemployment rates, crime rates and the number of households in need of social benefits correlate as usual very closely with this pattern.*

However, this picture of Malmö as divided into two sections, with one rich in resources and the other deprived, is too simplistic a view of the city. Though some parts of the city are extremely affluent while others are deprived of important resources, much of the city can be said to be in between these extremes. In most parts of the city, affluence and deprivation can be seen in close proximity to each other. A description of the district of Fosie, which is in the south of Malmö, highlights just this point:

> *Fosie shows a distinct socio-economic and socio-cultural segregation pattern (Stigendal, 1997). The poor neighbourhoods consist primarily of tenancy-right housing projects, whereas the richer neighbourhoods are characterised by plain ownership of detached houses. The ethnic segregation (Swedes/non-Swedes) follows the same geographical pattern. Although there may be a geographical proximity between different kinds of neighbourhoods, the boundaries between the sites are delineated physically, either by a road, a bicycle path, or a lawn (Castro & Lindbladh 2004, p. 263).*

The fact that just a road, bicycle path or lawn can be the boundary between some affluent and deprived neighbourhoods in Malmö indicates that the rich and poor in some parts of the city live in close proximity. Another important factor that connects different parts of Malmö is the good network of public transportation that links all parts of the city. Rosengård, which is considered the most deprived district in the city, has three major bus stops, with buses that go regularly through the central train station and other major bus stations. This makes transportation from Rosengård to any part of the city very easy, connecting the most deprived district to the rest of the city.

Migrants under study

The majority of migrants in Sweden are from Europe and Asia (see table 3 below). Statistics of the migrant population in Malmö reflect the national situation: 61 percent of migrants in the city are from Europe, 29 percent from Asia, 4 percent from Africa, another 4 percent from South America and 1 percent from North America (Pålsson 2007). In addition to constituting only a tiny fraction of the total migrant population in Malmö, migrants from Africa are relatively late arrivals. They started coming to Sweden in significant numbers around the second half of the 1980s (see Westin 2006; Statistiska centralbyrån 2009, pp. 20-21).

Table 3. Immigrant population in Sweden by country of birth 1980-2008

Country (region) of birth	Year			
	1980	1990	2000	2008
Nordic region excl. Sweden	341 253	319 082	279 631	269 681
EU27 excl. Nordic region	151 349	175 679	187 883	247 346
Europe excl. EU27 and Nordic region	54 402	71 167	174 482	211 793
Africa	10 025	27 343	55 138	90 733
North America	14 484	19 087	24 312	28 750
South America	17 206	44 230	50 853	60 878
Asia	30 351	124 447	220 677	361 333
Oceania	962	1 866	2 981	3 957

Source: Statistiska centralbyrån, Tabeller över Sveriges befolkning 2008 (2009)

They migrated predominantly from countries such as Ethiopia, Morocco and Egypt (Statistiska centralbyrån 2009, pp. 20-21). In the 1990s immigration increased from other African countries, e.g. Algeria, Gambia, Somalia, Tunisia and Uganda (ibid). A breakdown of the statistics on African migrants according to country of birth in 2007 indicates the countries with the largest migrant populations as follows: Somalia 21 500, Ethiopia 11 700, Eritrea 6 700 and Morocco 6 200 (ibid). Increased migration from Africa to Sweden in the 1990s coincided with the wave of political instability, civil wars and droughts that affected many countries in the continent. The African Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa in the east, Algeria in the north, Liberia and Sierra Leone in the west and Angola in the south were affected by serious armed conflicts in the 1990s. With many armed conflicts across the continent in the 1990s, migration out of Africa increased. These crises were also the grounds on which they were admitted in Sweden as refugees (see Westin 2006).

Somali migrants

With Somalia completely disintegrated by a civil war that is still raging on in some parts of the country, Somalis have migrated to Sweden (and other countries) primarily to seek refuge. Somali migrants, like other migrants, are spread all over Sweden. The spread of migrants throughout the country has been credited to a refugee reception strategy that was launched in 1985. Known as the 'Sweden-wide' or 'All of Sweden' strategy, one explicit aim of the policy was to direct new migrants to settle away from the major cities, which were already experiencing migrant concentrations regarded as high, raising unemployment among migrants and sharpening ethnic spatial segregation, as some researchers argued (Andersson 1998, pp. 399-400). This policy, from Andersson's point of view, has made almost every single locality in Sweden more 'multicultural'. He also acknowledges that the policy was not fully successful because it resulted in extensive secondary migration from small and rural municipalities to larger cities and metropolitan areas, where many newly arrived refugees have had to cluster in some of the traditionally poor neighbourhoods. In the beginning of 2007 there were 3 366 migrants born in Africa living in Malmö (Pålsson 2007). Out of this number, 950 of the migrants were from Somalia, with men and women making up around 50 percent each (ibid).

The highest concentration of Somali migrants in Malmö is in the district of Rosengård, which is home to 350 Somalis. Given that the district has 21 955 inhabitants (ibid), Somalis make up just a small fraction of the total population. Other districts where Somalis live are Innerstaden and Fosie, with 245 and 179 Somali residents respectively (ibid). A notable Somali

presence in Malmö has also been identified in the neighbourhood of Holma, Hyllie (Andersson et al. 2003). My rather simplistic view of Malmö, when I first arrived in the city, that deprivation was concentrated on one side of the city (or in specific districts) and affluence on the opposite side made me think that people who lived out of Rosengård, Fosie and Södra Innerstaden were necessarily living in a district that was more affluent and less stigmatised. It was because of this picture of Malmö that when one of my Somali respondents told me that she lived in Holma, my first assumption was that this must be a 'good' neighbourhood. My discussion with the respondent indicated that my assumption was wrong. When I asked if she had lived in a place like Rosengård before, she paused for a moment before saying that Holma was like Rosengård. She went on to explain that there were many migrants in Holma. Subsequently, when I visited Holma, it was clear that the houses there resemble the ones in Rosengård. The neighbourhood, which is also a product of the Million Programme, is considered to be among the most segregated and troubled neighbourhoods in Malmö (ibid, p. 39). Andersson et al. note that the district of Hyllie in general is socially and ethnically mixed – with a proportion of foreign-born that is reflective of the average situation in Malmö. They also point out that some (sub) districts of Hyllie appear to be affluent with nice houses while others like Holma, Kroksbäck and Bellevuegården are deprived and have higher migrant concentrations (ibid). This indicates that while Hyllie as a whole is socially and ethnically mixed, the neighbourhoods in the districts are segregated along markers of social class and ethnicity.

Cameroonian migrants

As for Cameroonian migrants in Sweden, their number in relation to people from Africa is quite small and the majority of them migrated to Sweden during the last decade. Official statistics indicate that the number of Cameroonian migrants in Sweden (that is, people born in Cameroon) in 2008 was approximately 1 000 (Statistiska centralbyrån 2009). Compared to Somali migrants, they can be seen as a very small group, and late arrivals. A major characteristic of migrants from Cameroon is that many of them migrated to Sweden to study as so-called 'free-movers'. The countries in Africa which send the highest number of students to Sweden are Nigeria and Cameroon. See table 4, which shows the African countries with the largest student populations in Sweden.

Strict regulation of migration from Africa (and other parts of the world) to Europe and North America makes it difficult for labour and other categories of potential migrants from Africa to travel to their desired destinations. Although many restrictions have been placed on refugee immigration since

Table 4. Students from abroad in Swedish higher education for first time, academic years 2004/05 to 2008/09 by geographical area and country

Geographical area/Country	Year				
	2004/05	2005/06	2006/07	2007/08	2008/09
Africa	565	726	524	623	662
Ethiopia	23	23	25	64	94
Cameroon	144	120	63	133	118
Nigeria	113	237	184	99	119
South Africa	69	57	69	57	54

Source: Enequist and Gärdqvist (2010)

NB: Statistics on students with a foreign background in higher education show Ethiopia and Somalia among the African countries with the highest enrolment (Lindqvist & Gärdqvist 2008). The difference here is that foreign background includes people born in Sweden with at least one parent from abroad (and naturalised migrants).

the 1980s, as was indicated earlier, refugee migration remains the major form of migration from many countries in the Global South to Sweden and other European countries. Owing to tighter restrictions on refugee migration, it is very difficult to migrate as a refugee from a country like Cameroon that is seen as fairly stable and peaceful. It is therefore not surprising that many Cameroonians who migrate to Sweden do so as students. However, there are indications that some people in Cameroon try to migrate to Sweden (and other countries) using fake student qualifications. The University of Buea, Cameroon in 2007 published a list of 113 names of individuals with forged transcripts and attestations allegedly from the university who applied to study in Sweden, other European and North American countries[9]. It is difficult to know from the statistics about different categories of migrants why people migrate. Reflectig on why people migrate, Böcker and Havinga (1998) reject the dichotomy between labour migrants and refugees/asylum seekers. They argue that, when no possibility exists for admittance as labour migrant, potential labour migrants might apply for asylum in order to circumvent the normal immigration procedures and

[9] The PostOnline (Cameroon), 'UB uncovers 113 forged certificates'. Online. URL http://www.postnewsline.com/2007/10/ub-uncovers-113.html [accessed on 10th January 2011]

become a legal part of the labour force. From this point of view it can be said that the classification of migrants into different categories can be misleading.

The discussion in this section is therefore not meant to characterise Somali migrants as refugees and Cameroonians as students, especially given the stigma that is associated with refugee immigration. Such a characterisation would ignore the facts that some Somalis in Sweden today migrated as students before the Somali civil war started, and that even after the civil war some of them came to Sweden as students. Also, such a distinction could undermine the fact that some Cameroonians in Sweden came as asylum seekers. What the discussion about refugee and student migration does here is simply to point out the varying circumstances under which Cameroonians and Somalis migrated to Sweden and the kind of official status accorded to them. This is important because the official categorisation of migrants as refugees, students and so on has legal ramifications and therefore material consequences. For example, an accepted refugee is allowed to stay indefinitely while a student has a short-term residence permit.

Statistics from Malmö (Pålsson 2007, p.6) indicate that the number of migrants born in Cameroon in 2007 was 52. The district with the highest number of Cameroonians is Centrum with 22 of them (ibid). Centrum, which is the district with many of the student housings in Malmö, seems like the ideal place for students. Many of the Cameroonians in this district live in the student housings, notably in the neighbourhood of Värnhem. Part of the Cameroonian population in Malmö is spread out in different parts of the city with dense or moderate migrant populations.

Conducting fieldwork

Data for this study was obtained from fieldwork conducted in Malmö. The fieldwork lasted for six months and was carried out in two phases. Phase one ran from November 2007 to February 2008 and phase two was carried out from May to June 2008. Malmö was chosen largely because of its high migrant concentration. This means Stockholm and Gothenburg, which also have high migrant concentrations, could have been chosen. As a matter of fact, these cities were under consideration and Stockholm was actually my first choice because it is closest to Umeå, where I study, and I had lived in Stockholm for a semester. Other factors, such as getting reliable contact persons in the field prior to the commencement of the fieldwork, influenced the choice of Malmö. Early consultations with colleagues and friends were helpful because through them more contacts were made. In addition to making this more practical preparation, a review of the literature on immigration in Sweden and migrants in Malmö was conducted and

background information about the city of Malmö was obtained. The aim was to develop some basic ideas about the context in which those who were to be the subject of the study lived.

The fieldwork utilised semi-structured interviews and participant observations as the primary sources of data (see Whyte 1993). Use of these methods is aimed at developing close familiarity with the people under study (ibid). To achieve this aim, I interacted closely with the Cameroonian and Somali groups I wanted to study. I chose to live in Rosengård, which has the largest population of Somali migrants in Malmö. To get an even closer understanding of the people under study, I shared a flat with two other Cameroonians in Rosengård. The flat, which had a bedroom and a living room, was overcrowded with three occupants. However, as became evident from my observations and interviews later on, this was typical of the living conditions of many migrants in Rosengård and other deprived residential areas in Malmö. Living in Rosengård in such an overcrowded condition was a choice I made although there were possibilities to get more decent housing through contacts at the university – although this did not seem to be the case for my flatmates and many of the other migrants who live in similar conditions, as shall be seen in chapter five. This particular experience therefore provided a deeper insight into the housing situation of some of the people who live in deprived residential districts in Malmö.

Not long after moving to Rosengård it became clear that all the major Somali cultural associations were there or close by. Taking part in the cultural associations and in general group activities of Cameroonians and Somalis provided a useful and convenient means to interact with them and gain their trust. Consequently, my interaction with them took place mostly in the cultural associations and social events organised by migrants. Migrant cultural associations provided a major forum for social life and so it was relatively easy to meet people there. It is known that migrant associations are common among migrants of any national or ethnic background around the world (Moya 2005). The spread of migrant associations and their importance to migrants have been shown in many different studies. In one of the studies the authors sum up their views on this development as follows:

> *Within Africa and beyond, migrants come together in all sorts of formal and informal associations, which unite members of a faith, political group, nation-state, age group, gender, profession, business group or home-place; those in need of welfare or refuge; members of burial societies, rotating savings groups, old boys' and girls' school networks, sports clubs, and arts and cultural groups. All these groups compete for the time, resources and loyalty of individuals, even though they often overlap in terms both of their membership and their activities (Mercer et al. 2008, p. 58).*

In addition to meeting migrants in their cultural associations, contact with them also took place on a one-to-one basis at their job sites, at home or in public places. The discussion below will try to provide a view into the lives of migrants, as I understood it from my interactions with them during the fieldwork. The names and functions of people I interviewed have been changed in order to provide anonymity according to ethics guidelines for such research.

Fieldwork with Somali migrants

As a Cameroonian and having a Cameroonian friend in Malmö, I felt that it would be easy to meet and be accepted by other Cameroonians there. As for Somalis, there was one contact person whom I met during an earlier visit but on my return to Malmö he was no longer there. Other Somali contacts who were introduced to me showed no interest in meeting me or participating in the study. It did not take long after my arrival in Malmö to realise that much effort on my part was needed to get access to the Somali community. A few attempts to contact them in one of the Somali cultural associations in Rosengård hit a dead end and even seemed to have backfired as some of them became suspicious of my intentions. This lack of cooperation would be repeated later on when I tried to make contact with Cameroonians and 'native' Swedes.

A conversation with a middle-aged Somali man who sat next to me on a bus from Rosengård to the city centre provided an unexpected and serendipitous opportunity to enter into the Somali community. After a brief discussion about my research interest, the man said he would introduce me to some Somali people. A few days later we went together to three different Somali cultural associations in Rosengård. Two of the associations, *Somalilands Förening i Malmö* and *Somaliska Kultur och Idrottsförening*, were located at the same address. Some officials of these associations explained that they had decided to share a common workplace because it was cheaper for them to divide the rent than for each association to rent a separate place. The third was more of an informal meeting place for Somali men. For two weeks after being introduced to these associations I visited them almost daily, spending a couple of hours during each meeting trying to make acquaintances and talk about my research.

The informal meeting place

The informal meeting place was opened daily after midday, but many people only started showing up from around 14:00 onwards. The location was in the basement of a building. It consisted of a small hall, a room that was used for

prayers, and an office. The hall had cable TV, a kitchen and a washroom at the doorway. The atmosphere in the hall was usually very informal with the Somali men watching TV, playing cards or different kinds of games and simply conversing. They came and left at different times but the place stayed open until 22:00 or even midnight depending on the general mood. The centre was attended by young people in their early twenties to those in their late fifties. Whether employed or unemployed, married or single, they all came to this place. Nevertheless, in addition to there being no women, the other category of people that was absent was Somali men who were either born or raised in Sweden. All the young men who went to this meeting place had either newly arrived or had been in Sweden for just a few years.

On the surface, this association seemed simply a meeting place where Somali men hang out, play cards/games, watch TV and socialise. Closer observation suggested that there was more to it than met the eye. People went there to discuss important things about their community and seek advice or help on issues affecting their personal lives. Examples from interviews with people who met there include finding someone to read a document/letter written in Swedish or help with an assignment for a Swedish language course, seeking advice about a job interview from those who had successfully gone through one, and also to get (or crosscheck) the latest information about Somalia as well as the Somali community in Malmö.

One of my earlier interviews at this place was with two brothers who had migrated to Sweden two months earlier to reunite with their mother. They lived in Rosengård and operated a mobile café business to mostly Somali customers during social events. They prepared coffee, tea and some snacks at their home and sold them whenever there was an event in that neighbourhood that brought Somalis together. The brothers, who were in their mid and late teens, were the youngest people who came to the meeting place. They came there during their free time. Their father had died in the Somali civil war and not long after his death their mother migrated to Sweden, travelling through Saudi Arabia. The mother had stayed in Sweden for five years before the two brothers reunited with her and four other siblings. The two brothers, who were the last members of the family to move to Sweden, had had their elementary and secondary school education in Somalia. After that, they had moved to Egypt for further education but did not succeed in acquiring it there. From Egypt they had travelled to Ethiopia, where they stayed for a few months before travelling to Sweden. Besides the mobile café business, the two brothers had just started a school programme, focusing mainly on learning Swedish. In an interview with the elder brother he explained more about the small business and their experience in Sweden.

Jon[10]: It is interesting that you came just two months ago and you are already working. Whose idea was it?

Bashi: Nobody was doing it – the Somalis here don't like to do something like this. They want to do big business – but that requires a lot of money, and to get that kind of money you need to start somewhere. Also, many Somalis don't like working; they just like to get welfare money, aha! [he laughs]... Our mother was doing this before we came. We started by helping her and eventually took full responsibility. Anywhere you go, if there is someone that you know already living in that place, the person can help you. In our case the one who helped us is our mother. You know, things like getting a job, where to go when you need something and how to get along in that society.

Jon: Are you satisfied with the money that you make?

Bashi: Yeah, sometimes. But to be able to make much money you need to invest a lot of money in the business. Right now we are only looking for our daily bread, clothes and food. Our objective is also to be busy with something... If you are alone all the time and at home, you get paranoid and start talking to yourself. That is why we come here and do the things that we do.

As a business that was handed down to them from their mother, the small café enterprise can be seen as an important source of income for this family. As pointed out by Bashi, it keeps them busy and avoids a situation where they would stay at home doing nothing and possibly get depressed. The interview also highlights the importance of having a place where people can meet and socialise.

Raising six children alone, especially when some of them were still in Somalia struggling to reunite with the rest of the family in Sweden, Bashi's mother definitely needed all the income she could get in order to succeed. The interview with Bashi indicates that the small café business continues to contribute to their daily subsistence. In the interview Bashi noted that Somalis in Malmö are only interested in big businesses and would not consider doing a small business. That holds probably true for everybody. It is only when forced to do so by circumstances that some people resort to a business that does not earn them a lot of money. That the two brothers are ready to do this might be due to the fact that their mother had started it, that they see the work as a means to develop social contacts and come to know the community and that they do not expect to be doing this for the rest of their lives, since they have already started to get an education.

Bashi stated that many Somalis prefer to depend on welfare instead of working in a small business such as the one he runs with his brother. This statement is reflective of the dominant view in the media and political

[10] Jon refers to Jonathan, the researcher.

discourses in Sweden about refugees. As far as Somali migrants in Malmö (and Sweden) are concerned, it is true that many of them are unemployed and consequently dependent on welfare, but there is no evidence that the reason for this is that they do not like work. In fact, Bashi was not the only Somali who expressed this view or saw welfare dependency as a problem. During my fieldwork I heard this criticism of other Somalis from a number of my respondents. It seems that by accusing other fellow countrymen of preferring to depend on welfare, the Somalis I talked to aimed to distance themselves as radically as possible from those images created in public discourses. It is interesting, though, that they did not do this by rejecting the image altogether, as is often the case. The especially precarious situation of Somalis in Sweden, where they have the highest unemployment rate among migrants, may motivate Somalis to present themselves as eager to work – as an exception to what is described as the role in the dominant discourse.

Somaliska Kultur och Idrottsförening (SKI)

The other two Somali associations, *Somaliska Kultur och Idrottsförening* and *Somalilands Förening i Malmö*, were organised in a way that was quite different from the informal meeting place, the main differential being that they had clearly defined objectives and functions to ensure the realisation of their goal. People went to these associations mostly either to participate in a particular programme or perform a function. Like the other association (informal meeting place), these were located in the basement of a residential building. A presentation of these associations will begin by highlighting their objectives and regular activities.

SKI is a cultural association whose focus is to promote solidarity between Somali migrants and provide assistance regarding some of the common difficulties they face in Swedish society. It is within this general framework of solidarity that a major focus of the association is to fight unemployment among Somalis. With the employment rate of Somali migrants in Malmö at approximately 22 and 21 percent for men and women respectively in 2007, Somalis had the lowest employment frequencies in Malmö (Broomé et al. 2007b, p. 22). Fighting unemployment among Somalis is therefore an important issue in their community. Measures to counter unemployment include providing job information, e.g. how to search for jobs, disseminating information about job vacancies and providing advice about the kind of skills that are in demand as well as how and where such skills can be acquired. A Somali man in this association who was asked to give a concrete example of what the association does to fight unemployment pointed to his own experience and what he does as a volunteer to help others get jobs. The man, who was working in Copenhagen, explained that the job opening was

advertised in a newspaper, copies of which the association acquired and placed at the disposal of Somalis in the association. He went on to explain that he helps other Somalis in their job search by helping them to search online. Online services provided by the association facilitate this function.

Somalilands Förening i Malmö (SFM)

As the name implies, *Somalilands Förening i Malmö* is an association for Somali migrants from the region of Somalia known as Somaliland. Somaliland seceded from Somalia in 1991 and declared itself an independent state. Despite becoming autonomous, it has not been recognised internationally as a state. SFM is open to all Somalis, irrespective of which part of Somalia they come from. Generally, the association works to promote the incorporation of Somalis into Swedish society and to inform Swedish society about Somali culture. The association does this through various programmes, which target specific segments of the Somali migrant population, and through collaboration with state institutions and other organisations like Save the Children. Many of the programmes are focused on the education and development of Somali children and teenagers. See figures 5 and 6.

Figure 5. Somali pupils having lessons at the SFM. Source: SFM 2009[11]

[11] Somaliland förenings i Malmö homepage 'Bilder'. Online: http://www.somalilandforeningen.se/

Figure 6. Somali children and their peers from Bostadsrättsförening Djingis Khan, Lund during a football game at the Rosengård sporthall. Source: SFM 2009

Under these programmes the association organises tutoring, at least once a week, to help children with subjects that they have difficulties understanding in school and also to help them with their homework. With limited resources to reach out to all the Somali children/teenagers who might need this service, the association gives preference to younger children and children from single mothers. The association also organises recreational activities for children. Such activities include picnics and sports, which sometimes bring Somali children into contact with their 'native' peers. In a district like Rosengård, for example, where only 3 percent of children between the ages of 0–15 have both parents born in Sweden (Pålsson 2007), children with migrant background have very limited opportunity to interact with 'natives'. However, since there are 119 nationalities living in Rosengård, the variety of backgrounds with which they are familiar is infinitely larger than those accessible to children in areas peopled predominantly by 'native' Swedes.

To achieve the goal of promoting the development of children through education and recreation, the association works with volunteers who have the necessary skills to perform these functions. Both people with Somali and non-Somali backgrounds work as volunteers with this association. Somali volunteers are mostly regular members of the association. People from outside volunteer to carry out particular functions, usually that require a specific skill or experience. A good example is tutoring. At the time of my research there were four tutor volunteers. All of them were women in their mid to late twenties living outside Rosengård. Three of the women were 'natives' and one was a naturalised migrant from Pakistan who migrated to

Sweden when she was 15. Three of the women had a background in education, with two of them studying to become a teacher, while the third was a newly qualified teacher. The one who had no educational background was a mechanical engineer. All of them got involved with this volunteer job through the NGO *Rädda Barnen* (Save the Children Sweden), which has a local chapter in Rosengård. Their work with children led them to work closely with the parents as well. For example, parents could accompany their children to lessons. Also, parents and tutors organised social activities that brought them and the children together. All of these, as explained in the interview below with the tutors, contributed in a positive way to the development of the children.

> *Tutor 1: We help the children with their studies, social skills, and to improve on their Swedish language in terms of writing, reading and speaking. Our aim is also to enable them to know people who have Swedish not necessarily as their mother tongue but who are more fluent in the language, and have the opportunity to meet us as grown-ups from other part of Malmö outside Rosengård. This is because maybe the only Swedes around those children are the teachers in school. So the project has a social dimension...I think when they started the project the social aspect of it was very important, that the children should talk to someone who was from outside Rosengård.*

> *Tutor 2: It is not so common that we have good contacts with the parents of the children we work with. But here with the Somali, the parents are very involved and they make the work really easy. I think that it's a very good thing that they are here. We have their participation and they sit in the classroom. Once in the semester we try to do something special with the children. The last semester we took them to Folkets Park and they were really happy. Every semester the parents invite us to have dinner and they cook a lot of food. The cooperation with them is very good.*

> *Tutor 3: I also think that the parents want the children to have this opportunity to do something meaningful during their free time, so they come here and have some extra Swedish or math. But at the same time it works that while they are here, they are not outside getting together with the wrong crowd.*

Observations at the association and during a social event that brought together the Somali children, their parents and tutors at Save the Children in Rosengård indicated that it was mostly the mothers of the children who were actively involved with the programme. It was mostly mothers who accompanied their children to the tutoring and therefore the ones who were in close contact with the tutors. This can be explained by the fact that the programme gave priority to children from single mothers, so that fewer children who lived with both parents participated in it. However, one might ask whether fathers might not be involved in their children's education even if they did not live with them. The all-female tutor volunteers highlight the same issue, i.e. the reproduction of traditional gender roles that confine women to caring and childrearing. In other parts of the interview with the

female volunteers, they pointed out that it was very difficult to get male volunteers for tutoring. This means the absence of male volunteers was not the outcome of a conscious choice to have only female volunteers. Rather, it was the result of men not being interested in the job.

The quote by Tutor 3 highlights an interesting point suggesting that tutoring keeps the Somali children occupied and thereby helps to keep them away from the 'wrong crowd'. In general, children in Rosengård and other stigmatised neighbourhoods in Malmö are viewed with suspicion when they hang out together on their own. Interviews with both Somalis and 'natives' working with migrant children showed a common belief that getting children to participate in organised activities within a recognised association was important in preventing them from mixing up with more wayward or criminalised youths. While many of such organised activities like tutoring had important objectives, the idea that the activities were a way of getting the children out of trouble is reflective of the dominant media and political representation of Rosengård and similar stigmatised residential areas as hotbeds of crime and violence (Ristilammi 1994; Ures 2009).

Another major activity that took place in this association was Islamic studies. Men studied in the main hall, which was also used as a mosque, while women and children used a smaller hall (room). There was a room for playing where children, sometimes accompanied by their parents or other adults, played computer games and other exercises. Smaller rooms, some of them with computers, were also available for working in smaller groups. It is in those rooms that tutoring took place.

Hidde Iyo Dhagar

The final Somali association to examine is called *Hidde Iyo Dhagar*. Like the other associations that have been considered, this is a Somali cultural association that is primarily concerned with the well-being of Somalis around Malmö. In 2005, *Hidde Iyo Dhagar* started a youth project called *Ung Vision* (Youth Vision) that was aimed at promoting the positive development of young people with migrant backgrounds. By targeting young people from all migrant backgrounds, the project reaches out to people outside the Somali community. The *Ung Vision* project, unlike the other Somali cultural projects, which were based in Rosengård, is located in Södra Innerstaden. The office is in the building of the Sofielunds Folket Hus (Sofielund's Community Centre), which is host to many other offices or public institutions. An adult school – Glokala Folkhögskolan, primary school – Kastanjeskolan, a local youth radio station – Radio RGRA, another youth organisation – Möllevångens Scoutkår, a small café/restaurant are some of

the other associations/institutions that can be found at the Sofielund Folket Hus. The famous Malmö male choir, *Sångarbröderna*, which has existed for about 90 years, also uses the Sofielunds Folket Hus for its rehearsals. It should be noted that *Ung Vision* was also located in the basement of the Folket Hus building, although a major difference from the other Somali associations is that the *Ung Vision* project was not based in the heart of a major migrant residential area, but in the midst of other well-established organisations in a more business-like or administrative environment.

To achieve its goal, the *Ung Vision* project encourages the development of both physical and creative activities that are largely initiated and coordinated by young people themselves. These activities can be divided into two main categories: Sports – e.g. football, basketball, boxing and swimming; and Entertainment – e.g. dance lessons, radio shows, watching videos, playing pool and just socialising with peers. These and other recreational activities usually take place at the recreation centres (*fritidgården*) in Rosengård and Södra Innerstaden, specifically in the neighbourhood of Sofielund.

It is important to remember that the underlying goal of the *Ung Vision* project is to get young people with migrant backgrounds to participate in these programmes as well as to get involved with the coordination of each programme. At the top level of the project there was a project coordinator and an assistant who supervised the entire project. These project coordinators, who were all Somali men, recruited some young people within the age range of 19-27 to work as group leaders. Each group leader then recruited young people with migrant backgrounds to form the groups that were under her/him.

There were six group leaders and each of them was in charge of two or more groups. Towards the end of my time at *Ung Vision*, the programme coordinator recruited a girl from Albania as a youth leader. While all the other youth leaders migrated from Somalia, the participation of the Alabanian girl as a youth leader in the project highlights the project's outreach to migrant youths from non-Somali background. Each group was composed of people who shared a common interest in the same activity. The groups were formed in such a way that they consisted of people within the same age group, but in some cases gender was also a factor as some groups were exclusively women or men. See figures 7 and 8.

Figure 7. Female dance group. Source: Ung Vision (2008)[12]

Figure 8. Mixed basketball group. Source: Ung Vision (2008)

The above figures present images of some of the youth groups that were part of the *Ung Vision* project. Figure 7 shows an exclusively female dance group posing for a picture in the hall where they practised. Figure 8 shows a different group, a mixed-gender group playing basketball. In relation to the dance group, it can be seen that the members of this group are much younger. They were also mostly young people with a Somali background.

[12] See Ung Vision's hompage : http://www.ungvision.nu/

Just as each group leader has more than one group, so each group engages in more than one activity. Also, some individuals participated in activities that were coordinated by different group leaders. The movement between groups was limited to moving from an exclusively male or female group to a similar group that was exclusively male or female, and to moving across groups whose members fell within the same age range. When it came to the groups that were headed by a male youth coordinator, members of the groups were all male. Figure 9 shows a male swimming group.

Figure 9. Male swimming group. Source: Ung Vision's office archive (2008)

Like the basketball group above, this group is composed of younger people. Almost all the members of this group have a Somali background. In regards to all the different groups, the groups headed by female youth leaders were generally more diverse than those headed by male youth leaders. As shown in figures 7 and 8, the groups headed by women were diverse in terms of either their ethnic or gender composition. Groups headed by the male youth leaders were all exclusively male and were mostly composed of people with a Somali background, including a few young boys with a Middle Eastern background.

The six youth leaders and the assistant project coordinator worked half–time, whilst the programme coordinator was the only full-time employee on the project. Taking the employment opportunity that was provided to the youth leaders into consideration, the project could be seen as also facilitating the entrance of these migrant youths into the labour market. All the youth leaders were unemployed when they joined the project and those of them who left later on did so only after they found more secure and/or full-time

jobs. More important is the fact that youth leaders who applied for other jobs all asked for recommendation letters from the project coordinator, thereby highlighting the importance of the work experience from the youth project in getting other jobs.

The various activities in this project are common activities which young people normally do and would likely do on their own. However, many of the youth activities have a price tag, which could be beyond the reach of children from low-income families. Access to the different complexes such as a hall, basketball court, football field, boxing ring, swimming pool and many others, especially for indoors facilities during the winter, costs money. If left on their own, many of the migrant youths who generally come from low-income families would be unable to afford the cost of using these facilities. Through the *Ung Vision* project the financial cost was not an obstacle. In addition to taking care of the financial problem, the project also provided supervision (from the group leaders) to ensure the safety of the young people. The project also provided an opportunity for the migrant youths to participate in creative programmes like making radio shows, participating in competitions with their peers from other parts of the city and going on picnics together.

Note about Somali migrant cultural associations

A study in a Somali community in East London indicates the existence of Somali migrant associations dating back to the late 1970s and early 1980s (Griffiths 2000, p. 284). Among the early associations, the northern (Isaq) Somali National Movement (SNM) stood out as a regional organisation with an explicit political agenda that, among other things, opposed the central government in Somalia. Griffiths points out that by the mid-1990s the major Somali cultural association in East London was wracked by many problems: misallocation of funds and worsening internal divisions, which were partially clan-based but also related to generational and class divisions between those arriving since 1988 and the older community of Somalis (ibid, p. 286). In a different study, Svedjemo (2002) shows that internal differences between Somalis today as well as the idea of a unified Somali people are rooted in (or influenced by) old traditions and political developments in the post-colonial history of the country. The northwestern region of Somalia – Somaliland – was colonised by Britain, while the southern part of the country was under the control of Italy during the colonial era, but both regions united after independence (Lewis 1991). During the period of unification, the Somali government pursued a nationalist agenda to unify the 'Somali nation' under a 'Greater Somalia' (Wolde-Mariam, 1977, pp. 13 ff.) and openly discouraged clan-based identity (Lewis 1991, pp. 8-9). Despite the official aim of undermining internal divisions, the regime relied on divide-and-rule tactics,

privileging one clan over another and thereby politicising the divisive identities that it statedly sought to eliminate (Svedjemo 2002). Under the regime of the Somali dictator Siyad Barre, Somalis from Somaliland complained about marginalisation. After the collapse of Barre's regime in 1991, they seceded and declared independence.

Against the above background, we can see the formation of regional Somali migrant associations as a response to the political situation and internal divisions back home in Somalia. Griffiths' analysis, for example, comes to the conclusion that Somali migrants in East London lack a unifying identity, while Svedjemo criticises Griffiths for disregarding the autonomy of Somaliland and the effort of its inhabitants to carve out an independent nation that constructs a separate Somaliland identity. Griffiths' argument highlights the fragmentation of the Somali nation-state, while Svedjemo's argument points at the constructed character of Somali unity and emphasises the right of building an autonomous Somaliland.

Fieldwork with Cameroonian migrants

During the first two months of my fieldwork much of the effort was directed towards meeting people from the Somali community. This seemed appropriate as I knew nobody in that community and my earliest Somali contacts in the city were either unwilling to help me or had left Malmö by the time the fieldwork started. There was also always the hope that being a Cameroonian, knowing a few Cameroonians in Malmö, some of who were friends, and living with Cameroonians in the same flat would make it very easy to get access to the Cameroonian community in Malmö. Initially, some contacts were made with Cameroonians whenever the opportunity presented itself. Often, this was done through participation in social events that brought Cameroonians together, accompanying my flatmates and Cameroonian friends when they were visiting other Cameroonians. Eventually, when attention shifted towards Cameroonians, it became clear that meeting Cameroonians would not be as easy as earlier thought. Sometimes it even felt like meeting Cameroonians would be more difficult than meeting Somalis.

Actually, initial contact with Cameroonians – especially when they met as a group – was not difficult. The problem, however, was that such meetings were infrequent and were held at people's homes or rented halls. Even when the opportunity to establish initial contact with Cameroonians presented itself, it was difficult getting them to participate in the study. All of this made it hard to build confidence with potential respondents who had doubts about the objectives of my research. Not sure of when the next opportunity to meet

would arise after our first contact, there was always the drive to establish a rapport with Cameroonians during the first meeting and to try to get them to participate as much as possible in the study. This seemed to have pushed some people away and raised suspicion.

Despite the obstacles, contact with Cameroonians in Malmö was made through continuous participation in social events that brought them together, especially those that were organised by the two Cameroonian cultural associations that will be presented shortly. It should be noted that the Cameroonian cultural associations in Malmö were still in the process of getting fully established and functional. They lacked the kind of resources which the Somali associations had. For example, none of the associations had a place of their own for the running of their activities, nor did any of them receive funding from any external source. Some of the Cameroonians who were frustrated with the slow pace of development were even dismissive of the possibility of a Cameroonian association in Malmö.

Skåne Association of Cameroonians (SKÅNECAM)

Since around spring 2003, Cameroonians in Malmö formed a national cultural association named Skåne Association of Cameroonians (SKÅNECAM). The association is primarily concerned with the welfare of its members and Cameroonians around Malmö in general. They meet about once a month at the homes of some members, who take turns in hosting the meetings. The meetings are usually characterised by discussions about strengthening solidarity between Cameroonians in Malmö and how to move the association forward. Coming together during meetings is itself a major way of promoting the solidarity that is desired. It provides an opportunity to get to know one another, listen to each other's problems, and receive advice or assistance from each other. For those facing bigger problems, like a serious illness and bereavement, the association steps in to provide support.

In August 2008, for example, a Cameroonian student from the town of Kristianstad died in Malmö. SKÅNECAM provided all the support that was necessary for transportation of the corpse and the funeral. The association raised money through contributions from individual Cameroonians in Malmö, other parts of Sweden and also other countries. A total of 80 000 Swedish crowns was collected. During my fieldwork, two members of SKÅNECAM each lost a sibling in Cameroon. The association supported them financially (to cover expenses like travel costs and funeral rites) and attended a wake at their homes.

Besides supporting each other when there is a serious problem, the association organises and participates in social activities organised by members. Examples of such activities include birthdays, anniversaries and football games. See figures 11 and 12, which show Cameroonians in Malmö during the celebration of the 50th anniversary of Cameroon's independence. These events are usually characterised by feasting with mostly Cameroonian food, music from Cameroon and stories about Cameroon. In this regard, the association provides a space where Cameroonians in and around Malmö can socialise, share memories and news about their home country. When it comes to everyday problems like getting a job, individual disputes, finding a place to live and so on, SKÅNECAM as a whole provides very little or no help to its members. Unfortunately, it is these everyday problems that many people were facing and for which they needed some assistance. Some of the active members of the association who were also part of the executive described during an interview how the association once tried to address the problem of housing for newly arrived migrants from Cameroon. They explained that the association agreed that members who were well-established and living in big flats should provide free accommodation for a short time, like a month, to newly arrived migrants who were unable to find a place to live. The plan failed because some of the people who were in a position to provide such assistance were either unwilling to do so or demanded rent from the newly arrived migrants. The inability of the association to help its members with some of the common daily problems which they face left many of the members with doubts about the association. Some of them even felt that acts of solidarity from the association depended on whether or not potential beneficiaries knew someone in a leadership position of the association.

Figure 10. Cameroon 50th Anniversary of Independence in Malmö. Source: photo collection of Nyenti Mbi[13]

Figure 11. Cameroon 50th anniversary of Independence in Malmö. Source: Photo collection of Nyenti Mbi

Above the Cameroonian flag on the wall in figure 11 is written 'Cameroon 50th Anniversary' and above the writing are two balloons in blue and yellow, which are the colours of the Swedish national flag. Some of the Cameroonians in the picture can be seen in full regalia as worn in some parts of Cameroon, and they took part in a fashion parade, which was one of the activities during the celebration. As in other anniversaries organised by SKÅNECAM, there were 'native' Swedes (and migrants from other countries) who were invited. In this way the occasion provides a forum where

[13] Nyenti Mbi (man standing in a traditional African attire) is a Cameroonian student at the University of Malmö

Cameroonians celebrate and promote what they consider to be their cultural heritage, which is one of the more general goals of the association[14].

Cameroon Grasslanders Association in Southern Sweden (CAMGRASS)

The other Cameroonian cultural association in Malmö is called Cameroon Grasslanders Association in Southern Sweden (CAMGRASS). This association was newly formed during the time when the fieldwork started. Unlike SKÅNECAM, which is a national cultural association, CAMGRASS is a regional association for Cameroonians from the Grassfields area of Cameroon. The Grassfields refers to both the 'Bamilike' region on the western edge of French Cameroon, and the northwest part of British Cameroon (Terretta 2005, p. 75)[15]. Despite its arbitrary division by the Anglo-French boundary in 1919, the Grassfields region belonged to a cohesive economic, political and cultural system prior to European occupation, characterised by ironworking and transregional trade (ibid). By the 18th century, as noted by Meredith Terretta, the region had begun to centralise into autonomous chiefdoms.

The formation of CAMGRASS therefore highlights the importance of regional identification in Cameroon. Studies in Cameroon have shown sharp regional division and identification, which became increasingly important since around the 1990s when multi-party politics was re-introduced in the country (Eyoh 1998; Nyamnjoh & Rowlands 1998, Nyamnjoh 2005; Pelican 2008). On the national level, the difference between French- and English-speaking Cameroonians appears to be the most divisive, with some English-speaking Cameroonians forming movements for greater autonomy of their region (see Jua & Konings 2004). Despite the divisions between French- and English-speaking Cameroonians, CAMGRASS comprises Cameroonians from some parts of French- and some parts of English-speaking Cameroon. This shows the flexibility of (regional) identification in Cameroon. This flexibility, which reflects the ever-changing character of identity (Hall 1992, 1996), can also be seen in the tendency of Cameroonian migrants in Malmö to identify with both the regional and national Cameroonian associations. In fact, almost all the members of CAMGRASS are also members of SKÅNECAM and some members have executive positions in both associations. This indicates that the two associations are open to each other.

[14] One of the goals of SKÅNECAM, as stated in a draft of the constitution of the association is to 'plan and organise activities/programmes associated with the social, sporting, cultural and educational life that reflects the strengths of Cameroon.' 'Constitution for SKÅNE Association of Camerooians (SKÅNECAM)'. Obtained from the president of the association, Lekunze Ransom, in 2008.

[15] Before the end of World War I Cameroon was a German colony but after the defeat of Germany in the war Cameroon was arbitrarily divided between Britain and France, with the former having one-sith and the latter five-siths of the whole (Nyamnjoh 2005, p.102).

In addition, the two associations often participate in the same activities, especially when it comes to solidarity with a fellow Cameroonian.

CAMGRASS can be associated with two main goals. One is to provide economic support, in the form of small financial capital, to its members. The other is to foster solidarity and a sense of belonging, primarily between members but also to fellow Cameroonians in the area. Provision of economic support in the form of financial capital is done through a credit system known as *njangi* or *Tontine* in different parts of Cameroon and by other names like *pari, sousou, ajoh* etc in different parts of Africa (African Vibes Magazine 2008). *Njangi* in general, among other things can be said to play the role of a credit union as it provides services like savings and access to loans with very little or no strings attached. Usually the size of such a group is small and could comprise a group of friends, family members, alumni associations, people in a small community or neighbours, and so on. The main idea is for people to pool their resources and cater for the financial needs of its members. For this reason, a sense of community, trust and spirit of solidarity are the basic underlying principles of any *njangi* (ibid). The small sizes of *njangis* and their community orientation provide a suitable environment for developing strong social ties and/or strengthening existing ones. This social role of *njangis* is most evident in the fact that being part of the credit and saving group in many *njangis* is not obligatory: in other words, somebody can be part of a *njangi* and not participate in its economic activities. Such a person can therefore be said to be part of the *njangi* for the social rather than the economic benefits.

The *njangi* operated by CAMGRASS had about 15 members who participated in its credit and savings. Meetings were organised monthly and members took turns in hosting the meeting. The credit system was organised in such a way that each member contributed a certain amount each month, often ranging from 500 SEK to 5 000 SEK into the credit fund. In the case where the 15 members contributed 500 SEK each, the total amount raised in that sitting would be 7 500 SEK. This amount was then given to the host, who was required to contribute the same amount that s/he received from each member when it was their turn to host the *njangi*. If someone contributed 5 000 SEK, for example, the host would contribute the same amount to the person who made the contribution whenever the person hosted the *njangi*. The order of hosting was determined by a ballot when the *njangi* started. With monthly contributions varying between 500 SEK to 5 000 SEK, the amount raised in each sitting also varied but usually was within the range of 20 000 SEK to 35 000 SEK. Members also made some monthly contributions into another fund that was used by each host to cover the cost of entertainment – mostly food and drinks. Other contributions were made into

this fund and used to invest in the welfare of members, specifically for issues like visiting a sick or bereaved member and for other forms of social support. It is in this respect that CAMGRASS can be said to fulfil both an economic function and welfare to its members.

Notes about Cameroonian migrant cultural associations

In the city of Stockholm, where there is a larger Cameroonian community, there is a Cameroonian national cultural association and also a handful of regional or hometown-based associations. Mercer and colleagues (2009) observe in their study that regional and hometown-based associations have a long history in Cameroon and Tanzania (and other parts of Africa) dating back to the colonial era. They explain that these associations were concerned mostly with the welfare of members on mines, plantations and in the cities in the 'domestic diaspora', and that with increased international migration similar associations have emerged in the international diaspora (ibid, p. 148). On the other hand, they argue that contemporary Cameroonian (Tanzanian) home-place migrant associations are shaped by the history and geography of particular places and represent an African response to the national, political and economic context in which they operate (Mercer et al. 2008, p. 77). With respect to Cameroon, they point out that Cameroonian migrants use established ranked membership associations in their home-place as a template for their organisation. They argue that in both the domestic and international diaspora, these associations provide security and comfort in the face of the uncertainties and challenges posed by the receiving society to migrants.

> *In the domestic diaspora, people generally spoke of the alienating and potentially threatening environment in which they found themselves. African cities, like all cities can be disorienting for new arrivals; the familiar mores and rules of home do not necessarily apply. Predatory and sometimes hostile urban authorities and bureaucracies have to be faced, and migrants often find themselves in competition with other migrants and locals for jobs, housing and other resources (ibid, p. 134).*

According to Mercer and colleagues, the above needs are evident in the international diaspora in addition to the fact that Africans in the UK (and other Western settings) face a racialised labour market and unfamiliar and sometimes hostile social settings. In the UK, where they observed the existence of Cameroonian national and local home-place migrant associations, they argue that this development reflects the explicit policy of regional development by the Cameroonian government that fuels 'ethnic' (regional) competition in which home-place association plays a crucial role. Nyamnjoh and Rowlands (1998) make a similar argument that the pursuit of

regional ethnic loyalties in Cameroon today has been deeply influenced by the post-colonial politics of the Cameroonian government:

> *The mobilisation of regional elites for political purposes has therefore been a consistent feature of post-colonial politics in Cameroon. In the 1990s this trend has been transformed as elite networks have developed to give political expression to fears of exclusion and conflict stemming from the impact of political liberalisation. The consolidation of numerous elite groups into larger regional blocs has increasingly taken an ethnic tone as claims to indigenous origins and hostility to 'strangers' have become part of the rhetoric of exclusion. The ethnicisation of elite associations as an alternative to multi-partyism helps to maintain authoritarian rule through the 'traditional' manipulation of local networks (ibid, p .325).*

Since independence (and during the struggle for independence) regional, ethnic and home-place loyalties have existed alongside national loyalty and have sometimes competed with each other. Both the colonial and post-colonial governments in Cameroon saw some value in home-based associations as they considered them useful in providing welfare or local development to the local population (Mercer et al. 2008, p. 93). The post-colonial agenda of nation-building in Cameroon, however, supported the notion of a strong national identity, which was echoed in a 1967 ban on ethnic and home-place associations (ibid). At the same time the state was reluctant to enforce the ban as it harnessed the usefulness of home-place associations as agents of local development and welfare providers. In their analysis, Mercer and colleagues sum up the position of the Cameroonian government on the issue of ethnic and home-place associations before the re-introduction of multi-party politics in the 1990s as follows:

> *The Cameroonian government walked a fine line between, on the one hand, proscribing tribal associations as part of the nation-building project and, on the other, explicitly expecting [local] migrants to take on the responsibility of developing their home-place by forming associations that brought them together (Mercer et al. 2008, p. 95).*

After the revival of a multi-party system in Cameroon in the 1990s, the government took a more open stand in favour of home-place associations than in the past. Today, the state of Cameroon has embraced a policy of 'ethnic' or 'tribal' competition, in which different areas compete for the limited resources of the central government (Nyamnjoh & Rowlands 1998; Nyamnjoh 2005; Pelican 2008). On the other hand, the state still embraces nationalist sentiments as a way of uniting the different 'ethnic', 'tribal' and regional groups. The idea of a nation-state in general suggests that members of the nation-state experience themselves as united by descent and sharing a common faith – past, present and future (Anderson 1991). This brand of nationalism in Cameroon can be observed in the country's restrictive naturalisation policy that is largely modelled around the logic of descent. An

example that highlights this point is the case of a man who was born in Cameroon to a Nigerian migrant couple. The man is married to a Cameroonian woman and they have children but officially he is a migrant[16]. This restrictive naturalisation policy has the effect of reifying the myth of a nation as a community and consequently excluding those who are perceived as non-members of the community. This point is reflected in the argument that narratives of the nation promote a unity of its members but also mobilise them to purify their ranks, to expel the 'others' who threaten their identity (Hall 1992, pp. 192-194).

To sum up the analysis of the development of national and home-place Cameroonian migrant associations, we can say that the existence of these competing forms of belonging among Cameroonian migrants is influenced by several factors. On the one hand, they reflect the Cameroonian state project of nation-building, which promotes a national identity at the same time as it encourages the development of local home-place identification. On the other hand, the development of these associations in the international diaspora is a direct response to conditions in the national, economic and political contexts in which they operate. For example, the need for welfare and solidarity within the Cameroonian community reflects the difficulties that they face in Malmö (Sweden) such as getting employment and being accepted by the local population. However, it is important to note that home-place and regional associations in Cameroon are also known to promote exclusionary identities and tension between people from different parts of the country (Nyamnjoh & Rowlands 1998, Nyamnjoh 2005). Since the 1990s, different movements from the English-speaking part of Cameroon have been demanding autonomy and secession (Jua & Konings 2004). This illustrates the division between English- and French-speaking Cameroonians. It is therefore important to see the formation of Cameroonian migrant national and regional home-place associations as both a response to difficulties posed by the host-locality in Malmö or Sweden and also a reflection of internal conflicts within the Cameroonian community itself.

Fieldwork with 'native' Swedes and officials of some institutions

While the fieldwork primarily aimed at understanding the everyday life of migrants, it was very helpful talking to 'natives' in the city and officials of some of the institutions/organisations that have contacts with migrants. Contacts with the people in this category consisted of interviews. The

[16] "Cameroonian-Born Nigerians want citizenship" *Up Station Mountain Club*, available at: http://www.postnewsline.com/2007/04/cameroonianborn.html [Accessed 22 October 2009]

participants were selected based largely on their involvement with certain institutions or organisations. These were institutions (and organisations) which were working with some of the major issues affecting migrants. Knowledge about such issues came about from the participant observations and interviews with migrants. Since the choice of institution/organisation depended on the kind of issues that were affecting migrants, the institutions/organisations were contacted only after gaining some understanding of the problems affecting the migrants in the study. Other people who were interviewed under this category were *ordinary* 'natives'.

People affiliated to an institution/organisation were first contacted through emails or telephone calls, which worked out well in only a few cases. As emails and telephone calls proved to be less successful in getting officials to participate in the study, another approach adopted was going to people's workplaces (offices) and talking to them in person about the study and how useful their views would be to it. Going to people's offices, especially without any appointment, had its own shortcomings. Sometimes the officials were visibly busy – attending to another person or in a meeting, while in some offices the receptionist would let in people only if they had an appointment or serious official business to conduct. Nevertheless, talking to people face-to-face seemed to work much better for me because it provided a greater opportunity to talk about my work and possibly convince them to participate in it. For example, the major reasons why many officials were reluctant to be interviewed were because of fears that the information would be used in ways that could be damaging to them, the interview would take too much of their time, or they were just worried about saying something that could be inaccurate. Eventually, in most cases, after explaining that the identity of people would be kept confidential, interviews would last only for a specified time and respondents would be free to stop the interview any time they wanted and would not be obliged to respond to all questions, officials agreed to be interviewed.

Another group of people interviewed for this study were those affiliated with an organisation which worked directly with migrants, for example the volunteers at the Somali cultural association. Talking to such people was not a problem at all. As for interviews with *ordinary* 'natives', just a few people were interviewed and almost all of them accepted to be interviewed the first time that they were contacted.

Discussion about the research methods

Participant observation

This is one of the research methods in qualitative studies. As the name suggests, this research method requires an *immersion* of the researcher in the social setting that is under study for a prolonged period of time (Denzin 1997). The underlying tenet of this approach is that sharing in the experiences of the people that we study enables us to acquire an insightful perception of the issues that are important to them. Proponents of this approach argue that face-to-face interaction is the fullest condition of participating in the mind of another human being. Further, that you must participate in the mind of another human being (in sociological terms, 'take the role of the other') to acquire social knowledge (Lofland and Lofland 1995, p. 16). The aim of this approach is to produce 'a thick description' of the setting and the actors in it (Geertz in Delamont, 2004, p. 225). A major problem with this approach, however, is to know beforehand what to observe, how to observe, what to write down and how to keep track of all the information. During the fieldwork everything about the social setting was considered important. In the case of the migrant associations where interviews and participant observations were conducted, for example, notes were taken of the surrounding 'space' and those who participated in it, the organisational structure of the associations, membership composition and roles, background noises or interruptions and so on. Detailed fieldnotes helped to document the observations made and interviews conducted to let people explain their actions or what was going on. In addition, documents and pictures were collected.

Interviews

Interviewing is arguably the most commonly used method for conducting systematic social inquiry. In simple terms, it is a technique that provides a way of generating empirical data about the social world by asking people to talk about their lives (Holstein & Gubrium 2003, p. 3). Interviews can vary from highly structured, standardised, survey interviews, to semi-informal guided interviews, to free-flowing informational exchanges (ibid). For qualitative studies (especially ones that use participant observation), semi-structured and unstructured interviews are preferable (Lofland & Lofland, 1995, p. 18). With the interviewer being the one who coordinates the interview, i.e. s/he makes the initial contact and poses the questions while the respondent supplies the answers, the relationship between them is characterised by asymmetrical power relations. In this relationship the researcher wields more influence on what goes on than the respondent. Due

to this unequal power relation, Holstein and Gubrium (2003) note that there are growing sensitivities to the issue of power (and other important issues like agency, reflexivity and representation), which are transforming the ways researchers are thinking about and using interviews and their data. The major transformation represents a shift from a view that sees an interview as simply an information-gathering operation to conceptualising it as a site of, and occasion for, producing knowledge (ibid). In the first view, the subjects behind the respondents and interviewer are construed in terms that separate them from the actual 'data', i.e. their actions are not seen as having any effect on the data collected. The second view sees the respondents and interviewer and the conditions under which they interact as having a direct impact on the data that is produced. This view describes interview data as socially constructed.

Awareness that meaning is socially constructed has led interview researchers to see their data-gathering techniques in ways that pay close attention to the researcher and the respondent, the social context of their interaction and the research process. In relation to this, Christopher Dunbar, et al. (2003) argue that the interview process and the interpretation of interview material must take into account how social and historical factors that are associated with markers of difference – such as 'race', class, gender, sexual orientation and so on – mediate both the meanings of questions and how those questions are answered. This, according to their argument, is because the biographical material expressed in interviews draws from, and is mediated by, experiences from well beyond the interview situation. As such, they hold that the only way to do justice to the different experiences of respondents is for interviews to reflexively engage subjects in terms that can capture the complexities of their lives. While this approach presents researchers with new realms of possibility and inquiry (for example, the influence of the social world on the meanings and knowledge that are produced in an interview), they also present new challenges that touch on virtually every aspect of the interview process – epistemology, analytic challenges and challenges of representation (Holstein & Gubrium 2003). On the epistemological level, as explained by Holstein and Gubrium, researchers are increasingly sensitive to the 'subjects' who lurk behind the interview participants and the varied roles they play in the production of knowledge. Analytical challenges emerge as interview researchers contemplate just what their data might possibly mean and what they might make of them; and finally, concerns with how lives are represented – by interviewees as well as interview researchers – present new challenges to the ways in which knowledge might be conveyed (ibid, p.5).

A total of 70 interviews were conducted: 21 with Cameroonians, 23 with Somalis and 26 with individuals from different state institutions/civil society

organisations and private citizens. The national background of the people in this last category is quite diverse, with 13 of them having backgrounds in Africa, Europe, the Middle East and Latin America while the remaining 13 are 'native Swedes'. The age range of the people interviewed is between 18 and 65 and half of the total number of people interviewed were men and the other half women. Within each group the gender representation is not even. In the case of Cameroonians we have 12 men and 9 women, for Somalis we have 13 men and 10 women and for civil society/state institutions/private citizens we have 10 men and 16 women. However, not all the interviews have been used in my analysis. From the interviews with Cameroonian and Somali migrants, 36 interviews were selected with 18 from each group. The same numbers of men and women are represented in the samples of each group. Given that only a limited number of women from Cameroon (9) were interviewed, all of them are included. When it came to the decision about which interviews should be selected from the list of interviews with Cameroonian men and Somalis (men and women), preference was given to recorded interviews with the best quality. All the Cameroonians and Somali migrants whose interviews have been included are people who granted at least one recorded interview, lasting between 40 to 170 minutes. Some of them were interviewed more than once and some of the interviews, especially the first ones, were not recorded; but in cases where a person was interviewed more than once, all the interviews are included in the analysis. All interviews with representatives of state institutions, civil society and private citizens are included in the analysis. Out of the 26 interviews in this category, 5 of them were not recorded. The interviews were semi-structured and question guides were used.

Interviews were done either one-to-one or by focus group. Sometimes when a person was being interviewed a friend or colleague stopped by and provided their opinions on the issue under discussion. However, this was determined by the circumstances at hand and the willingness of the interviewee to discuss in the presence of others. Some people preferred privacy. Focus group interviews may be most productive on topics that are publicly discussed and about which people do not feel embarrassed to talk in public. Such interviews have the advantage of allowing people more time to reflect and to recall experiences; also, something that a person mentions can spur memories and opinions in others (Schierup & Ålund, 1987).

Data Analysis

The information collected during fieldwork was recorded using fieldnotes, interview write-ups, census-taking, sound recording, and document collection. Later on the interviews were transcribed, and translated into

English, if necessary. The computer software programme MAXQDA was used in organising and analysing the data. The interviews (and fieldnotes) were coded looking for themes that showed up consistently across the interviews, preferably those that answered the research questions. *Coding* was done by attaching text segments – a sentence or entire passage to codes (defined by the researcher). This helped to describe and condense the data. It should be noted that the chief contribution of the MAXQDA software (as in related software programmes that handle qualitative data) is automation of the retrieval of text segments that have been coded (see Seale 2003). The software programme also makes it easy to carry out selective retrieval of coded segments, which in turn greatly facilitates and accelerates the comparison of text passages or what different people (groups) say about a particular subject (ibid; Kelle 2004). In a nutshell, coding with MAXQDA helped to summarise and organise the data in a way that made it easy to move back and forth between codes and the text segments attached to them. This flexibility allowed for the exploitation of qualitative data more fully and for the possibility to stay close to the data (Kelle 2004, p. 486). In spite of these contributions, it has been noted that computer software programmes in themselves cannot analyse data for the ethnographer. 'Nevertheless, no computer can stand in for the ethnographer's discovery of emergent themes as fieldwork progresses, nor the final thinking and analysis. No computer can think through the fieldwork' (Okely, in Yates 2004, p. 194). As indicated earlier, the ability to easily retrieve coded text segments and to compare them enforces a rigour that would be difficult to achieve manually. This rigour also facilitates the discovery of emergent themes and the analysis of data.

The most crucial question about codes in qualitative research relates to how they are developed. The classic debate in sociology about codes in qualitative research is whether the codes emerge from the data or if they are preconceived – using a predefined theme (category) – for coding (ibid; Glaser & Strauss 1967). The underlying principle in qualitative research supports the idea of developing codes from data. This is because a basic tenet of qualitative research is bringing to light the views of the research participants. As such, using a predefined theme for coding is viewed as undermining a defining principle of qualitative research, i.e. assigning codes that are derived from preconceived concepts on qualitative data is seen as undermining the views of research participants. In order to avoid this problem, some qualitative researchers have attempted to approach their data without any theoretical concepts whatsoever (see ibid). The goal behind this approach is to avoid the contamination of the views of research participants and the theories that can be generated from such views. However, critiques

of this approach argue that it is not possible to escape from our preconceptions.

> *Consequently, qualitative researchers who investigate a certain form of social life cannot drop their own lens and conceptual networks or they would no longer be able to observe and describe meaningful events, but would be confronted with fragmented phenomena (Kelle 2004, p. 497).*

Kelle proposes a methodological approach that seeks to address the above concerns about codes. His approach favours the use of codes which draw on existing concepts that do not force a particular perspective on data. Such concepts, in his view, are characterised by a lack of empirical content. According to Kelle, a concept with empirical content is normally used to identify sound scientific hypotheses. On the other hand, concepts and hypotheses that lack empirical content and thus cannot be falsified are considered problematic in hypothetico-deductive research because they cannot be tested with the help of empirical data. Nevertheless, he points out that such concepts may play a very useful role if the goal of empirical research is not the testing of predefined hypotheses but the empirically grounded generation of theories, because concepts with low empirical content can be related to a great variety of empirical phenomena.

> *Their lack of empirical content gives them flexibility so that a variety of empirical phenomena can be described with their help. Although such concepts cannot be tested empirically, they may be used in the research process as heuristic concepts that represent the already mentioned lenses through which the researcher perceives facts and phenomena in the field under scrutiny (ibid, p. 479).*

Kelle explains that concepts and categories drawn from 'grand theories' in the social sciences are too broad and abstract to directly deduce empirically contentful propositions but can serve as heuristic tools for the construction of empirically grounded theories. An example of such a concept by Kelle is 'role expectation'. In relation to this example, he argues that the proposition that individuals act in accordance with role expectation does not contain a lot of information by itself. However, he explains that this concept may be useful in formulating a variety of research questions for the investigation of different substantive fields: do role expectations play an important role in the empirical domain under study? What kind of role expectations can be found? By which means do empirical actors try to meet them? – and so on. A second type of coding categories identified by Kelle which can serve as heuristic tools are those that relate to general *topics of interest* covered in the data material.

> *Such topic-oriented codes can often be easily found by drawing on general common-sense knowledge or on specific local knowledge of the investigated field. Code*

> *categories like 'school', 'work' or 'family' represent simple examples of that. Topic-oriented codes may be far more complex than this. However, one should always ask the question, as with heuristic theoretical concepts, whether a certain code can serve for heuristic purposes or whether it excludes relevant phenomena from examination (ibid, p. 480).*

Kelle's methodological approach to coding was adopted during the coding of my data. The initial coding scheme consisted of codes with heuristic theoretical concepts, i.e. the codes did not contain empirically contentful concepts. Rather, they consisted of terms that could be related to different kinds of social phenomena. Sometimes a sentence or passage was assigned to a single code, whereas in some cases they were assigned to more than one code if the codes represented topics that 'fit' the subject matter in the sentence or passage. The possibility for multiple coding also highlighted the heuristic nature of the codes. In a second step the codes were refined by looking for redundant codes and by grouping similar codes into larger themes. This process helped to develop the major themes and sub-themes in the thesis.

Problems

As mentioned earlier, there were some difficulties in getting access to the target study population during the fieldwork. Even after the initial acceptance it took a long time, sometimes weeks, before a person would agree to take part in an interview. Given the limited time in the field, it was frustrating to devote so much time and effort to establish rapport, especially when people refused at the end to participate in the study. The difficulty of obtaining access to people and gaining acceptance was not limited to a particular group (Cameroonian, Somalis, other migrants interviewed, or 'native' Swedes). Access to these groups (and sub-groups such as women, men and people of different ages) seems to have been influenced by various factors such as language, 'race'/ethnic background, gender, class, age and religion.

An example of the problems of access occurred during my early contact with the Somali association – 'the meeting place' where I conducted the first participant observation. For two weeks after my introduction to the association I went to the meeting place almost every day and talked to people about my research work and why I was there. The day I tried to conduct my first interview, a Somali man, who will be called Osman, walked in. That was the first time I had seen him. The interview had just started and I was taking down notes because the respondent did not want the interview recorded. Osman, who seemed to have noticed me when he walked into the room, remained standing and spoke in Somali, as if he was speaking to the people nearest to him but in a voice that was quite audible for everyone in the room

to hear. He spoke for a few minutes and when he stopped my respondent abruptly stopped the interview, telling me that he had to go. After he left, I went to the washroom, which was on the way out, where Osman was standing in discussion with somebody. On my way back Osman stopped me and said assertively that I had no right to talk to anybody in that place. I tried to explain myself but he interrupted that I was interfering in their lives and should leave immediately, warning me never to come back.

Reluctantly, I took my belongings and left, but on the way home decided to return and try to persuade Osman one more time. Not sure about what would happen, I walked in, went straight to Osman and requested to talk to him outside. At this point it seemed clear that he was an influential person in that association. Even though I had talked about my work to all the people that I met in the 'meeting place' for the past two weeks that I went there and nobody had expressed any objection, I apologised to Osman for not asking permission from him. Then I went on and talked about the research project. He seemed happy with the apology, and it was a relief when he said it was OK for me to come back and talk to people. Eventually, Osman became one of my key informants who introduced me to many Somalis and helped convince them to take part in the study.

Osman, who was in his early forties, came to Sweden as a refugee in the early 1990s when the civil war broke out in Somalia. He first fled to Ethiopia, where he stayed for about a year before travelling to Sweden. After getting a permanent residence in Sweden he moved to the UK in the late 1990s to work. While there he got married to a Somali woman and they have two children. After living in the UK for some time, he moved back to Sweden to get a professional bus-driving licence. While waiting to get enrolled, he worked three jobs. He worked as a translator – from Swedish to English and vice versa, a cleaner in a hotel on weekends and a salesman in a shop. It was possible for him to do these jobs because they were all part-time. Often, he worked as a translator during the day, late in the afternoon he worked as a salesman and on weekends he worked at the hotel. With the entire busy schedule he still managed to make it to the 'meeting place' occasionally, where he was one of the coordinators. His plan was to save as much money as he could, get his driving licence and move to the UK with his family. After gaining Osman's confidence, I asked him once during an interview why he had sent me away from the 'meeting place' the first time that we met. He explained that a 'native' woman had conducted some interviews at the 'meeting place' before which had been damaging to Somali people. The woman, he explained, went about interviewing people with no one really understanding exactly what she wanted, and so the information she got was misleading about Somali people. Just like in my case, Osman confronted the

woman and later told her the 'right' information. What I make from this story is that when we first met Osman probably saw me as an 'outsider' whose research could be damaging to Somali people. With so much negative press coverage about Somali migrants and Somalia in general, such cautiousness comes as no surprise.

The above problem reflects the argument that research encounters are sometimes characterised by distance and estrangement between the researcher and the research participant, which the researcher needs to 'overcome' in order to gain access into the lives and perspectives of the research participants (Gunaratnam 2003, p. 80). Gunaratnam explains further in her analysis that methodological discussions on this topic are usually based on the assumption that the problem of distance/estrangement is inherent in situations where the 'race'/ethnicity of the interviewer and interviewee are different.

> *Within such approaches, ethnic correspondence between researchers and research participants is constructed as the best all-round solution to the 'problem' of gaining access to the experiences and perspectives of minoritized research participants. What is particularly striking and noteworthy... is that ethnic commonalities are not just seen as a way of addressing cultural and linguistic difference in research interactions – they are also promoted as reducing intersubjective distances between the interviewer and the research participant (ibid, p, 83).*

My experience on the field, as indicated in the example of my encounter with Osman, is that 'race' and ethnic commonalities with the research participants did not guarantee *per se* access to either the Somali or Cameroonian migrant community in Malmö. This represents a challenge to the notion that the problem of distance is present in research only where the 'race'/ethnicity of the researcher and the interviewee are different, and to the inherent assumption that matching the 'race'/ethnicity of researchers and interviewees solves this problem. Gunaratnam's analysis points out that interviewing without due regard to social, cultural and linguistic differences in the interview can lead to significant misunderstanding and/or misrepresentation that can feed back into racist practices. However, her analysis also indicates that even when there is a shared language between researchers and research participants, other differences, such as class, can have a significant effect upon communication and the interpretation of meaning. Her argument here is that the micro-social interactions within interviews should not be interpreted in relation to one single category of difference between the researcher and research participant because there are other differences and power relations.

Her argument advances three important points. First, it recognises multiple belongings and espouses a view that difference in the encounter between researcher and research participants is constructed relationally. This means that there are multiple differences and none of them should be seen as overarching. Second, one has to find a way to work through the complexities and contingency of multiple and cross-cutting differences. Third, the nature of the differences that are constructed and manifested within the interview are related to the play of specific power relations within particular interactional and social arenas, which need to be examined, located and attended to within the doing and analysis of the research. A common approach to this problem, which I find useful, is to view social science research as part of social and historical relations that produces rather than simply reflects what we are researching (Foucault 1981; Fairclough 2001).

My encounter with Somali and Cameroonian migrants, for example, faced different challenges such as the reluctance of some vulnerable people to talk about sensitive information. This was typical of asylum seekers and undocumented migrants, who were sometimes suspicious about what the information would be used for. Some people who did open up to discussions about their private life and experiences insisted that their identity be kept secret, whilst others wanted their names and even photographs to be used. In these encounters my interpretation of people's reluctance to share information, especially on sensitive issues that could compromise them, is that they associated me with the dominant Swedish institutions (at least the university), which they seemed to view with some suspicion. Even those who wanted to disclose their identity probably saw me as somebody who was in a position to make their voices heard. All of these experiences highlight the different social positioning of the researcher and the research participants and show that power relations influence the encounter between the researcher and the researched. On the other hand, the ability of the research participants to protect areas of their lives from scrutiny led them to question my role and motives as a researcher until elements of trust were established. People also exerted some influence on the interviewing process by withholding information, which shows that they were active participants in the research process and its outcome. All in all we can conclude that the micro-interactions in the field between the researcher and the research participants need to be analysed as relations of power. What we find here is that, in spite of the commonalities of our migrant background in terms of 'race'/ethnicity, there appeared to be other differences that made it difficult to gain access to some people. Not least the power relations that exist between the person understaking a study with his/her specific research questions and aims and the persons who are participants in the study, who

do not have any immediate gain and who cannot be sure how the information they provide is used.

In my encounter with 'native' Swedes, similar problems of distance and access were common. Some of them refused to talk to me, especially those working in large state institutions. My observation here is that different people produce different discourses, which appear to reflect their structural social position and experience in society. In this case it appears that differences between people in terms of their social position and their experiences in society also influence the way they interpret and represent the social world (Fairclough 2006, p. 31).

Chapter four. Conflict relations

From the short overview of the literature in chapter one, it became clear that immigration is a contentious issue which draws opposition and support. As mentioned earlier, opposition to immigration is based on claims that suggest migrants cause problems and constitute a threat to cohesion in society, taking away jobs and endangering a perceived cultural homogeneity. From the perspective of conflict theory, as shown in the theoretical chapter, when a goal is in opposition with another goal this is a constellation which promotes conflict (Elwert 2001, p 2542; Jacobsen & Brand-Jacobsen 2000, p. 30). For example, if the presence of migrants is seen as a threat to social cohesion and the intention of migrants is to stay (permanently or temporarily), one can say the *goals* of both parties are opposed to each other. From this point of view, opposing goals such as protests by migrants and opposition to immigration/migrants constitute conflict.

Conflict studies hold that most social conflicts are not purely between two actors but are often multidimensional. In the case of group conflict, it is possible to find alliances between people from opposite groups as well as to find internal divisions or conflicts within a group (Kriesberg & Millar 2009, pp. 15-16). With respect to my study this view suggests that relations between migrants and members of the dominant society could be one of rivalry or alliance. It also suggests that conflict between migrants and members of the dominant society does not necessarily mean a lack of internal conflict within each group or the development of alliances between migrants and members of the dominant society.

Identifying goals/needs in conflict relations

According to Galtung (2004, pp. 1-2), a goal is something positive or negative that can be pursued or avoided, and that every human being has goals. He explains that, unlike humans, organisations, cities and nations do not have goals but that when an influential person or group pronounces its position on the goal(s) of a city or country they often use the word 'interest' (p. 2). Interests, as he interprets them, are usually the badly concealed formulations of the goals of the leaders – for instance, that a country, town or organisation should be bigger and more powerful, perhaps in the hope that this would make them powerful. While Galtung's conceptual formulation differentiates between goals as either positive or negative, most importantly he asserts that some goals take priority over others because they are absolute, necessary conditions for the continued life of individuals. He argues that if such goals are not satisfied, life and human dignity cease to be

possible. He describes these kinds of goals as basic needs and points out that while other goals can be negotiated, basic needs cannot because they are necessary for our existence. Examples of basic needs, according to him, are *survival, well-being, freedom, identity*. His theory holds that conflict arises when some goals cannot be satisfied because they stand in opposition to other goals. This opposition, in his view, causes conflict because different people (groups) carry opposing goals. In consequence, the relationship with a goal becomes a relation with the person [group] who has the opposing goal. Identifying goals/interests is thus the first and important step in the analysis of conflict. The analysis in this chapter examines four different case studies. The first two are conflicts between migrants (one from Somalia and the other from Cameroon) and 'native' Swedes and the last two are internal conflicts within each migrant community.

Case one: conflicts in school

A Somali girl, Mariam, and her classmate who is a 'native' Swede got into a heated argument about whether or not it is appropriate to use 'Negro' as a referent to describe people of African descent. Mariam was interviewed together with her younger sister, Hofan. They came to Sweden when they were one and two years old respectively. Their parents divorced when they were still children and their father moved to the UK. During the period of the divorce they lived in Norway for a couple of years. When they came back from Norway they lived with their mother in Sweden for a while and then with their father in the UK. They went to school in both Sweden and the UK but at some point Hofan stayed with their father and Mariam with their mother until recently, when Hofan moved to Sweden. They still visit their father occasionally. In the UK, they lived in Brixton (London), which has a very high concentration of ethnic minorities including a strong presence of people with African descent. In Malmö they also live in a neighbourhood with a large population of ethnic minorities (migrants). The two girls were in high school at the time of the interview. They told me that they did not have 'native' Swedish friends and had very little or no interaction with them outside school.

> *Mariam: I got into a fight with a girl in my class and the teacher threw me out and let her stay. I thought that was not fair and said [to the teacher] it was because I am black...[she laughs]*[17]
>
> *Jon: You said that?*

[17] In the interview Mariam uses the term 'black' to refer to a person from sub-Saharan Africa or a person of visible sub-Saharan African descent. I use it in the same sense throughout the text and where necessary a specification is made to segments of black people like African Americans, African-Carribeans and migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa. Also, the term 'white' is used to refer to a person of visible European descent.

Mariam: Yeah, and she [the teacher] was like 'no'. And I said the other girl was also wrong so send her out, but the teacher said no. I had to stand up for myself - - it was only after my argument and yelling that the teacher threw her out - - it was not fair because if you have to take one out, take both of them out. That happens often, though.

Jon: What were you fighting about?

Mariam: We were arguing and I became mad and started yelling at her [classmate], and that is why the teacher got mad.

Jon: You yelled at her first?

Mariam: Yeah, but that was because she was saying offensive things. We were talking about slavery and she said it was OK to call black people Negro.

Jon: It would be interesting to hear the whole story.

Mariam: She just kept saying it is OK to say Negro and I was like 'No, is not OK, you don't have any right to say it,' but she insisted and said that was in the past. I was like, 'So [what]? I don't care if that happened a long time ago.' She replied that I have never been a slave. Then I said 'They are my people.' I got mad and started yelling at her, and the teacher took her side. I did not understand why.

Jon: Maybe the teacher did not hear what you were arguing about?

Mariam: She heard, she was listening and told me to leave when I started yelling.

Note: - - refers to a pause in the interview.

Analysis

The above conflict can be mapped out as follows: first, there is conflict between the two girls driven by their disagreement over the use of the term Negro; and second, the teacher intervenes in what seemed like an attempt to bring the escalating situation under control, but her way of handling the problem is considered unfair by Mariam, who openly accused the teacher of that. Mariam points out in the interview that she had to stand up for herself by yelling and arguing with the teacher in order to have the teacher punish the other girl in the same way that she was punished. This incident represents another conflict encounter. Both encounters (the one between Mariam and her classmate and the one between Mariam and the teacher) highlight the multidimensional nature of social conflict (Kriesberg & Millar 2009, pp. 15-16), as shall be shown.

Looking at the problem in terms of goals and how they oppose each other, we can establish that: since Mariam finds the word Negro offensive to her (and

to people of African descent in general), her goal can be identified as to be treated with respect. On the other hand, since her classmate considers the same word to be neutral, it means the suggestion that she stops using it is like asking her to surrender her right of free speech on the assumption that she uses it in a neutral sense. It can therefore be said that the goal of Mariam's classmate is to defend her right of free speech. Looking at the problem from this point of view helps to explain the actions and perceptions of the actors involved. This is an important step in the analysis, but in the perspective of conflict transformation it highlights just the *micro* aspect of the problem.

> *To transcend is to understand the root and heart of a conflict, not only based on the actors' perceptions, but also by taking an objective account of the underlying structures that have become manifest (Eriksson, 2005, p. 608).*

This suggests going beyond the individual accounts and understanding of the problem. It implies taking a critical view of the word Negro, which is at the centre of the problem, and highlighting the forces that sustain the problem. A critical view of the word Negro means looking at its meaning or symbolism and asking why it is considered offensive by some people and not by others. Likewise, highlighting the forces that sustain or produce this problem requires that we show how structures and/or institutions in society contribute to (or limit) the problem.

Generally, the word Negro can be seen as simply a group name like any other, but names [labels] do matter (Smith 1992, p. 512). Labels define ethno-racial groups and help to determine how 'in' and 'out' group members respond to the group (ibid). Labels in this sense can be seen as a discourse because they structure social relations and thereby have direct material consequences. According to the Encyclopaedia of Black Studies the term *Negro*, which means 'black' in Spanish, Portuguese and Latin, had its origin in the romanic languages. The term was first applied to Africans (central and south of the Sahara) when Spain, Portugal and other European powers invaded and dominated Africa around the mid 15th century[18]. Historical studies suggest that both Africans and people of African descent have never fully embraced the term Negro. Instead, they have used other terms to define their identity and sometimes they have openly denounced the term Negro.

In pre-colonial and colonial Africa, identity was often defined on the basis of tribal or ethnic affiliations (Gordon 2006; Brydon 2008). In post-colonial Africa, the major forms of identity are still based on tribal and ethnic

[18] "Negro." *Encyclopedia of Black Studies*. 2004. SAGE Publications. 1 Oct. 2009. <http://www.sage-ereference.com/blackstudies/Article_n189.html>

markers (Broche-Due 2005), and also a national experience shaped in part by the colonial experience and independence struggle (ibid; Nyamnjoh 2005) as well as by the postcolonial project of nation–building, as we shall see later on in the cases of Cameroon and Somalia. The preference for tribal, ethnic and, more recently, national identity in different parts of Africa can be seen as a subtle rejection of the label Negro by Africans.

Across the Atlantic in the USA, Americans of African descent showed opposition to the term as far back as the period of slavery. Bennett's (1970) essay entitled 'What's in a name' shows that the earliest Africans who migrated to the USA used the term 'African' to describe their identity. His analysis indicates that Americans of African descent dropped the term 'African' as an identity marker in favour of the label 'coloured' only after a campaign was launched to send those of them who were free 'back' to Africa in the 19th century (ibid, p. 376). Bennett's and other historical accounts show that throughout the history of the people of African descent in the USA different terms have been used to define their identity. The account of Smith (1992), for example, outlines the different terms that have been used in chronological order as follows: 'coloured', 'Negro', 'black' and 'African American', with the last two still in use today. Each term, as shown by Smith, was replaced because the subsequent term appeared to be more appealing and symbolic of racial pride or progress. This suggests the term Negro once had a positive connotation or a wide appeal in the USA. In the 1940s, for example, Negro was the preferred racial term by many associations formed by Americans of African descent (Smith, 1992, p. 500). It is also important to emphasise that the appeal of the term Negro was short-lived as the word came under attack during the Civil Rights years of the 1950s and early 1960s. Americans of African descent objected to its usage as they argued that Negro is a name that was imposed on them during the era of slavery and that it denotes subservience and complacency (Smith 1992, p. 499; Bennett 1970, p. 374).

The Swedish word for Negro is *neger* and it is controversial to refer to Africans or people of African descent as *neger*. Instead, *svart* (literally 'black') is the appropriate term that is used. The use of the fictitious names 'Neger Niggersson' and 'Oskar Neger', for example, by some police officers in Malmö during a training exercise in the spring of 2008 caused a stir and later contributed to an official investigation about misconduct of police officers in Malmö[19]. The incident occurred in class during a coursework organised at the Malmö county police station. According to news reports,

[19] Förundersökning om "Negger Niggersson." *SvD*. February 2009. http://www.svd.se/nyheter/inrikes/artikel_2449037.svd [Accessed 10th Sept 2009].

some individuals chose the above names during an exercise that required the use of names. Several students taking part in the course found it problematic and reported the matter to senior police officers, but no action was taken. The issue, however, attracted some attention later on when Malmö police officers were caught on camera making racially charged insults and threatening comments to rioting youths in Rosengård. 'You little ape son of a bitch. Should I make him sterile when I catch him?' a police officer said on tape. 'Yeah, he's going to get beat so well that he won't be able to stand on his own legs,' answered a colleague.[20] The comments by the police officers came to light when the video was presented as evidence in a court case against one of the alleged ringleaders of the riot. This appeared to have embarrassed the police in Malmö, who decided to launch an internal investigation that also examined the fictitious name incident and other similar misconducts by police in Malmö.

The incident of the fictitious name and how it unfolded shows a striking similarity with Mariam's experience in class. Several [police] students who were in class when the fictitious and controversial names were used, as noted in news reports, found it troubling that something like that was tolerated in class and reported the matter to senior police officers. Instead of having a debate about it, the senior police officers ignored the complaints. In this particular case and the one involving Mariam, a term that is considered offensive to people of African origin was used in class and in either case the teacher raised no objection. Mariam's teacher and the senior police officers at the Malmö county police station all undermined the seriousness of the problem even after they were made to understand that some students were offended or concerned. This is really unfortunate because name-callings and insults that otherise minorities can easily lead to physical violence (or other injustice), again because of their subordinate social position in society. The threatening comments by police officers to sterilise and seriously beat rioting youth in Rosengård shows how easily this can happen. If the police, who are expected to protect people, are the ones making threatening comments to minorities, then minorities cannot really rely on the police for help when other people threaten them. In fact, a report about the criminal justice system in Sweden by Martens et al. (2008) indicates that law enforcement officers in Sweden subject people with visible migrant background and other minorities to unfair treatment. Examples given in the report include racial profiling and directives that identify minority ethnic groups as more prone to criminality.

---

[20] "Inquiry to restore confidence in police." *The Local: Sweden's news in English.* February 2009. http://www.thelocal.se/17434/20090208/ [Accessed July 2010]

Another well-known controversy about the use of *neger* in Sweden is the case of a residential area in the town of Karlstad named *Negern* ('the negro') since 1866. It made national headline news in 2009 when an individual filed an official complaint that the name should be changed because it is offensive. This sparked a debate that divided the public between supporters and opponents of the name change, with the former arguing that the name had not been offensive in the past[21]. At first the City Council took side with opponents of the name change but, after heated debates and continuous pressure from the opposite camp, the name was changed[22]. From the debates that went on, it seems that the major cause of controversy around the term Negro in Sweden is the idea that it has always been neutral in Sweden until recently. What this implies is that Swedes who use it are either not aware that it is offensive or they use it in a neutral sense as they supposedly did in the past.

However, historical studies show that throughout the 18th and 19th centuries in Sweden (and other parts of Europe) the term Negro was charged with notions of racial inferiority. An article appearing in a popular Swedish newspaper in 1917 reads:

> *The more primitive a race, the more its individuals resemble one another both with respect to their outer appearance and their thinking powers, conceptions, and customs. It would be a difficult task to present a comprehensive picture of an entire nation of civilized people by way of a single example; but take an individual of the negro race, look at his facial movements, gestures, and walk, and observe his laugh and speech –it is impossible to see any difference between that which is characteristic of him and of 500 others of the same race (Pred 2004, p. 3).*

The above excerpt and other examples in Pred's essay show that the word Negro in Sweden was closely associated with notions of racial inferiority in the past. In addition, the use of the word in Sweden was also directly linked to racial violence. A letter of patent issued by King Gustav III on October 31, 1786 reads:

> *The West Indian Company (Västindiska Kompaniet) is granted the freedom to conduct slave trading on the coast of Angola and Africa, where it is allowed, and...the company may charter ships to whatever part of the world the company finds advantageous.*

In another document, dated March 12, 1790, King Gustav III writes:

---

[21] "Outrage over Swedish *negro* neighbourhood." *The Local: Sweden's news in English.* June 2009. http://www.thelocal.se/19898/20090605/ [Accessed 1st Sept. 2009]

[22] [22] "Swedish town ditches 'negro' neighbourhood". *The Local: Sweden's news in English.* September 2009. http://www.thelocal.se/22254/20090924/ [Accessed 5th Oct. 2009]

The free importation and trading of black slaves, or so-called new negroes, from Africa is granted to all nations without payment of any fee upon unloading [in Saint Barthélemy] (Pred 2004, pp. 78-79).

The strong association of the label Negro with racial inferiority, slavery and violence in the past in Sweden (and much of the Western hemisphere) makes it difficult to see it as a neutral word. The only reason why it might have appeared neutral in the eyes of some people is because racial violence was deeply institutionalised and normalised in the past. Many people realised the word is pejorative only after the institutions that helped normalise its use were openly challenged or transformed. There are many examples of words that were widely used in the past but are considered inappropriate in mainstream society today. The most common example deals with women. Prior to the Women's Rights Movement of the 1960s, many occupational titles were suffixed by *–man* or otherwise used as a masculine term that implies jobs were literally to be 'manned' (e.g. *chairman, foreman, best boy*). Making more jobs available to women later fostered some lexical changes – *letter-carrier* for *postman, chair or chairperson* for *chairman*, to name just a few. Referring to these and other examples, Henderson (2003, pp. 54-55) argues that these changes are motivated by the social activism and political leadership of the concerned and affected population.

The conclusion that can be drawn from the above discussion is that the word Negro in Sweden was pejorative and connected to racial violence against the people it described. To a certain degree, things are different today. The old regimes and institutions that normalised the degradation of racial minorities and supported racial violence against them have been transformed and replaced by new ones that are more tolerant to difference. Contemporary Sweden, for example, is said to have a generous refugee policy (see Niessen et al. 2007). In relation to Africa, Sweden has provided refuge to thousands of African migrants. However, in spite of the commitment to humanitarian issues, minorities in the country are still highly segregated structurally and are excluded in many respects. Different studies show that people of African descent face considerable degrees of exclusion in Sweden today (Pred 2004; Schmauch 2006) and much of it is caused by structural and institutional practices. This means that although society has undergone some transformations that have improved the situation of racial minorities, more needs to be done. Opposition to the use of the word Negro by people of African descent in Sweden therefore needs to be seen as part of a struggle to assert their group standing and to acquire greater equality (cf. Smith 1992, p. 513) and respect. In this context, Mariam's goal to be respected by not being called a Negro can be seen as a legitimate basic right. It is part of a struggle to set right unequal relations of power.

In the second encounter, the one between Mariam and the teacher, we can define their respective goals as follows: Mariam considered the way the teacher handled the problem between her and her classmate to be unfair. Based on this we can say that her goal is to be treated fairly in society. On the other hand, the teacher's intervention when Mariam started yelling and the decision to send her out of the classroom clearly seems to be a measure to maintain order in the classroom. We can also notice this in the fact that the teacher first rejected Mariam's demand that the other girl be sent out along with her, but that after Mariam started yelling the teacher gave in. From these incidents it can be established that the teacher's goal was to maintain order in class. The goal of the teacher and Mariam's goal as outlined above are conflicting because the goal of the teacher appears to threaten Mariam's goal of equal treatment. This problem seems to arise because the teacher is unwilling to address an underlying problem that affects Mariam as a racialised minority.

Keeping the class quiet can be seen as something good for the whole class, but the problem in the above case is that the teacher ignores the underlying cause of the problem. The argument between the two girls provided an opportunity to discuss basic Swedish values with the students such as respect for each other and tolerance to difference. These values are inscribed in both the parliamentary reforms that established 'multiculturalism' in Sweden (Schierup 1991) and also in the national curriculum for Swedish schools (Ahlström 2009). The national curriculum for Swedish schools provides school guidelines that encourage students to learn to listen, argue, discuss and use knowledge as a tool to formulate and solve problems. It also calls upon teachers to play a key role in this by way of openly presenting, discussing and welcoming different opinions, values and problems (ibid). The argument between the two girls in class about whether it is appropriate or not to refer to people of African descent as Negro is therefore in line with the guidelines of the national curriculum of Swedish schools. What is problematic is the teacher not acting as a mentor and taking part in the discussion. The teacher's primary concern about keeping the class quiet both fails to promote the recommendations of the national curriculum and to address a deep-seated problem that affects not only a racialised minority but the state of justice within Swedish society as a whole.

The school guidelines that encourage dialogue in school and the general 'multicultural' policy that seeks to promote equality in Swedish society are institutional factors that appear to promote a tolerant climate that can avoid the denigration of any human being. With the school and the general 'multicultural' policy appearing to provide such a tolerant atmosphere, the teacher's (in)action that failed to deal with the above problem properly can

easily be seen as an isolated incident. An interview with the assistant head teacher of a high school in Malmö suggests otherwise. The assistant head teacher (a 'native' Swede) was in his early thirties at the time of the interview. He had lived in Malmö for many years, and worked in the school for the last decade or so, the first five years as a teacher. His job, he explained in the interview, included: drawing up the school timetable, consultations with other institutions that were involved with education, consultations with parents (and sometimes students and teachers) about issues affecting the performance of students in school, hiring and laying-off teachers, and other administrative roles. I chose this particular school to hold the interview because it appeared to have a very mixed population of migrants and 'natives'. Some of the Somali migrants and 'native' Swedes whom I interviewed went to this school. Additionally, the officials at the school were more accessible than those I had contacted at another school. When asked about whether he receives complaints from minority students that they are discriminated against and how the school deals with such problems, he gave the following response.:

> *Asst. Head Teacher: I do sometimes hear things like 'I failed this course because she is too hard – it's because she is a racist.' Of course I hear that. But then I tell the student, 'I will ask the teacher to write down what you have done this semester. What are your grades? What have you done? What haven't you done?' And then we meet: the teacher, the student and me. On the other hand, I tell the student to do the same: 'Write down what you have done. I have the guidelines from the government.' And then the student always understands that it isn't because of racism. It's because he or she doesn't meet the goals – often because of the language, lack of effort or being absent from school. Sometimes it is a student that I have met before and know that their problem has to do with conditions at their home. But I've noticed that some minority students, as we discussed earlier, use that argument as a way to get better grades.*
>
> *Jon: How do you deal with such problems?*
>
> *Asst. Head Teacher: I tell them, 'You are free to express your feelings and thoughts, but don't say something like that because you lose the whole argument.' I tell them that 'You are free to think that way.' I gladly take care of the situation, try to help, but warn them never to use that argument...I don't think a teacher will say 'You are stupid because you are an Arab.' No, but it could happen in society outside [school]. 'Never use that argument if you cannot really prove it.' And I think that in a school where it is very mixed like here, the teachers cannot do that because then it would be so obvious.*

It appears in the above case that the school administration tries to follow the school guide-lines (provided by the state), which encourage students to express their views and have open discussions about their 'problems' in school. Such discussions are no doubt intended to diffuse the 'problems'. From the perspective of conflict transformation, listening to each other, especially with the mediation of a third party, can promote a better

understanding of the problem and provides the opportunity for transcendence. The assistant head teacher in the above case pointed out that minority students who complained about racism realise after such discussions that the problem had nothing to do with racism. Such a realisation means that they start looking at the problem in a different way that is probably less negative toward the people who they initially saw as racists. Despite the apparent success of this approach, the interview indicates that minority students are told not to think at all that their problems can have anything to do with racism. The contradiction between reassuring the students that they can say and feel what they like and the threat not to think, and especially not to say, that racism could be a reason for the way in which they are treated is striking.

Moreover, complaints of racism are easily dismissed as a ploy to get better grades. All of these indicate eagerness on the part of the school administration, represented by the assistant head teacher, to dismiss claims of racism and deny its existence in school. This can work against the very goal of promoting dialogue (and tolerance) and consequently be counterproductive to addressing the concerns of minority students. Here it is important to note that a discussion about racism (or any other problem) with the people involved does not necessarily mean that the accusation is true or that anybody is racist. Even if it were true that racism existed only outside school, as suggested by the assistant head teacher, that could still be a good reason to discuss it when minority students complain about racism.

To conclude, it is certain that the problems with Mariam came about because she and her classmate (and teacher) had competing goals. Conflict theory considers competition (opposition) between goals as the driving force behind conflict (Jacobsen & Brand-Jacobsen 2000, pp. 36-37). The perspective of conflict transformation holds that goals compete with each other and cause conflict because they are defined in exclusionary ways. In the above case study Mariam's goals – respect and equality – are opposed by the goals of her classmate – to say what she wants even when it offends Mariam, and the goal of the teacher – to keep the class quiet. While the last two goals are also important, they violate some basic needs of Mariam – respect and equality. The analysis indicates that part of the problem is the unwillingness or inability to recognise Mariam's need for respect and equality. The way the teacher avoided having a discussion about the issue suggests that even when the opportunity arose to have a discussion it was ignored. One can contrast this with the controversy surrounding the name of the residential area in Karlstad that was called 'Negern'. Initially, the institution with the authority to change the name objected to the demand but later on agreed to change the name after heated debates in the media and protests by some organisations:

notably, the National Afro-Swedish Association (Afrosvenskarnas riksförbund)[23] and the Centre Against Racism (Centrum mot rasism)[24].

Figure 12. People protesting against the neighbourhood name 'Negern' (the Negro) in the city of Karlstad. Source: Lars Hedelin, published 23/09/09, DN.se

From the photograph there is a demonstration going on and it is part of the broader public debate that took place before *negern* was dropped as a neighbourhood's name. The heated debates and protests that preceded the decision to change the name constituted a dialogue, which in conflict transformation is the key to addressing the root cause of the problem. The dialogue is just one step but it is an important one because it provides the opportunity for the conflicting parties to air their grievances and to listen to each other. From the experience in the USA, we know that it took the years of the Civil Rights Movement to initiate a national debate that also implied the general rejection of the term Negro. The problem in Sweden is that there is no broader social movement that advocates equality for racialised minorities in the country. This appears to be a major reason why there is no sustained national debate on the plight of racialised minorities. Instead, the common view is that Sweden is an egalitarian society where such problems do not exist. Unfortunately, this only ignores the problem and makes it

[23] "Outrage over Swedish *negro* neighbourhood". *The Local: Sweden's news in English.* June 2009. http://www.thelocal.se/19898/20090605/ [Accessed 1st Sept. 2009

[24] "Swedish town ditches 'negro' neighbourhood". *The Local: Sweden's news in English*. September 2009. http://www.thelocal.se/22254/20090924/ [Accessed 5th Oct. 2009]

impossible to find a solution to it. In this regard, denying that minorities in Sweden are discriminated against can be seen as part of the problem. The consequence is that racialised minorities like Mariam are left to deal with the problem individually. The incident in Karlstad has, however, opened a major debate in the locality about the situation of racialised minorities. Hopefully the discussion will continue even after the name change, because it is a process that needs a long time to be effective.

Case two: conflicts in the workplace

The second case is about a Cameroonian man who works at a construction firm. He felt that he was not treated well by his co-workers. Among all the workers at the firm he was the newest recruit and the only employee with a migrant background. Keita (in his late thirties) worked in Cameroon as a construction worker with a specialty in carpentry before migrating to Sweden. He came to Sweden at the beginning of the last decade as an asylum seeker. He lived in a camp with other asylum seekers, but through contacts with some Cameroonian acquaintances he found work as an assistant salesperson for a businessman from Africa. During that period he dated a 'native' woman, with whom he ended up having a child. In accordance with Swedish immigration laws, he was given a short-term (two years) residence permit when they started dating, and later with the child acquired a permanent residence. He took Swedish courses and later on some training to work as a construction worker. After completing his training he got a job with a construction company in Malmö, where he was working at the time of the interview. In the interview excerpt below he talks about some of his experience with his co-workers.

Keita: When you work with people and they ignore your ideas because they consider what you say to be rubbish, you just learn to live with that.

Jon: What do you mean by that, how do you react in a situation like that?

Keita: Well, I have learned to deal with it in my own way. Some people get upset, but what I do is stay calm and try not to let it bother me. I cannot force people to listen to me. You know - - people behave in a way that says a lot but you have to be careful because, for example, they don't say openly into your face that what you are saying is rubbish. And if you try to accuse them of anything they can defend themselves, so you need to be careful how you handle the problem.

Jon: In that case do you talk about it with them or you just stay quiet?

Keita: Sometimes you can have an open conversation, and if things don't get better you can complain that you are unable to work with that person. And they [hierarchy] can assign you with another person.

Jon: Have you been in a situation like that?

Keita: Yes, I was working with somebody who did not like to work but liked to control: 'Do like this, do like that.' We are doing something and he is not working, he goes around and when he comes back, he says 'You should have done it like this.'

Jon: Was he your boss?

Keita: He was a co-worker and we were working together, but he did not like to work because he has been working in the company for long.

Jon: So you asked to be reassigned?

Keita: Yes, that he was lazy; I don't like to work with people like that. But I don't like the way the problem was resolved because they acted as if they were angry with me. I thought they would reassign me to work with another person on the same construction site but they sent me to work at a different place.

Jon. Was it because he was lazy that you did not want to work with him?

Keita: He was lazy and bossy, and when you are bossy it is insulting. You are not working, you go around smoking and when you come back, I am working and the job is going on well but you start complaining. You know, there are different ways to get to the end but you want me to do things the way that you would normally do. That is impossible.

Analysis

The action (or inaction) of the people Keita works with, as indicated in the interview, made him feel ignored at work. Specifically, the action of the co-worker who was bossy to him is something that he did not like. Looking at the problem in terms of goals, two main goals can be identified with Keita. The first is to be taken seriously at work. We find this at the beginning of the interview where he explains that his co-workers ignored his ideas. According to the interview, Keita sees this behaviour as a subtle indication that what he says is rubbish, but since people don't say it openly he cannot accuse them of that. The second goal comes up in the interview where Keita explains that he worked with a co-worker who liked to control (who was lazy and bossy) and he found that insulting. From this we can establish that his goal here is to be treated as an equal by a co-worker. This goal is closely related to the first goal but the distinction is important because it captures the specific incident where each of the goals was expressed and makes it easier to analyse the problem.

Concerning the co-workers, Keita experienced that they ignored him and did not listen to his ideas at work. In other words, they did not consider his ideas at work to be relevant to whatever they were doing. This suggests that the

goal of the co-workers in general is that they did not want to communicate with Keita. This does not seem to make sense because Keita is an employee at the firm like the rest of them. Why would they want to ignore him?

A separate interview with a 'native' man –Martin – provides some more understanding of the problem between Keita and his co-workers. Martin, who was in his early fifties, was working in one of the employment offices – *Arbetsförmedlingen*, in Malmö. He has had many contacts with migrant clients at his work for over twenty years. Prior to working at the employment office, he worked as a construction worker for several years in Malmö. The first time that I went to the employment office to make contact, we met at the reception and I talked about my work, making it clear that I would like to interview any of the officials at the employment office. He told me that they were all busy and that I should get an appointment. That was something which I had already tried, and the people I contacted said they were going on vacation. A few days later I returned to the office and met a woman who agreed to have an interview with me. Martin, who saw me when I was talking to the woman, had probably found out from her that we had scheduled to have an interview, because on the day of the interview the woman told me that her boss said I should interview her for half an hour and then him for another half-hour. Later, when I went to interview her boss, I was surprised to see Martin. Thirty minutes into the interview, when I thanked him to say goodbye he told me not to worry – that he had time and we could continue the discussion.

> *Martin: ...I worked with construction for eighteen years and it was always the same for all the new employees – they did the dirty jobs. But today if someone gets a job like that, it is discrimination. He thinks it is discrimination. But it's been like that, even for me when I started. I got all the dirty work, all the heavy work. I'm not saying it is right but that it is a tradition –maybe that we have to take away. And I think it is less popular because when women, for example, started doing the same kind of work the system underwent some changes. People started being conscious about what they said and did. It was an adjustment when women came into the picture.*
>
> *Jon: Do you meet people at your work who complain about discrimination?*
>
> *Martin: Yes, it happens.*
>
> *Jon: Could you give an example?*
>
> *Martin: Yes, sometimes we have – and it's often in the building industry – they have a language, a certain way of speaking. I think you have that in all countries. In the building industry there is a certain way of talking and doing things that can make some people feel they are being discriminated [against], but it is not discrimination because they do it to everyone [who is newly employed].*

The interview with Martin points out that, first, there is a tradition in construction firms in Sweden that requires newly employed workers to do all the 'dirty jobs'; and second, in construction work the workers have a way of speaking and doing things that can make some people feel discriminated against. The first point indicates that construction firms in Sweden have a history of allowing practices that subordinate newly recruited workers. If they are asked to do 'dirty jobs' it implies that co-workers who have stayed longer at the firm are assigned to jobs that are not 'dirty' or not as 'dirty'. The second point suggests that people who are not familiar with the norms of construction firms in Sweden, which allow newly recruited workers to be subordinated, might feel discriminated against. The two points simply indicate that it has always been a normal practice at construction firms in Sweden to subordinate newly recruited workers. It therefore appears that the ignoring of Keita's ideas by his co-workers reflects a deeply embedded practice at the firm. However, if ignoring a co-worker who is trying to work so hard is acceptable at the firm, then it is fair to ask how something like that is of benefit to the firm. The benefit of having a tradition that allows workers to subordinate newly recruited co-workers could be that it normalises practices of subordination at the firm and thereby strengthens the authority of the leadership over all the workers.

Looking at the second incident, where a co-worker was 'bossy' towards Keita, it seems that the goal of the co-worker is to control. In doing that he asserts his authority over others at the firm. It is also important to note that by controlling a newly recruited employee, the co-worker was probably following an established tradition at the firm. Here, the decision to reassign Keita to another construction site while taking no action against the co-worker who was 'bossy' toward Keita suggests that the superior supports what the co-worker did or that he saw Keita as the problem – or simply did not have the courage to confront the co-worker.

The above goals – to avoid communication and to control – can be said to be in opposition with Keita's goals – to be taken seriously and treated equally at work. From the theory of conflict transformation that has been presented, to control someone can be seen as a violation of the basic rights of that person (Galtung 2004). The problem in the above case therefore appears to be with the goals of Keita's co-workers and the co-worker who was 'bossy' towards him. While Martin in the interview above was critical of the tradition of subordinating newly recruited workers in construction firms and thought it ought to be changed, even if it was long established, he explains in the interview that things changed when women came into the workforce. What this alerts us to is that when the composition of the workforce changes, institutionalised rituals and traditions come into question. Why does this not

happen when people of ethnic or so-called racial minorities like Keita enter the workforce? A possible answer is that feminism in Sweden became a relatively powerful movement. Besides, women were/are needed for the labour market and, even though they are discriminated against, they are still seen as belonging to the nation-state. While migrant workers are equally a necessary part of the labour force, they are constructed as not belonging to the nation-state and therefore it is more difficult for them to claim their rights. This is especially difficult when people have to struggle on their own, being perhaps the only person with a migrant background, while there is no strong movement of migrant/ethnic minorities which could support such struggles.

Let us look at some literature that has researched the situation of migrants at the workplace. Different studies in Sweden indicate that migrants face problems of exclusion in the labour market (Ryding 2001; Arai & Vilhemsson 2004). The problem, however, varies according to factors such as gender and place of origin with migrants from Africa and the Global South in general, and women in most cases facing severe forms of labour market exclusion (Englund 2002; Sverige Integrationsverket 2006; pp. 41- 50). Other studies show that migrants who are employed work mostly in low-paid and insecure jobs (Knocke 2000; Schierup 1991). Analysis of the employment data of the biggest employer in the city of Malmö, the City Council, reveals that migrants from Latin America, Asia and Africa are over-represented in menial occupations that are lowly paid (Broomé et al, 2007b). The situation of migrants, especially those from economically poor countries, on the Swedish labour market is dire. This means that migrants and Swedes occupy different structural social positions that in turn create different opportunities.

A study by Ryan Smith (2002, p. 535) argues that a major cause of inequality is the under-representation of minorities in positions of authority, especially in top levels of management. The study shows that the hegemony of a dominant group over positions of authority is maintained through one of three different ways: first, that political and social elites preserve power and privileges by limiting opportunities for mobility to themselves or similar others; the second argument holds that the decision to promote subordinates into higher managerial ranks is marked by a lot of uncertainty, and such uncertainty encourages authority elites to develop management enclaves composed of individuals who share a common set of social and demographic characteristics; and finally, that racialised minorities are employed at the bottom of the organisational hierarchy (ibid, pp. 520-522). Whatever way we decide to look at the situation, it is obvious that hegemony of a dominant group over positions of authority in organisations reproduces itself in a way

that continuously excludes minorities and maintains the status quo. In a different study Dennis and Martin (2005) show that rules, formal or informal, are established by people in a position of authority that make it possible for them to impose their definition of the situation and thus to criminalise certain activities or stigmatise whole groups of people. Foucault (1990, pp.93-93) argued that power is relational and ubiquitous and that it exists because we produce and reproduce structures of inequality through our daily actions and interactions (c.f. Dennis & Martin, 2005, pp. 208-209). The question that arises is whether this concept of power helps us in Keita's case to understand how a social practice that appears to predate the arrival of migrants marginalises migrants today?

While Swedish men in construction firms have always been subjected to working practices that subordinate workers who are newly recruited, we need to recognise that they can find their way up to positions of authority in the firm through promotion. Their subordination at work when they are newly recruited is like a ritual which is lived by all, and those who might not like it might be able to leave and, except for times of crisis, it would not be much of a problem for them to find employment elsewhere. For women or minority employees like Keita, it is more likely that they will remain at the bottom of the organisational hierarchy for life. To subject a minority member like Keita to the same work 'ritual' which Swedish men go through when they are employed at construction firms does therefore not have the same meaning for him as it has for a Swedish worker. It adds to experiences of subordination and marginalisation in society at large.

In conclusion, trying to analyse the problem outlined in Keita's interview using conflict theory allows us to see some things, but does not shed light on others. Keita's goals – namely, to be taken seriously and treated as an equal by his colleagues – are being violated by them. The goal of his co-workers, which is to exercise their traditional rituals of treating newcomers badly, cannot be judged by the same measures as we judge Keita's goals because they violate a basic right (need), which cannot be compromised. Conflict transformation theory is clear about prioritising goals that represent a basic need such as human right over other types of goals (Galtung 2004, pp. 2-3). A theoretical framework that helps to explain why human rights are compromised is the theory of power relations. The perspective of power relations also helps to explain why the same practices – namely, to treat newcomers worse than other workers – has a different meaning for different groups of people.

The authors, who use the concept of unequal power relations to analyse work situations/workplaces, draw their conceptual tools from more general

theories, like in the case of Dennis & Martin (2005) and Ryan Smith (2002) from Michel Foucault. Foucault argues that power permeates all social relations and in general can be seen as a form of negotiating relationships. At one point one partner will be in the more powerful position, at another point the other. The problem arises, Foucault argues, when the possibility of reversing the power relations disappears: that is, when one partner is permanently in a position of having less/more power. Foucault then talks about domination (1997, p. 283). In the case analysed here, this is exactly what we find. Keita as a member of a racialised group within Swedish society is in a permanently inferior position. He belongs to a minority, which is highly over-represented among the unemployed and among those with lower positions on the labour market. In order to understand such everyday situations of conflict we cannot only look at the interests and goals in the immediate situation. This is why conflict transformation argues that conflicts are embedded in structural relations and that conflict can transcend only by first changing the structural conditions that make it possible (Eriksson 2005, p.608). The theory of power relations therefore plays a crucial role in the analyses of conflict transformation because it helps to reveal how structural relations in society create conditions for conflict that cannot be resolved by solely referring to the specific context within which these conflicts are played out.

Case three: conflicts within the Cameroonian migrant community in Malmö

It has already been shown that migrant cultural associations are a central feature in the lives of Cameroonian and Somali migrants in Malmö. The presentation of the migrant cultural associations, in chapter three, showed that there are competing forms of identification among Cameroonian and Somali migrants in Malmö. This provides a complex set of internal relations among the two migrant communities. With competing forms of regional (and tribal or clan) belonging, the Somali and Cameroonian migrant communities appear to be characterised by division and conflict. The interview with Atanga below illustrates just how this problem manifests itself in the Cameroonian community.

Atanga is a Cameroonian whose parents migrated from Nigeria. He was born and raised in Cameroon and migrated to Sweden in the late 1990s. His arrival at that time put him among the early Cameroonian migrants in Malmö. Sweden was actually his second stop in Europe after he had spent a semester in Denmark for a study programme. Faced with financial difficulties, he suspended his studies (and eventually abandoned them) in order to work. Not long after suspending the programme he moved to

Malmö, where he had some friends. Later on he cohabited with a 'native' woman, with whom he later got married and had children. He was an active member of the Cameroonian cultural association, SKÅNECAM and was also a member in Nigerian and Ghanaian cultural associations. Being one of the earliest Cameroonians in Malmö and somebody who had been working for most of the time since he came to Sweden, many Cameroonians who came after him turned to him for help with their problems. Quite a handful of the Cameroonians who were interviewed said they got their first job or housing through Atanga. At the time of the interview Atanga was in his late thirties and was working in Denmark. He saw himself as a Cameroonian, Nigerian and also a Swede. The interview with Atanga was conducted at a garage while his car was being repaired, but we sat in a quiet place.

Atanga: My parents are from Nigeria but I was born and raised in Cameroon. When I came to Malmö, Cameroonians did not have a strong community. I made an effort to bring them together and the first meeting we had was held at my place. I spent about 5 000 SEK to organise the meeting. After the meeting we formed a Cameroonian association but there was a lot of disagreement as some people complained that a Nigerian was running the association. I asked them what it means to be a Cameroonian. I think it should be about togetherness. I don't think anybody would be happy if they were born in Sweden and the Swedish government refused to give them a Swedish nationality. It would be very painful if they refused to recognise you as a Swede in that situation. I was born and raised in Cameroon by Nigerian parents and it is my parents who are Nigerians, not me. There were also other problems in the association, all of which made it difficult for the association to run smoothly. Recently I talked to some Cameroonians and we tried to revamp the association but there are still a lot of disagreements, especially with the French-speaking Cameroonians. On the day of the election some people wanted me to be the president, but I preferred the post of vice-president because I don't want anybody complaining about the issue of nationality. I am also a member of a Nigerian association and a Ghanaian association, but deep down inside I feel that I am more of a Cameroonian because that is where I was raised.

Jon: What about your relationship with French-speaking Cameroonians?

Atanga: The problem is that back in Cameroon they control everything and feel superior. In Cameroon they don't even bother to learn English, but when they travel abroad that is when they realise that English is widely spoken. In our last meeting there was a big problem because French-speaking Cameroonians complained that English–speaking Cameroonians controlled everything in the meeting. But normally I have good friends who are French-speaking Cameroonians. The division is not only between French-speaking and English-speaking Cameroonians. I heard that the people from the North West region are trying to form their own association. Despite all the differences we all come together when there is a problem. I just lost my sister, and both English and French-speaking Cameroonians came for the wake and supported me financially. Nigerians also supported me with money and altogether I received about 30 000 crowns [SEK].

Analysis

The above interview and background information about Atanga tells us that he is a founding and dedicated member of the Cameroonian cultural association SKÅNECAM. Some people in the association saw him as a Nigerian and objected to him running the association. The interview indicates that Atanga was unhappy with the situation. He expressed this in the sentence: 'I don't think anybody would be happy if they were born in Sweden and the Swedish government refused to give them a Swedish nationality'. In relation to goals one can say that Atanga's goal is to belong and identify with the community where he was born and raised. To belong to and identify with a community are key aspects of our identity (Yuval-Davis 2006), and our identity in conflict transformation theory is perceived as a basic need (human rights issue): that is, a goal that cannot be compromised. With respect to those who contest Atanga's Cameroonian identity, we can say their goal is to have a homogeneous Cameroonian migrant community, which means expelling 'outsiders'. From their point of view, 'outsiders' are seen as a threat to the perceived homogeneity and harmony of the group (Laclau & Mouffe 1985). The reality, however, is that both the ideas of homogeneity and harmony are myths and the identity of a group is possible only through the construction of boundaries and 'outsiders' (ibid). This means boundaries and 'outsiders' are constructed in order to create an illusion of homogeneity and harmony.

The two goals: Atanga's goal to belong and identify with the community of his home country and the goal of some members of the community to expel him or limit his rights within that community are clearly conflicting. It is important to note that not everybody in the association questions his belonging or considers his leadership role to be problematic. The interview indicated that he was elected to a leadership position and some members wanted him to be president of the association. This suggests that the question of Atanga's belonging is contested in the association because some people accept him as a Cameroonian and others do not. The representation of Atanga as a Nigerian also reflects the restrictive naturalisation process in Cameroon, where citizenship is largely defined in terms of descent, as pointed out earlier. The importance of descent in the construction of national identity in this case is that it serves to construct *boundaries* between perceived 'in' and 'out' group members. *Boundaries* here are understood as 'social mediums through which association transpires rather than as territorial demarcations' (Sanders 2002, p.327). In other words, it constructs an *interior frontier*, which Stoler defines as 'internal distinctions within a community' (Stoler 1992, p. 516). To draw internal frontiers entails two dilemmas: the purity of the community is prone to penetration from

within and outside, and the essence of the community has to be constructed as an intangible 'moral attitude', 'a multiplicity of invisible ties' (ibid, p. 516). The construction of boundaries (interior frontiers) is aimed at protecting the perceived homogeneity of a group from 'outsiders' who are within the group. In Atanga's case it is obvious that those who oppose his leadership, arguing that he is a Nigerian, see him as an outsider within the association. He is already in the association but his opposition aim to construct a boundary (interior frontier) by means of denying him the right to hold a leadership position.

In the interview, Atanga points out that there are other problems within the association. As already mentioned, the first is that French-speaking Cameroonians complain that their English-speaking counterparts dominate in the association, and the second is that Cameroonians from the northwest region of the country want to form a separate association. In both cases one can argue that the problems as outlined by Atanga are expressed in terms of national/regional differences and conflicts that are reminiscent of the problems between different groups in Cameroon. In this regard we can say that within the Cameroonian community in Malmö there are smaller communities of belonging, which have conflicting goals. Having internal divisions and conflicts is not something that is restricted to Cameroonian migrants. In a study on Polish undocumented migrants in Belgium Grzymala-Kazlowska (2005) shows that Polish undocumented migrants spend most of their spare time with co-ethnics, live in Polish migrant communities, and are attached to Polish migrant institutions like the church. The study also reports a lack of solidarity as Poles turn to look inward to their families.

> *In general, there is a divergence in the self-perception of Polish migrants in Belgium. On the one hand, they complain about a lack of ethnic solidarity and social trust, and about the strong rivalry and frequent violation of social norms (unfair competition, exploitation, cheating, thefts). But on the other hand, Polish migrants perceive themselves as model employees: hardworking, professional, honest and loyal towards employers. They believe that the second image prevails among Belgian employers (ibid, p.680).*

Grzymala-Kazlowska explains that severe conditions such as difficulties in the labour market promote internal competition as Polish migrants focus on their short-term individual benefits and the welfare of their families. In general, her analysis indicates that migrants (like everybody else) have multiple and sometimes competing belongings: national and regional belongings. What the analysis also reveals is that external factors such as the labour market situation affect social relations within a migrant community. Difficulties in the labour market, for example, can cause competition within

a migrant community. A closer look at the situation of the Cameroonian migrant community in Malmö shows that underneath the internal divisions and conflicts are other problems, as pointed out by a member (Fonkemba) who was very critical of the association.

> *Fonkemba: The Cameroon association should have been a powerful and influential group but it is not. This is the second time that they are failing, but why? Because the people who brought it down last time are the very ones running the association now. In addition, some people have had a bad experience with some Cameroonians when they came here and they do not like to go to the association if those people are there. There is also the issue of money and valuables of the association, which are in the hands of some people who want to own them, and during elections these same people are elected.*

The above excerpt indicates the following as specific problems that confront the Cameroonian migrant association. The first problem is leadership, because, as the excerpt claims, the association is in the hands of people who could not run it successfully in the past; second, it appears that there are unresolved problems between some members and this seems to cause some of them to shun the association; and third, there is apparently the issue of accountability. Some individuals try to appropriate the money and valuables of the association. These can be seen as part of the underlying causes behind the internal division in the Cameroonian migrant community in Malmö. What seems to happen is that when the association faces these kinds of challenges people explain them using internal regional and home-place differences – real or perceived. This might be an easy way to rationalise the problems they face.

Another useful explanation of the above formation of multiple and conflicting belongings in the Cameroonian migrant community can be taken from Hall's (1992) analysis of cultural identity. First he argues that national cultures are very heterogeneous:

> *Instead of thinking of national cultures as unified, we should think of them as constituting a discursive device which represents differences as unity or identity. They are cross-cut by deep internal divisions and differences, and 'unified' only through the exercise of different forms of cultural power. Yet – as in the fantasies of the 'whole' self of which Lacanian psychoanalysis speaks –national identities continue to be represented as unified (ibid, p. 297).*

Hall points out that in modern history national cultures have dominated 'modernity' and national identities have tended to win out over more particularistic sources of identification. Nevertheless, he argues that at the end of the 20th century globalisation is dislocating national cultural identities, resulting in different outcomes. It might lead to the strengthening of local identities, or to the production of new ones. The strengthening of

local identities can be seen in the strong defensive reaction of members of dominant ethnic groups who feel threatened by the presence of other cultures. Often, they react by embracing the ideas of ethnic absolutism and purity, which exclude 'new minorities'. Hall argues that this is sometimes matched by a strategic retreat to more defensive identities amongst the minority communities themselves in response to the experience of exclusion; and that such strategies include re-identification with cultures of origin, the construction of strong counter-ethnicities or the revival of cultural traditionalism, religious orthodoxy and political separatism. In relation to the above case study we can see the formation of a Cameroonian migrant community as a response to a closed Swedish society. The Cameroonian national identity is, however, heterogeneous and the Cameroonian migrants tend to retain both their national as well as their more particularistic identities.

Case four: conflict within the Somali migrant community in Malmö

In general, internal divisions among Somali migrants in Malmö are difficult to detect from outside because they are rarely expressed in public. Nevertheless, interviews with Somalis and people close to their community indicate that clan and regional differences are divisive issues within the society. A young woman from Somaliland in the Somali cultural association *Ung Vision* explained that she interacts quite well with Somali migrants from different parts of Somalia but considers her Somaliland identity important.

The woman, who will be called Amina, was in her mid-twenties when the interview was conducted. Amina's father was a diplomat who had worked in Somali embassies abroad prior to the breakout of the country's civil war. He took his family to Sweden in the later 1980s, just before the civil war started. By then Amina was only 3 years old. Amina has six siblings. She recalled living and going to school in a small town outside Malmö, where they were the only migrant family in the area. She has been actively involved with group activities (including sports, notably basketball) and has many friends outside the Somali community. Her parents and younger siblings moved to the UK in 2005, but before then Amina had already been living in the UK for one year. She went there to work because, according to her, it was difficult to get the kind of job that she wanted in Sweden. Her father also moved to the UK for similar reasons. She came back to Sweden to retake her high school exam and improve on her grades. The plan was to further her education or get training in something that she liked. Besides going to school she was one

of the youth leaders of *Ung Vision*. Amina has also lived briefly in the USA during a visit with relatives some years before she moved to the UK.

Jon: Is your Somaliland identity something that is very important to you?

Amina: Yeah, to be honest we are here [in Sweden] and it doesn't really matter because we are here and we all came here for the same reason. But many of my relatives died for a cause, and I need to respect that, otherwise it would be like they died for nothing. It wasn't even about us having our own state. It was injustice, you know, was like one clan was bigger than the others and wanted to dominate the country and kill their rivals. It was ethnic cleansing, you know, but, you know - - yeah, is important. It is my identity and I can't shove it away. I am a Somalilander, if you can say it like that.

Jon: Does it influence the way you relate to people from different parts of Somalia?

Amina: Yeah, indirectly, because I don't really care any more, you know – the war is over now and I have been to Somaliland and I see how good we have it compared to the other parts of Somalia like Mogadishu[25]*. So I feel proud and have a sense of relief, and so long as you don't talk about your clan and stuff I can identify with you, because at the end of the day we are the same people. But the Somalis are very racist people and they talk about clans and stuff like that.*

Jon: Is it common for them to talk about clan?

Amina: Yeah, it is. They don't wanna marry each other because they are from the other clan and ridiculous stuff like that, but we are the same people. Somalia is the only country in Africa with people that are all the same, we have the same language, the same religion, we are one people.

Jon: I was going to ask you about the marriage situation between different clans.

Amina: For me personally, I would never marry a Somali from the other side, to be honest. I'd rather marry a Swede.

Jon: Why?

Amina: Because it's like they raided us, they pissed on us, they did everything, they murdered us. That is how I look at it, but that is the unpatriotic side of me. I still love my country and it is not as if I would not stand up for my country, but I would never intermarry, mix my family with their family, after what they did. I'd rather marry a Swede, you know.

Analysis

Regional and clan differences in Somalia, as indicated in the interview, influence how Somali migrants in Malmö interact with each other. Though

[25] In my interviews Somalis from Somaliland often referred to the southern part of the country simply as Mogadishu.

similar to the internal divisions within the Cameroonian migrant community that was shown earlier, the two communities differ in one major way. Somalis have taken arms against each other in a bloody civil war that has greatly shattered the national bond and deepened internal divisions. The civil war experience and the pain it inflicted on different sides caused deep-seated animosity between opposing sides (Walls 2009). Conflict transformation theory holds that it can take a long time for rivals to get over their differences and frustration after a violent confrontation (Lederach 1995; Galtung 2004). In the above interview, Amina represents the involvement of her relatives in the Somali civil war as a struggle against injustice inflicted on them by the dominant group in Somalia. It is important to note here that prior to the civil war and disintegration of the central government in Somalia the main opposition movement, the Somalia National Movement (SNM) was from the northern part of the country (Lewis 1991, p. 12). In addition, dating back to the early 1980s northern Somalia was administered by an increasingly harsh military rule with savage reprisals meted out to the assumedly pro-SNM local population, who were subjected to severe economic and political harassment (ibid). Amina's representation of the plight of the Somalis from this area (Somaliland) as victims shows her emotional attachment to the problem and a deep-seated animosity to the people she perceive as the perpetrators.

Later in the interview she points out that, as long as other Somalis do not talk about their clan differences, she can identify with them because they are all the same people. She even argues that Somalia is the only country in Africa with people who are the same, have a common language and one religion. Her representation of Somalia as a homogeneous society, a nation, might be the reason why she wants to identify with all Somalis. We notice here a desire to identify with all Somalis but on the condition that they keep aside their clan differences. Amina also expresses the same view that she criticised in other Somalis earlier when she states that she would never marry a Somali from the 'other side'. This indicates a struggle within her to embrace two conflicting identities: these are her Somali broad national identity and her Somaliland particularistic identity. Anger against clan and regional rivals who are fellow Somalis makes it difficult for Amina to embrace a broad national Somali identity. At the same time she finds it problematic that Somalis talk about their different clan identities and refuse to intermarry, even though she claims she wants to follow that practice. The sentence, 'I still love my country and it is not as if I would not stand up for my country, but I would never intermarry, mix my family with their family, after what they did,' shows the internal conflict and shifting positions of Amina with respect to her belonging.

Looking at the whole problem from the perspective of conflict theory, we can start by mapping out the conflict in the following ways. Amina views the involvement and human losses of the people of northern Somalia in the Somali civil war as a struggle for justice and that for her it is important to ensure that they did not die for nothing. This means supporting what they stood up for, which is justice and political autonomy – given that a major outcome of their struggle was the secession of Somaliland. And indeed, people from northern Somalia today see justice and the political autonomy of the region as the legacies of their struggle[26]. Amina's goal, from this point of view, is to support the autonomy of the people of Somaliland and their development of an identity that differentiates them from the rest of Somalia. In this respect any disregard for their autonomy and separate identity can be seen as a conflicting goal. Given Amina's tendency to embrace a Somaliland and Somali identies, the conflict in this case is within her. This conflict in her can also be seen as reflective of internal conflicts within the broader Somali community where there is antagonism between different clans and regions. During a separate interview with a man from West Africa in Rosengård, he brought up a story about a Somali man who was afraid to make advances to a Somali girl whom he admired because they came from different clans. The West African man knows the Somali man and woman in the story and explained that a few years after the Somali man told him about his feelings for the girl, the girl got married to a 'native' Swedish man

The clan and regional conflicts in Somalia can be seen as a major hindrance to marriage between people from rivalling clans and regions in Somalia. Generally, intermarriages that cut across rivalling (or endogamous) communities easily meet with reluctance or rejection. This argument is supported by the case of Turkish-Greek intermarriages (Petronoti & Papagaroufali 2006) and cross-cultural marriages involving Tamils from India in Singapore (Wise & Velayutham 2008). Reacting to public disapproval of such a union between Greeks and Turks in Greece, a Greek woman whose Turkish husband could easily pass as Greek conceals her husband's identity and denominates him with a Christian name (Petronoti & Papagaroufali 2006, p. 568). Amina's views about marriage suggest that her desire not to marry a Somali from a rivalling clan or region is a personal decision that is not based on coercion from her family or Somaliland community. She also expresses in the interview that she would not mind defying her parents and Somali or Somaliland community to get marry to a 'Swede'. Marriage between people of diverse ethnic, racial and religious backgrounds are also known to meet a lot of disapproval (Nordin 2000).

[26] See 'Words From a Somalilander in Diaspora on May 18th Anniversary' In *The Somaliland Times*, Issue 70. Online: http://www.somalilandtimes.net/2003/70/7019.shtml [Accessed 13 /12/2009]

Many of the Somalis that I interviewed, including Amina, acknowledge that their parents (and society at large) would be very reluctant to support such a union. By showing a willingness to defy her parents and migrant community on the issue of cross-cultural marriage with 'natives', Amina can be seen as challenging established Somali norms about marriage and power relations in the Somali family, which subordinate women (Helander 1991; Kapteinjns 1999). The follow-up discussion with Amina highlights this point.

Jon: Would your parents allow you to marry a Swede?

Amina. Yeah, if he converts. But, you know, people talk and there would be a lot of fighting even after we get married. They would threaten never to talk to me again and accuse me that I embarrassed them and blah–blah, but at the end you need to understand it is your parents and they love you. If you get a baby they would come. The problem really is your own fears. Don't you remember when you were younger and if your mum said you should be home at 6 o'clock you felt that you could not be 5 minutes late? But the older you become, you understand that she is not that strict. So, before I was like 'They would kill me if I did this or that,' but you have to understand that it is human nature. They want to scare you so that you should not do certain things but, at the end of the day, they are your family.

Jon: So what you are trying to say is that..?

Amina: They won't be like 'Hallelujah! Go and marry [a Swede]!' They would give their opinion and, at the end of the day, they have to welcome my choice because they are my parents.

Jon: Would it be the same for your brothers if they brought home a Swedish girl?

Amina: No, they are men, you know, and it is different because they say in our village that a man is not required to convert a woman before marrying. He can marry a Christian woman because his child would automatically become a Muslim, and that it is easier for a man to convince a woman to convert to Islam than the other way round. So a woman needs to make her man Muslim first. But then what happens if you get divorced and the child is with the non-Muslim woman? You know, is a lot of bullshit like that. So I don't know, is a lot of hypocrisy. So that is what they believe.

Amina in this interview is critical of the cultural or religious beliefs of her fellow country men and women (from the village in Somalia where she comes from). Nevertheless, she embraces her parents and plays down the differences and conflicts between them by seeing the problem as something caused by society, individual fears and human weakness. People will talk, for example, if she marries a 'Swede' and her parents would feel embarrassed. Her own fears might cause her not to marry the man, even if she wanted to, and all of this because of human weakness. This suggests that Amina views the problem as something that is complex and requires dialogue with her parents and compromise from both sides. The time analogy which she makes

indicates that what her parents say or expect of her is meant to provide a guideline and not seen as definite. Since they are generally expected to carry out this function, her parents can be seen as doing what any responsible parent would do. It appears her parents are predominantly concerned about the embarrassment such an action would bring to them and probably the whole family, as opposed to being against such a possible marriage themselves. Generally it is common to have pressure from within our communities of belonging to adhere to their norms and values, especially when it comes to the issue of marriage (Nordin 2000). There are, however, cases of people who break community norms and intermarry in communities where endogamy is strong. The study on Tamils in Singapore by Wise and Velayutham (2008) suggests that breaking social norms such as defying the rule of endogamy can be seen as a rebellion. Amina's open-mindedness about intermarrying with a 'Swede' can be seen in this light. Wise and Velayutham's analysis of cross-cultural and 'out-marriage' hold that second-generation migrants oscillate between their 'transnational' and home country identities. 'Our argument is that there is not, in the case at hand, any evidence that the second generation will, over time, gradually drift away from the translocal moral economy. Yet there is inevitably some drifting away or rebellion from it' (ibid, p. 125).

In relation to Amina's case, the above argument means that she embraces aspects of both her Swedish and Somali backgrounds. That is, these different backgrounds can influence her attitude towards marriage and the choices she makes. On the Somali side, clan and regional divisions exacerbated by the civil war resulted in the secession and autonomy of the part of Somalia where Amina comes from. National identity according to Anderson is a relational term and is shaped by what it is not (Anderson 1991). The implication of this to the situation in Somalia is that the construction of a separate Somaliland identity means that the southern part of Somalia is among the many 'others' that the Somaliland identity is relating to. Women, though often subordinated by men, are seen as the embodiment of nations. Consequently they are seen as the nerve centre of the nation that has to be closely protected from 'outsiders', especially men from outside. This occurs through the control of women's sexuality by men (Nordin 2000, p. 56). This explains why, as Amina recounts, it is especially women who are under pressure not to marry outside their community. Men are seen as passing on their cultural/religious identity to their wives, which in turn means that women are seen to threaten the nation's or the community's homogeneity and cohesion when they marry outside.

In Sweden, Amina's background as a migrant from Somalia and Somaliland sets her apart from 'native' Swedes and other people who are not from her

broad Somali migrant community. Being raised in a society exposes people to the norms and values of that society (Foner 1997; Boyle & Ali 2009). For migrants, this means that both their migrant community and the broader society have influence on their lives (ibid). The migrant community can provide protection to migrants, usually from abuses in the dominant society and within parts of the migrant community as well. Schierup and Ålund (1987) argue that the migrant community and the dominant society can all contribute favourably to the development of migrants. They explain that, whilst the migrant community can provide shelter from exclusion in the dominant society, the latter can protect migrants from subordination within their community. Amina's exposure to the norms and values of Swedish society and the potential of the dominant institutions to protect her personal rights and freedom could influence her to rebel against the wishes of her parents and extended family to marry within the Somaliland community. It appears contradictory that Amina rebels against the very background that she also embraces. Wise and Velayuththam's (2008) remark that there is no proof that second-generation migrants will over time drift away completely from their communities, yet the fact that there is rebellion to a certain degree indicates the complexity of migrants' belongings. The authors argue that migrants'

> *...involvement in a transnational moral economy ebbs and flows with the rhythms of various life stages. Participation may be more intense as a child when still under parental influence, may ease during years of identity exploration and the rebellion of young adulthood, and often re-intensify when reaching the life-stage of marriage and reproduction, where there is often an increased interest in family connection and cultural roots. In other words, one enters and leaves the transnational system over time and is more or less influenced by it depending on context and life-stage (ibid, p. 124).*

Looking at this in terms of identity and belonging suggests that at some point in the lives of migrants they are drawn to identities of their home country (the identities of their parents and migrant community) but at other points in time they rebel against those identities. This view rejects the notion of a unified identity and community and represents identity and belonging as multiple or fragmented and dynamic (Hall 1992; Yuval-Davis 2006).

To sum up the discussion in this section, it can be said that the last two conflict case studies, which represent conflict within migrant communities, show some differences from the first two previous conflict case studies between migrants and 'natives' that were examined. The first difference is that the former represent internal conflicts between members of the same minority communities. Second, these last two conflicts do not prevent members of the same migrant community, in spite of internal differences and antagonisms, to come together when there is a problem or a need to

work towards a common goal. Finally, conflicts within migrant communities are also influenced by conditions in the wider society – Sweden – and the migrant home country.

The conceptualisation of migrants from the same country as members of a bounded collective rests on the idea of a nation-state as an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1991, p. 6). Community here is a social construct as indicated by Anderson, and what is often referred to as a migrant community is in reality characterised by diversity and internal boundaries. Notwithstanding, migrants from the same national origin are said to share and experience a common history. The colonial experience, anti-colonial struggle and the nation-building project, which construct members of the same migrant's national community as a homogeneous group, can be seen as examples of the shared history of the migrants in this study. In addition, exclusion of migrants in the labour market and other areas of life in Swedish society and the representation of migrants from Africa/the Global South as refugees, who are not only culturally different but adverse to what is seen as Swedish culture, produces a shared experience for African migrants in Sweden. Perhaps, partly as a result of membership in the same migrant community and having a shared experience of subordination in the country of emigration, internal conflicts between migrants play out in a different way than conflicts between migrants and 'natives'. Different external factors in Sweden and conditions in the migrants' home country affect conflict between migrants. Structural relations in Sweden that exclude migrants, anti-immigration sentiments, among other things, are some of the local factors that appear to influence conflicts between migrants. For example, the exclusion of migrants in the labour market and a shared feeling of rejection in society appear to promote the need for solidarity between migrants. However, increased difficulties in a segregated labour market also increase competition between migrants and push them to focus narrowly on personal (family) and shortterm benefits, sometimes at the expense of other members of their community. Severe hardship among migrants has been shown to increase internal competition at the expense of solidarity within a marginalised migrant community (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2005). In the case of the Cameroonian migrant community in Malmö, we saw that financial misappropriation and lack of transparency came up as some of the practical problems affecting the Cameroonian national association.

Swedish society also shapes the identity of migrants, but this appears to affect migrants who were raised in Sweden and their parents who were raised in Somalia in different ways, thereby causing tensions between them. We saw this in the case of Amina, who explained that she could see herself as marrying a 'native' but that her parents would object to such a decision.

Other factors that affect conflicts between migrants are internal divisions and regional allegiances rooted in their home country.

Concluding remarks

Conflict as used in this study arises when people define their goals (needs) in ways that oppose the goals of other people. This can occur between any two actors (as well as within one actor) irrespective of whether they have the same social background or not. What matters is how they set their goals. This chapter has examined four separate conflict cases and in all of them conflicting goals appeared to be at the centre of the problems. In all cases we also noticed that behind the immediate *micro* causes are some external factors that greatly contribute to conflicts. The interplay of *micro* and *macro* factors in conflict relations highlights the significance of the conflict transformation perspective in this study, which favours an analytical approach that tries to embrace both *micro* and *macro* relations.

The first conclusion to be drawn is that conflicts between migrants and Swedes are deeply embedded in structural power relations that subordinate migrants (minorities) in society. A major consequence of this subordination is that migrants have limited opportunities to achieve their goals. This situation creates conflicts whenever migrants demand changes and 'natives' fear that such demands would destabilise their established way of life. The point here is that 'natives' and migrants occupy different social positions in society, with the former in positions that give them more power over the latter than vice versa. The implication of this is that the conflicting claims and goals of migrants and 'natives' cannot be seen in the same light as some pertain to basic human needs like equality. Therefore, Foucault's concept of power has been used in the analyses to highlight the structural disadvantages of migrants in society and show that some of their claims and goals are linked to struggles for equality and justice. Conflicts within migrant communities, as we have seen, are also affected by structural and power relations in society at large but in a different way. The subordination of migrants in society can increase competition within their communities and erode solidarity. In addition, external factors in the home countries of migrants such as regional, home-place and clan divisions/conflicts influence problems within the migrant communities as they embrace particularistic identities that reflect the situation in their home countries. Here the concepts of identity and belonging have been used to understand internal divisions within migrant communities and show that such divisions contribute to internal conflicts when solidarity diminishes between migrants.

The second point is that conflicts place a strong restraint on social contact between adversaries but the effects appear to be different in conflicts between 'natives' and migrants and those between migrants. While conflicts in both cases are divisive, internal conflicts between migrants nevertheless appear still to allow them to identify with each other and work together for a common good when the need arises. In this regard internal divisions and boundaries within migrant communities appear to be more fluid than those between migrants and 'natives'. The concepts of power and identity employed in my analyses have also helped to shed some light on this. They help to understand the shared experiences of subordination as a unifying factor among minorities. This is well-captured by Laclau (1996) in his analysis of hegemony: 'the meaning (the significance) of all concrete struggles appears, right from the beginning, internally divided. The concrete aim of the struggle is not only that aim in its concreteness; it also signifies opposition to the system' (ibid, p. 41). We can therefore see migrants' collective experience of subordination as a force that unites them in their opposition to the status quo of subordination.

The third and final point deals with the approaches to conflict. The perspective of conflict transformation identifies five different ways that issues of conflict can be resolved (Galtung 2004, p. 12). Galtung considers only one of them to be sustainable: that is, the approach that addresses the root causes of a conflict and also seeks to transform conflict relations from one of intense tension to one of less severe tension (cf. Lederach 1995). The idea behind this reasoning is that, since conflict cannot be completely eliminated and is also necessary for social change, our approach to problems of conflict should aim at reducing the tension or violence that characterises a conflict. In the conflict cases between 'natives' and migrants, there was a tendency to seek short-term solutions. There was also a lack of interest in the root causes of the problem. Measures that were used to address the problem in the two cases that were examined relied simply on avoidance or temporal solutions, with no dialogue between the conflicting parties. This means that the different actors are likely to maintain grudges and perceive each other as the problem in the long run. Conflicts between migrants (in the last two cases), on the other hand, follow a different trajectory. Internal conflict in the two migrant communities under study is divisive, but adversaries and people from opposing sides in general showed willingness to identify some common goals and work together towards achieving them. There are also many instances of 'natives' and migrants working together for a common goal: 'native' volunteers working with Somali parents to help their children with school assignments, Somali youths inviting their 'native' peers to participate in some of their club activities and vice versa, intermarriage between 'natives' and migrants from the above migrant communities, and

many *native organisations* that work closely with migrants. The focus here is on cases of conflict and how those who are directly involved resolve the problem. In the cases presented above we find a greater tendency for migrants to get together and work for a common goal even when there are some differences and conflicts between them. In the relationship between 'natives' and migrants, on the other hand, where social ties/solidarity appears to be weak, conflict seems to widen the gap between them. This suggests that conflicts in relations between migrants and 'natives' are perceived as merely negative or that the will to look into such problems is weak to non-existent. Whatever the case, as a matter of fact this approach is not transformative. It has only made conflicts between migrants and 'natives' persist in their current state or even get worse.

In this chapter I have repeatedly argued that the social positions of individuals engaged in conflicts, unequal power relations, and unequal access to society's resources are decisive for the ways in which conflicts unfold and are resolved – or remain unresolved and even deepen. To broaden this argument, the following chapters will present the ways in which migrants are marginalised in Sweden by power and structural relations that appear as neutral.

Chapter five. Marginalisation of migrants

This chapter looks at the different ways in which migrants are marginalised and the factors behind their marginalisation. It examines access to vital resources and how the lack of such resources relegates people to the margins of society. Attention is on the material conditions, which place migrants in a position of relative deprivation to other members of society. The idea of relative deprivation suggests that everyone in society can be deprived but the extent of it varies from one person to another or between different segments of the population. Looking at the deprivation of migrants in relative terms resonates with the conceptual view of exclusion as something that changes in different contexts (Wodak 2008; Neergaard 2009).

The chapter tries to examine specific areas of migrants' social life where they feel that the opportunities for their well-being are severely restricted by external factors. Here, Schierup's and Ålund's (1987) concept of social field as an analytical medium for organising different aspects of everyday migrants' behaviour is a useful point of departure. They define a field as 'the social space for a *definite type of practice* in society' (ibid, p. 28), and examples given include family life, sport, education, philosophy, politics, work, et cetera. Each social field, according to their analysis, can be further divided into sub-fields. They explain that once a social field is established it develops its own relative autonomous history which, although influenced and shaped by important events in the general economic and social history of society, has its own dynamics, laws of development and crisis. They note, however, that individuals and groups of migrants simultaneously engage themselves in social actions within different social fields. As such, they explain that the situation in one field feeds back into the conflicts in other fields.

From the above explanation, a social field can be seen as something which represents normalised practices in specific areas of social life. Also, each area of social life can be seen as semi-autonomous because it is partially independent and partially influenced by other areas of social life and the established structural/institutional conditions in society. In addition to highlighting the partial autonomy of different areas of social life, the analytical distinction between those areas aims at drawing attention to the specific dynamics and struggles in each social context. By developing this analytical tool, Schierup and Ålund avoid a tendency to reduce every social struggle to general economic and social conditions in society. In this analysis the notion of social field is used to denote the locus of particular practices

within different areas of social life. The preliminary analysis of the data in this study has helped to identify such specific areas where the prevailing conditions are very disadvantageous to migrants: the labour market and housing conditions.

Labour market situation of the migrants in the study

In this study a major worry of the migrants concerned their labour market situation. This was not surprising, given their marginal position in the labour market. We find this in the data, which shows that a majority of the respondents were either employed as part-time employees or self-employed and unemployed. Self-employment here is predominantly a disguised form of unemployment.[27] Generally, self-employment for migrants in Sweden has been shown to have a limited impact on their financial situation (Hjerm 2004). Hjerm's study on migrants' entrepreneurship indicates that the economic returns of self-employed migrants are substantially lower than those of migrants who are employed. In relation to economic benefits, he viewed self-employment of migrants as a bad solution to being outside the labour market. That is especially true in situations where the self-employed make less money than what they would normally receive for welfare support if they were unemployed.

Most of the migrants in this study were employed when we met, indicating an employment rate that is higher than the average employment rate for Africans in Sweden. Statistics in Malmö show that less than half of the migrants from Africa in the city are employed (Bromeé et al. 2007b, p. 21). The corresponding statistics for the entire country show a similar employment rate among African migrants (Sverige Integrationsverket 2006, p. 47). The disparity is perhaps a result of the small size of my sample, which had a larger than usual proportion of employed migrants. It is also partly a result of the fact that my definition of employment includes people who are hired clandestinely or working outside of Sweden.

The majority of the migrants who work outside of Sweden do so in Copenhagen. Only two of them, of all those from Cameroon and Somalia, work in the UK. Though they work in the UK, they have their spouses (and other family members) in Sweden, and as a result travel there every once in a while. In addition to these two men there were other migrants in the study who had previously worked in the UK or planned doing so in the future. Those working in Denmark live in Malmö and commute to their jobs.

[27] Those who were self-employed operated very small businesses like coffee shops and restaurants, which often targeted members of their community as customers. They all considered their business as a temporal endeavour as they struggled to find regular employment.

Working abroad in Denmark and the UK seems like an attractive option to the migrants who are unemployed in Sweden. This is also true for non-migrants, as explained by a young 'native' Swedish woman who is a sales agent in Copenhagen: 'It is easier to get a job, higher wages and job promotion in Denmark than in Sweden.'

The close proximity and good transportation system, which put Malmö and Copenhagen approximately thirty minutes away by train from each other, make it quite easy for people to commute back and forth between the two cities[28]. The movements to other EU countries in search of better opportunities by some of the migrants in this study reflect a trend that has been reported in other studies. For example, studies on Somali migrants in Denmark (and other European countries) indicate a tendency for them to emigrate to the UK after obtaining EU citizenship in their first EU country of immigration (Kleist 2004; Nielsen 2004). Whilst these studies show migrants moving away permanently and resettling in the UK, this does not seem to be the case for the migrants in this study. Instead they appear to move back and forth between Sweden and Denmark/UK. The presence of migrants in Sweden who once worked in the UK and those who commute to Denmark every day suggest that their goal is not to move out of Sweden permanently and resettle in Denmark or the UK, at least not in the near future. In fact, their views on Sweden and Denmark/UK show some ambivalence as there are different things to like and dislike about these countries. For example, they see the UK as offering better economic opportunities and a feeling of belonging, though when it comes to social and welfare services such as education, housing and security they prefer Sweden. For those who commute to Denmark, they generally appreciate its employment opportunities over Sweden, but often point out that Sweden is a more hospitable country than Denmark.

Different experiences and perception of discrimination

This sub-section highlights some of the nuances of labour market discrimination through the narratives of several of my respondents. Perhaps as a result of their personal experiences and specific backgrounds, different respondents view discrimination in the labour market in different ways. The interview below with Amina, whom we met earlier, highlights her perception and experience of discrimination in the Swedish labour market. Amina worked as a care assistant for the elderly in Sweden for seven months. She left the job and travelled to Somalia for a short visit before moving to the UK.

[28] For more information about daily movement between Malmö and Copenhagen see report by Tendens Öresund: http://www.tendensoresund.org/en/migration-across-oresund

The interview with her describes an encounter at a labour (employment) office when she came back from the UK and was trying to get a job.

> *Jon: Why did you go to London?*
>
> *Amina: Because I finished school [high school] and I could not get a job. The only job I could get was working with elderly people, like taking care of them, and that is not the job that I wanted. It is a good job because you help people and I respect people who do that, but it is the only job you can get as a non-Swedish person. Working as a caregiver is something that I cannot settle for even if it pays like 12 000 or 13 000 Swedish crowns, because that is not what I want to do.*
>
> *Jon: What kind of a job did you get in London?*
>
> *Amina: Lots of jobs in London compared to what I could ever get here. Yeah, I was working. Do you know about Gordon Ramsay, who is one of the best chefs in the world?*
>
> *Jon: Yes, the guy they show on TV?*
>
> *Amina: Yeah, yeah, I worked in his restaurant as a hostess, and in this country they would never have a black girl do something like that. To get a job like that I would need so many qualifications before I can even apply. You know, everything is so much harder. I was at the job bank in Sweden looking for a cleaning job. I just looked and they were like, 'You need four years' experience, you need a qualification,' and I was like, 'Are you joking? Cleaning! How hard can it be?' Over there [in the UK] is like you get trained and over here is like we need people with experience – but how can you give people experience if you are not even willing to employ them or give them a hand. So how can you get experience? I don't get it... I worked for Gordon Ramsay for one year, then left and worked for a clothing line at a boutique in Chelsea. I had a friend there and it was good.*
>
> *Jon: Why did you leave the job at the boutique?*
>
> *Amina: ...when you are in the restaurant and the stores you are the servant, and I don't want to be a servant my whole life. I want to go to school, get a better job and be able to go and shop and eat over there. I don't want to be the one who is always serving people. I was like fed up, I was like 'I can go to school, get a degree and have a normal life and then have a nice life.'*

At the start of the interview Amina points out that her reason for moving to the UK was to work. Her reason for doing this was because she felt that there were limited job options for her in Sweden, as noted in the statement: 'The only job I could get was working with elderly people...and that is not the job that I wanted.' The problem here is not that she is completely denied access to wage-earning activities as it is in some situations where potential workers are made redundant (see Wacquant 2008, p. 27). Rather, it is that only a particular kind of job was available for her. Her experience reflects a broader picture in the Swedish labour market, where migrant women are more likely

than native-born-women to be in less skilled jobs. In healthcare, for example, which employs a high proportion of migrant women, they are largely employed as care providers for the elderly while native women are employed as healthcare workers in hospitals (Hedberg 2009). In other words, there is an over-representation of women with a migrant background in this segment of the labour market – which does not mean that they are the only ones employed there. Care for the elderly is seen as a niche for migrant women in Sweden because it employs a higher proportion of these women than we find in other sectors of the economy (ibid).

In the last part of the interview Amina talks about her difficulty in getting a cleaning job as she was told she needed a four years' experience. This was surprising because the other migrants in this study who worked as cleaners were often trained on the job. Amina's case therefore leaves us wondering why the labour officer told her that she needed four years' experience for a job which other migrants were able to get without having any experience. Whatever the reasons may have been for the officer to make such an unjustified demand, it discouraged Amina from making further attempts to get the cleaning job. In this sense it went counter to the task of the labour office – namely, to support people in getting jobs (Sianesi 2002; Lemaitre 2007). Often it does this through programmes that provide vocational training, internship, computerised job information and matching of vacancies to applicants (ibid)[29]. In Amina's case we would have expected that the employment office would have recommended her to one of their training programmes in order to get the necessary skills if they felt that she did not have them. In my interview with Martin (mentioned earlier), who is an official at one of the employment offices in Malmö, the issue of work experience and of Swedish language proficiency as important work-related requirements came up in our discussion. I told him that some of the migrants in my study agree that these are important work requirements but they sometimes see the demand for these requirements as unnecessary for certain manual and unskilled jobs. His comment on the issue suggests that employers raise or lower the work-related requirements for certain jobs depending on the demand and supply of those jobs in the labour market at each given period in time.

> *Martin: When we talk about cleaning, cleaning dishes and those kinds of jobs, I like to talk about Malmö because it is where I work. The problem is that we have many people looking for these types of jobs so they [employers] raise the job requirement. If there were not so many people looking for these jobs they [employers] would have to lower the job requirement. This is how it is - - though it is very, very wrong. If you*

[29] The job trainings provided by the employment office usually are for jobs that vocational training or internships can provide the necessary skills that are required.

have education and experience, as a welder for example, but bad knowledge of Swedish language, it is easy to get a job.

The important point in the excerpt is the information that job-related requirements are raised when there are many people applying for a job and vice versa; and second, that having education and experience increases your chances of getting employed. Martin, rightly, finds it problematic when employers raise job requirements for a vacancy because there are many applicants. It is problematic because it has the potential of excluding people who are otherwise qualified and willing to work. In the case where employers decide to ask for more experience, as in Amina's case – even though we do not know whether in her case it was really the potential employer who made these demands or if it was only something the labour office official told her. Without being able to assess the details of this case, what can be safely said is that unjustified qualification demands exclude people who would otherwise be able to work. When institutions normalise practices like this, which produces undue advantages and disadvantages to different categories of people, Rydgren (2004) argues that we can talk of institutionalised discrimination. The higher unemployment rates of migrants in Sweden will no doubt place them in a highly disadvantaged position when employers raise job requirements by demanding long experience. We certainly cannot blame potential employees for lacking experience when they have been denied the opportunity to work precisely because they lack experience. In this situation one cannot help but wonder, like Amina, who asked: 'How can you give people experience if you are not willing to employ them or give them a hand?'

The story of a 'native' man about his children suggests that the demand for certain skills and language competence also affects 'natives'. After spending a great deal of his childhood in India, where his parents worked as missionaries, Tom grew up to become a diplomat. He worked abroad, spending about 20 years in New York City employed by the UN. His three children ended up studying abroad where they lived and then moved to Sweden when they were quite grown-up. At the time of the interview, Tom was retired but spent his retirement working for a Christian ministry in Malmö, which had a large following of Christians born outside Sweden. One Cameroonian respondent attended church services at the Christian ministry where Tom was working. It was through this respondent that I heard about the ministry and contacted him for an interview. In the course of the interview he explained about some of his experiences and those of his children when they came back to Sweden to settle after a long stay abroad.

Tom: My son had his bachelor's degree in America. When he came to Sweden around 1996/97, he couldn't get a job and it was because he had an American exam. I told

him, 'You know! The best thing is to do what I did [when I moved back to Sweden from India].' I started to work with SAAB on the assembly line and as time went on and I got to know the [Swedish] culture better, I was able to work myself up. He did the same thing, first by getting a job here in Malmö, and then he went on to another job, a good job. It worked out quite well but he had the same problem that nobody really understood his degree.

Tom's interview shows that even 'natives' who were raised outside Sweden face obstacles in getting jobs or further training with their foreign qualifications. The examples given above also suggest that while 'natives' with foreign qualifications might face difficulties getting jobs that match their qualifications, it seems easier for them to start from a job that requires less skills and eventually work their way up. This is what happened to Tom and his son when they moved back to Sweden after their upbringing abroad. They started with lower-skilled jobs and later, as they probably showed their competence, were promoted.

The difference with migrants here is that they have difficulties in getting even jobs that require very little skill. It is because of such cases that some studies in Sweden have been critical about certain job requirements like experience, Swedish language competence and 'social skills' or skills like flexibility or 'being motivated' (Rydgren 2004, Räthzel 2006). Räthzel argues that such general skills come originally from the area of high-tech production, which requires general skills related to the supervision of computer-controlled processes. 'However,' she states, 'it seems as if these work-related general requirements have *trickled down* to all sectors of the economy, producing the image of the *active individual* as the general worker needed today for any kind of job' (ibid, p. 222). Räthzel goes on to argue that the demand for experience is disadvantageous to migrants because their experiences of discrimination in society work against them in two ways. The first is the prejudice of employers against migrants, which makes it more difficult for them to get jobs. The second is because, as a result of discrimination, migrants cannot come up with job experiences. This is held against them and seen as proof that they are not flexible, active and devoted to finding employment. In effect, this produces (as in the case of Amina) a self-fulfilling prophecy: due to the raising of inappropriate demands for a job, she was discouraged to look further for employment, which leaves her without the experience that is required.

The above argument suggests that certain actions taken by officials at employment offices have negative effects on migrants. If such actions, as in the case of Amina, are an obstacle to migrants getting employment, how can we explain the fact that migrant women from the Global South and Southern Europe are concentrated in cleaning (which Amina could not get) and other

menial jobs (Schierup 1991, p. 126)? Was Amina's case an isolated one or are the other women from the Global South who get jobs treated more favourably by the employment office? We need to remember that the employment office is not an employer but is more like a middleman between employers and employees. We also need to understand that in many cases people get their jobs without going through the employment office. Studies by Alireza Behtoui (2004, 2009) indicate that jobs in Sweden (and also in other countries) are to a large degree found through informal channels, notably the employee's social networks. Another study indicates that informal social networks are very useful to Cameroonian and other African migrants in Malmö when they are looking for jobs (Ngeh forthcoming). Social ties therefore provide an opportunity for migrants to bypass the barriers that are imposed on them by the employment office. However, social ties have their own limitations because the resources that are generated by them are distributed neither equitably nor randomly, to paraphrase Behtoui (2009, pp. 224, 234). Behtoui (2004, 2009) illustrates this in his analysis by showing that, despite the resourcefulness of social ties in getting jobs, migrants face more difficulties than 'native' Swedes in entering the labour market and getting high-income jobs. He argues that the reason for this disparity is that the social networks of migrants are limited and less resourceful compared to those of 'native' Swedes. Put another way, he argues that the benefits of one group having social capital in competitive situations enable them to exclude others from those benefits.

> *Social capital, like other forms of capital, is a form of power. Unequal treatment of members of disadvantaged minority groups on the basis of their 'ethnic status' restricts their opportunities in formal and informal interactions: friendship relations, communal relations (residential localities), membership of informal groups, kinship relations (marriage and family), market relations (trade), education, and finally organised politics. This in turn restricts access to social capital for members of these groups. In the same way that social capital enables the young people from dominant groups to optimise their benefits from their educational credentials in the labour market and to reproduce the positions held by their parents, access to less social capital excludes or restricts the opportunities of stigmatised immigrants and their children (like others outside the boundary of domination) in the labour market (ibid, pp. 234-235).*

The analysis so far suggests that the employment office, which is supposed to help the unemployed get jobs, can make it more difficult for migrants to get jobs. Since social ties and informal job-finding methods are more efficient ways of getting jobs in Sweden, migrants utilise them to enter the labour market. However, since social ties between members of the dominant society are more resourceful than those between migrants, the latter enter a circle in which they help each other in getting the unskilled and low-paid jobs to which they have access.

Other Somali (and also Cameroonian) migrants have different experiences in the Swedish labour market and consequently view the issue of labour market discrimination in a different way than Amina. We find this in the interview with Jasmine from Somalia. Jasmine is in her mid-thirties and has lived in Sweden for 17 years. Her first stop in Europe was the UK, where she lived for one year before moving to Sweden in the early 1990s. She came to Sweden to visit some relatives but later on decided to stay. She was married to a Somali man in the UK at the time and they have a child, but after she settled in Sweden they divorced. A few years ago she decided to undertake a degree programme at the university. We met through one of my Somali contact persons. The contact person was part of a focus group that Jasmine was interviewing for an essay that she was writing in school. My first meeting with Jasmine was in one of the Somali associations where I conducted participant observations and she was conducting a group interview with members of the association. I met with Jasmine several times before our interview. In those meetings we discussed our respective projects and fieldwork experience.

> *Jasmine: After high school I took some language courses in both Swedish and English. And, you know, I registered at arbetsförmedlingen [the employment office]. After some time they sent me a letter informing me that there was an offer for an internship and I took that for a start. I was sent to the Health and Caring Department, where we provided assistance to people with physical disability. During the last month on the job one lady who was working in the same institution wanted to open her own company and she asked if I would like to work for her. I accepted the offer and was employed as a healthcare assistant... Until recently when I moved away [to study at the university] I had that job. So I can say that I never had difficulties getting a job or never went for a job interview.*

The quote above indicates that Jasmine's encounter with the employment office helped her to get an internship, which enabled her to get in touch with her subsequent employer. She also appears to have been pleased with her job and to have an overall positive perception of the Swedish labour market. The statement, 'So I can say that I never had difficulties getting a job' conveys her positive view of her experiences with the Swedish labour market. Jasmine's positive experience at an employment office and her early success in entering the labour market can be contrasted with Amina's encounter at another employment office where she was very surprised to hear that she needed four years' experience for a cleaning job. From the interview, she seemed really disappointed and unhappy with this particular experience and the Swedish labour market in general. Another important difference between the two women is that while Amina did not like her job as a care provider for the elderly, Jasmine seems to have been satisfied with hers. In fact, Jasmine worked for several years under the same employer without trying to get a different job. She also did not complain in the interview about the job but

simply pointed out that she left the job only after she had decided to continue with her education.

The encounters of these women with the employment office/labour market and how they perceive these institutions indicate some interesting differences within the institutions in question and between the women. Here it appears that the same institution treats its clients in different ways. In the above examples Jasmine was treated quite fairly. She registered as a jobseeker and the employment office contacted her when there was an opening for an internship with a company, which eventually led to her getting a job. Amina also went to the employment office to look for a job. However, she was disappointed with the way that they treated her and the treatment, as shown earlier, really seemed to be unfair. The experiences of these women present us with example whereby it can be argued that within an institution there is room for officials to interpret standard rules in slightly different ways, thereby making it possible for them to treat similar problems differently.

Perceptions of discrimination (racism) in other spheres of life

In Amina's interview, she mentioned that her job as hostess for a renowned chef is something that is not possible for a black girl to get in Sweden. Her argument suggests that black women face discrimination in the Swedish labour market. There were many migrants who expressed a similar opinion to Amina's that black people are discriminated against in Sweden, but their perceptions of what constitutes discrimination varied. In an interview with Osman, who did not want me to conduct fieldwork at the Somali 'meeting place' when we first met, he related an incident in a bus where one of his friends accused the bus-driver of racism. According to Osman, he and two of his Somali friends were getting into a bus at the central bus station in Malmö. One of them (Dalmar) had a bus ticket which had expired, but he wanted to get into the bus with it nevertheless. He hoped that the bus-driver would not bother to look at the ticket. Earlier, Osman and the other friend (Nadif), who all had valid tickets, advised Dalmar to buy a ticket but he refused. Osman and other passengers got into the bus without any incident. The driver did not pay much attention to any of them. When it was Dalmar's turn to get into the bus, the driver requested to see his bus ticket. Dalmar got upset and accused the driver of racism, saying the driver singled him out to check his ticket because he is a black person. The driver became upset and they got into a heated argument. Osman and Nadif took sides with the driver, pointing out that the driver had not treated them any differently from the other passengers when they entered the bus. They turned to Dalmar and said the driver was simply doing his job. Nadif, who was a coordinator of one

of the Somali cultural associations in this study, corroborated Osman's narrative of what happened when I interviewed him a few weeks after the interview with Osman. When I asked Nadif about this incident, he laughed before saying that it was wrong to accuse the bus-driver of racism. He explained that Dalmar was upset because he was caught. 'We told him earlier not to enter the bus with an expired ticket but he refused to take our advice. When the bus-driver caught him, he accused him of racism. How can you defend something like that?'

This incident presents a good example of how people can interpret the same event differently. The accounts given by Osman and Nadif about what happened indicate that the difference in opinion between Osman/Nadif and Dalmar is because they seemed to look at what happened from different angles. For Osman and Nadif, trying to get into a bus without a valid bus ticket is unacceptable, and accusing the bus-driver of racism when caught seems like an attempt to change the topic and avoid taking responsibility for what happened. As for Dalmar, it was not about the validity of his bus ticket but the fact that the passengers before him were not asked to show their bus ticket when they entered the bus. From these different angles their differing opinions appear to be quite convincing. However, it is surprising that Osman and Nadif took sides with the bus-driver and not Dalmar. As friends, one would expect them to come to the assistance of their friend who was in 'trouble', or at least not to openly take sides against him. This apparently unusual way of behaving towards a friend suggests that they felt it was important to publicly denounce what Dalmar did but not to equally question why the driver demanded to see only Dalmar's bus ticket. A possible explanation is that, given the discursive representation of refugees in the Swedish media and political discourses as prone to cheating (Norman 2004), it is possible that Somali (and other migrants) feel pressured to publicly denounce acts of cheating by a member of their community. In doing so, they try to assure the public that they do not condone such behaviours in their community. On the other hand, the incident shows how another issue, i.e. to single out a migrant for scrutiny in public, which is as wrong as trying to cheat, fails to draw a similar renunciation from 'natives' and migrants alike who were in the bus. The incident also demonstrates how migrants are ridiculed (even by their fellow country men/women) when they make accusations of racism.

An African woman who holds a top-level managerial position at a state institution in a town near Malmö told me in an interview that she does not think there is racism in Sweden. She acknowledged that there is some discrimination, but from her point of view discrimination is not a serious problem, especially in government institutions. Before coming to Sweden,

she had lived in many countries – in Europe, North America and Africa, where she studied and worked with diverse prominent organisations. She came to Sweden in the late 1990s as a refugee. After completing a Swedish language programme, she got a government job. She worked in different towns in Skåne at the same institution and gradually moved up to a higher managerial position. She had worked in positions where many of her clients were migrants. In the interview, we talked about her job and how she had struggled to move up the job ladder and some of the challenges which she faced. In response to a question about whether she had had migrant clients or people she knew who complained about being discriminated against, she said:

> *Jessie: Yes, I have come across many cases. Some of the people I met who complain about discrimination are from Somalia, other African countries, Arab countries and ex-Yugoslavia. They complain that they have been discriminated by the housing company or by employers. But I think that some of them don't really know what discrimination is. That is why sometimes we had to explain to them what discrimination is. We even have an expert who organises discussions with clients at the office every week to educate them about discrimination. I felt that many people were talking about discrimination without really knowing what it means... Is there discrimination in society? Yes, there is, and you can find it in the private sector, where they do not want to employ migrants. And to be objective, if I have a company in my country back in Africa I will prefer to employ someone from the country who understands the language, the tradition, the culture and other things. It is the same thing here and we just have to be realistic. If I come from outside and can show that I know the language, have competence, then I can push through. And this is what I say to our people: 'Just push your way through.'*

In the private sector, where Jessie acknowledges that there is some discrimination, she thinks that it is normal to give preference to 'natives'. Jessie's views on discrimination, especially her denial that there is discrimination in government institutions, reflect the views of many of the officials at government institutions who were interviewed. As officials and representatives of those institutions, they probably do not want to acknowledge that the institutions which they represent discriminate, because they do not want to be seen as part of the problem. Bringing in so-called 'experts' on discrimination to educate people about the meaning of discrimination, i.e. trying to convince them that what they think is discrimination is not actually discrimination, undermines the agency of those people. It can be seen as another example of how officials try to make the issue of discrimination a taboo topic. This, as will be shown in the next section, only prolongs and deepens the problem.

Denial of discrimination (racism)

This sub-section examines the denial of discrimination. Writing about racism, Teun van Dijk (2007) argues that the denial of racism, whether based on the absence of blatant racism or the existence of progressive anti-racist laws, has the effect of sustaining racism because it makes it difficult to mobilise against it.

> *The white consensus that denies the prevalence of racism thus is a very powerful element in its reproduction, especially since successful resistance requires public attention, media coverage and at least partial recognition of grievances. If leading politicians and the media refuse to acknowledge that there is a serious problem, there will be no public debate, no change of public opinion and hence no change in the system of power relations. Change in that case can only be put on the agenda by actively creating the kind of public 'problem' that can no longer be overlooked, such as demonstrations or even 'riots'. Other serious problems, such as high minority unemployment or educational 'underachievement', may well be recognized by the elites, but it is routine to deny that they have anything to do with racism (ibid, p. 216).*

We shall explore the denial of racism as we examine a few interviews which highlight individual experiences and perceptions of discrimination. The first interview is with a woman from Cameroon. She came to Sweden in the late 1990s to study for a master's degree. After completing her studies, she decided to stay in Sweden and is now a naturalised citizen. She is married to a man from Cameroon and they have a child. The interview was conducted in her house. The interview below is about an encounter she had with her boss about an open job position at their workplace. The meeting with the boss made her feel discriminated against at work. She worked at a big restaurant, cleaning dishes. A man from Cameroon who used to work at the same restaurant had recommended her to the manager when they needed somebody for the job. She started working there when she was a student and is still employed in the restaurant today in the same capacity.

> *Chantal: After learning Swedish I asked my boss if it was OK to start working as a waitress.*
>
> *Jon: So you were working at the restaurant already?*
>
> *Chantal: Yes, my job was to clean dishes. But there was a vacancy for a waitress, so I asked if I could fill it. He [her boss] said I could but Swedish customers would treat me in a way that I would not like. That they would not want me to serve them and that would not be good for me and for the business.*

Vertical mobility at the workplace can be seen as the dream of all employees, especially those who are employed in low-paid jobs. Under normal circumstances further training and perhaps experience on the job should

enable employees to improve their chances of moving up the job ladder. The rationale for refusing to employ Chantal as a waitress because customers would not want her to serve them implies that cleaning dishes is the only job that is suitable for her in that restaurant. In spite of her master's level degree and her acquired Swedish language skills, she is still told that she can only clean dishes.

What the boss failed to explain, and Chantal could have asked, is why did he think that Swedish people would not want to be served by Chantal? Without much information it is difficult to answer this question. Given Chantal's migrant background and the specification that 'Swedish people' (not every customer) would not appreciate Chantal's services, it suggests that Chantal's migrant background is what the boss saw as the problem. Though Chantal's boss is actually the one who is in a better position to decide who gets the job, he decided to blame other people – 'Swedish' customers – for his decision. This is perhaps because he was aware that it is wrong and unacceptable to deny somebody a job because of his or her migrant background. In a cynical way he adds insult to injury by trying to convince Chantal that the decision not to offer her the job is in her best interests. Deciding what is good for another person without any regard to their opinion denies people agency and implies that they do not know themselves what is good for them.

The whole rationale put forward by Chantal's boss reflects what has been described as the denial of discrimination or racism by its perpetrators (van Dijk 2007; Wodak 2008). This denial, according to van Dijk, serves the purpose of face-keeping or presenting a positive self because the general norms, values and sometimes laws of the dominant society prohibit (blatant) forms of ethnic discrimination. The denial of racism thus presents people to themselves and to others as if 'they comply with the general, official group norm that prohibits racism, and that, therefore, they are decent citizens' (ibid, p. 211). Such a denial of racism, according to van Dijk, serves to sustain it. Van Dijk's argument can be applied to different aspects of Chantal's experience. By blaming others for his action towards Chantal, her boss indirectly acknowledged that he was aware that his action is unacceptable in broader Swedish society. Shifting the blame for his action to others is supposed to suggest that he is a tolerant person and it is the others who are intolerant and responsible for his prejudicial action. This tendency of denying the negative consequences of one's actions, as explained by van Dijk, makes it difficult to address the problem.

A 'native' woman, in an interview, expressed a similar view to van Dijk's as she argued that part of the problem of discrimination in Sweden is that 'natives' do not like to acknowledge its existence. The woman (Suzie), who

was in her fifties, had a very long working experience at different government and private institutions (and organisations). She has lectured at the university in Malmö, taught Swedish language to migrants, worked as an accountant, represented one of the left-leaning political parties in Malmö at the level of the municipality, been a committee member of a government organisation in Stockholm that fights against discrimination, and at the time of the interview she was working with a non-governmental organisation fighting against discrimination. She was also an activist – taking part in protests against discrimination and public speaking about discrimination. My contact with Suzie came about when I was trying to get in touch with officials at the Equality Ombudsman (DO) in Malmö. The person I contacted could not find time for a meeting with me around the period that I requested and suggested that I could talk to Suzie. Although DO is a government institution, Suzie informed me that they sometimes work together. She explained that this has not always been the case. DO had been around for a long time before her organisation was formed, and in the early years of their formation DO saw them mostly as rivals. Other established institutions that promote equality also looked at them with suspicion, and it is unfortunate, as she explained, that they do not collaborate as much as she would like, especially given that they share a common goal.

Suzie: I have met nearly all the top government officials in Sweden and talked with them on different occasions and places. None of them says they don't want immigrants in Sweden, no one says that. They all say immigration is good, it is important for Sweden to have immigrants, and we have to do this and this so that they [immigrants] can feel that they have better or the same chances like everyone in society. It is so nice and gives a perfect picture that makes you believe everything is fine. There are always many people who listen when I go around talking about these things, and everyone agrees that immigrants are so important for Sweden. But you must have been in Sweden long enough to know that what they say when the camera is not there is different. Some people say the situation for immigrants is worse in other countries than Sweden, but I don't believe that. Don't say it is worse in Denmark –that is bullshit and it depends on what you are talking about. I have been in Denmark and spoken to Danes. It always depends on what you are looking for and how you look at it. I am not an expert on Danish immigration politics. They have done some very bad reforms, but Denmark today has a very good economy and many immigrants in Sweden who have not been able to get jobs for years are getting jobs in Denmark and it does not matter if they are black, yellow or whatever because they are needed. Denmark does not have all the nice laws against discrimination or human rights laws that we have. I don't think it helps to go around trying to convince ourselves that everything is nice in society. We want to believe that everything is good and there are no problems. The Swedish people want to believe this so we can have a nice afternoon with coffee and just talk about the weather and flowers. If we convince ourselves that we don't have such problems, we can feel free to just enjoy life. But if you start to listen to people, read and try to know things, then you get a little bit worried that you are not doing anything about it yourself... Even before the age of 35 I knew that everything was not as they were on paper. The people who come to me do not say their problem is with people who run around the streets screaming bad things to them. No, that is not the big problem. We have that

problem as well but it is not a big problem. The problem for migrants and for me is that our society has very good laws and on paper everything is good.

Suzie's view on discrimination against migrants in Sweden reflects van Dijk's argument that the denial of racism does not make the problem go away but instead has the effect of sustaining it. She raises some key points and questions which can help provide more insight into the denial of racism in Sweden. On the one hand, the government through policies and public statements by top government officials appears to support immigration and denounce discrimination against migrants. Even the people she meets during her public speaking expressed support for immigration and equality for migrants. This indicates that the official position in Sweden and public opinion are seen as supportive of equality for migrants. On the other hand, it appears that there is some awareness that migrants are discriminated against but there is a tendency to be dismissive of the problem by arguing that the situation of migrants in Sweden is better than of those in other countries. In either case, the implication is that discrimination against migrants is not seen as a serious problem.

Different studies in Sweden (Pred 2000; Slavnić 2009) have shown an intersection of a discourse of equality and the flourishing of racism, thereby highlighting a major contradiction between official policy and the general attitude towards migrants in Sweden. It is this contradiction which Suzie sees as the problem when she states, 'The problem for migrants and for me is that our society has very good laws and on paper everything is good'. The contradiction described is also echoed in popular views about the issue of discrimination in Swedish society.

'We' have no discrimination here in Sweden. It's only that non-Europeans and Muslims are culturally unadaptable to Swedish work norms, culturally unfit for most forms of Swedish employment, especially with the steep decline of jobs in the manufacturing sector, the growing importance of the information- and service-production sectors, and the increased job-market emphasis on computer and other technical skills. They are, in short, lacking in 'cultural competence.' (Pred 2000, p. 149).

It has been argued that the denial of discrimination contributes to the problem because it undermines its seriousness (van Dijk 2007). The above quote indicates that denial of discrimination can also contribute to the problem by seeing the material deprivation of those who are discriminated against as a failure on their part. In the above quote, where the marginal position of migrants in the labour market is seen as the result of their 'cultural incompetence', denial of discrimination can be seen as also racialising migrants. It does so by suggesting that they are endowed with

certain characteristics that predispose them to be incapable of functioning properly in a Swedish work setting.

Suzie's narrative, unlike those of other officials that have been examined, is very critical of how Swedish society treats migrants. Being an anti-discrimination activist in a society where discrimination is hardly seen as a problem positions her outside mainstream society. Also, her background as an employee of a non-governmental organisation and a woman places her outside the centre of influence in society. Her position as an 'outsider' means that she is under less constraint and moral obligation to defend the status quo or 'keep face'.

The issue of (labour market) discrimination against migrants is something which the respondents in this study generally recognised. Though they see this as a major barrier working against them, they also consider other factors influence their participation in the labour market, as we shall see in the next interview. This is with a man from Cameroon who at the time of the interview had lived in Sweden for three years. The man, who was in his early twenties, was studying an undergraduate programme at the University of Lund.

Jon: What about your work experience?

Ekaney: Generally, it is very difficult to get a job in Sweden. There is discrimination in the job market, but I think the problem also is that there are no jobs. If there were many jobs and they refused to employ immigrants, then I would say with certainty that there is discrimination. Even Swedes struggle very hard to get jobs... I have a job, I distribute newspapers early in the morning.

Jon: How did you get the job?

Ekaney: I applied and waited for about a year and they called me. They interviewed me in Swedish to make sure that I had some language skill... If you don't understand some Swedish it makes things harder for you. When I realised this at the beginning, I struggled and learned some Swedish[30].

Jon: what do you think about the job and the working conditions?

Ekaney: First of all, it is very flexible and this gives me enough time for my studies. I work at night and study in the day and there is no stress. The second point is that it is a regular job and I have all the rights that a worker should have. I can get sick leave, take a holiday and other things. I am taking my holiday in August, by the way, and I am going to Cameroon.

[30] All the Cameroonian students in this study are enrolled in study programmes or taking courses that are taught in English. Usually, knowledge of Swedish is not a prerequisite for admission into study programmes that are in English.

This interview represents an example where everything appears to have gone so well for a migrant in the labour market. Ekaney applied for a job, went through an interview and was accepted. This positive experience and the working conditions, which he appreciates, explain why he expressed so much satisfaction about his job. There are surely many people, including 'natives', who study full-time and work at night (or have two full-time jobs) but this is not the kind of situation that we would expect someone to be content with. For a student with very limited financial support or none, not to work could have greater negative impacts than those caused by working and studying full-time. It is therefore not surprising that Ekaney did not complain about his situation of studying full-time and working at night (usually from 3am to 5am)[31]. Given that he had to work, getting a night job seems to be a really good arrangement because it does not overlap with his lectures, as would have been the case if he had a daytime job. It is probably because of this arrangement that he considers the night job to be flexible.

Apart from the above positive aspects of the newspaper job, Ekaney also liked the job for specific reasons such as the paid sick leave and holidays. This is interesting because, given the highly regulated labour market in Sweden (Nordiska ministerrådet 2010), people might think that all workers in the country enjoy the rights that comes with regulation. A majority of the workforce in Sweden, who have regular employment, enjoy those rights (ibid). Temporary or part-time workers, especially those working for some sub-contractors, are usually less likely to enjoy some of the common basic workers' rights in Sweden. This was revealed by some media reports which showed migrants working under conditions that are normally unacceptable in Sweden[32]. According to the reports, the workers, who were mainly migrants from Africa and Asia and worked as cleaners for some of the big fast-food companies, worked seven nights a week, earned about 37 SEK per hour and were not entitled to any paid sick leave.

One can see from this example that, for Ekaney, the issue of discrimination in the labour market is not relevant. While he agrees that there is discrimination generally, his own experiences show that there are also possibilities. Therefore, he is not sure whether discrimination is certain: 'If

[31] Other positive aspects about the newspaper job are that, first, it seems to take far less than the officially stipulated time to complete the job. Though this could be the result of some people being very good at the job, such people are likely to feel happy about it. Ekaney falls in this group as he works for approximately two hours every morning but is paid for working four hours. Second, the newspaper job is much better in terms of the salary and working conditions compared to the distribution of brochures/fliers, which is very common among immigrants.

[32] Magnus Svenugsson. 'Nya svartjobb på McDonald's': Svt. March 31, 2007. [Accessed 4th of June 2010] http://svt.se/2.130014/1.1954431/nya_svartjobb_pa_mcdonald_s?lid=puff_1961620&lpos=bild
'Damages claim after slave wages allegations': *The Local*. http://www.thelocal.se/8916/20071026/

there were many jobs and they refused to employ migrants, then I would say with certainty that there is discrimination. Even Swedes struggle very hard to get jobs.' There is a gap between Ekaney's personal experience of having a job that satisfies his needs and the general insight that there is labour market discrimination. It is his individual experience that seems to contradict the general insight. However, the fact that Ekaney sees himself as lucky, having acquired a low-paid and low-skilled job after having waited for a year, may indicate the low expectations he had. At the same time, for him the job is only a means to finance his studies, not something that he sees himself as doing for the rest of his life. In this respect the night job is indeed suitable for his situation. The over-representation of migrants in general and especially people from Africa in menial jobs is another story from students doing menial jobs in order to finance their studies.

The examples that have been examined above illustrate the marginal position of migrants in the Swedish labour market and how migrants who are employed are in low-skilled or unskilled occupations and have little or no chance of promotion. These disadvantages, when combined with the problems of unemployment and limited access to well-paid jobs, highlight the gravity of the labour market difficulties which migrants face. The marginal labour market position of these migrants, as we have seen, is neither accidental nor the result of a conscious desire to gravitate towards the margins of the labour market. Rather, it is the outcome of different factors whose combined effects produce the position of subordinated inclusion, as Neergaard (2009) has called it. This subordinate position also means that migrants have less influence on important decisions in the workplace – for example, decisions pertaining to hiring, promotion and termination of workers. When it comes to structural/institutional barriers, we saw that certain job requirements like proficiency in Swedish language and work experience do not seem to derive from the needs of the job itself (like cleaning or being a waitress), but rather work as a limitation to the employment opportunities of migrants.

The analysis of the labour market situation of migrants indicates that they experience and perceive labour market discrimination in different ways. There are migrants like Jasmine and Ekaney whose experiences are predominantly positive or are experienced by them as positive, and there are others like Amina and Chantal whose experiences are negative or are experienced by them as such. While structurally people with a migrant background are in a position of subordinate inclusion, this does of course not mean that every single migrant is constantly discriminated against. People have different experiences in different times and places and judge the general situation differently depending on these personal experiences. There

are a number of reasons explaining the different experiences that individuals make within the dominant structures.

One explanation is that institutional frameworks that (re)produce discrimination are often contested from within, so that within the same institutional set-up there are forces that try to oppose the discrimination. Here, Fairclough's (2006, p. 30) concept of order of discourse can provide a useful explanation. Any institution or organisation, according to him, is characterised by different discourses (discursive practices), which might be in opposition to each other. Also, one of the discursive practices at a given point in time is usually dominant and thus has greater influence in an institution or organisation than the other ones. For our case this means that within an institution or organisation there can be discursive practices, some of which discriminate and others that are opposed to discrimination. As a result, within a given organisation or institution it is possible for some migrants to be discriminated against while others are not. Fairclough's concept of order of discourse explains that different discourses within an institution or organisation usually arise from differences in the social position or identity of specific actors and in their ways of acting or producing social life. The concept of order of discourse can provide additional explanation for the discrepancies of fairness and discrimination within the same institution. It suggests that, because of their individual social identity or background, officials of an institution could be discriminatory or anti-discriminatory in their dealings with migrants.

Secondly, even when migrants face discrimination they might make sense of the experience in different ways. This can be explained by variations in the backgrounds of individuals and their specific needs. Ekaney was not sure about the extent of labour market discrimination since he was satisfied with a job that met his needs as a student; while Chantal, who had had an experience of outright discrimination, appeared unhappy and dissatisfied with the labour situation in general. Judgements about societal relationships are a combination of the acceptance of general discourses and individual experiences. Since experiences differ not least as a result of different institutional practices, it is dangerous to see groups as homogeneous. The theory of racism, in the context as used by Miles (1989) and Bonilla-Silva (1997), has noted the internal variation between members of a racialised minority. These authors argue that racism or a racialised social system is usually structured by other systems of subordination, notably class and gender. What these internal differences suggest is that individual racialised minorities not only experience but also make sense of racism in society differently depending on their structural social positions and their individual

life histories. In the next section the focus will be on another aspect of vital living conditions, namely housing.

Housing situation of the migrants in the study

For the migrants in this study, their major housing difficulties are reflected in overcrowding and/or residing in disreputable residential areas. All migrants certainly do not face these housing challenges, and those who find themselves in any of these unfortunate situations do not necessarily experience them in the same way. We have those who live in fairly decent housing and feel satisfied living there. There are also those whose housing conditions might be considered by wider society as substandard but who nevertheless are on balance contented with what they have. Analysis of some of my interviews with Somali migrants in a different publication indicates that living in close proximity to fellow Somalis or Muslims is more important to some of them than the quality of the area where their residence is located (Ngeh 2009, pp. 194-195). Nonetheless, a major concern for migrants from the interviews was about housing. Although individuals presented different reasons for worrying about housing, the general concern was that people felt that they had limited access to housing, especially decent housing. Among all the migrants in the study less than half of them lived in a flat/house which they owned or rented from a housing company. The rest of them lived either in a sublet or with relatives. Living in a sublet or a relative's house can be quite normal, and even common under certain circumstances. A sublet can be the best option when people want to stay for a short period of time such as a few weeks or months. Sometimes young adults might like to stay with friends or relatives because renting their own flat could be expensive for them. Under these circumstances, moving into a sublet or relative's house can be unproblematic. There were some respondents who lived in a sublet or with relatives largely because it was convenient, but they were quite few. The majority of them lived in a sublet or with relatives chiefly because they could not get their own flats. Living in a sublet or with relatives for these individuals was considered problematic for reasons such as: fear of eviction without notice, lack of privacy, and exploitation by sub-landlords, as we shall see in some of the interviews and observations below.

Housing situation in 'migrant residential areas'

The degree of residential segregation in Malmö is reflected in the high concentration of people with a migrant background in some residential districts and their visible absence in others. Though there are highly segregated areas of migrant and non-migrant concentrations, there are also areas with mixed migrant and non-migrant populations. The residential

district of Rosengård, where some of the fieldwork was conducted and where I lived, is considered to be the most segregated and problematic area in the city. In this area only 16 percent of its residents had two Swedish-born parents in 2005 (van Heelsum 2008). In addition, 59 percent of the population is composed of first-generation migrants (ibid). Besides being an area with a predominantly migrant population, Rosengård is also seen as being in decline, that is, characterised by physical decay and insecurity. Although some houses have not been renovated for a long time, the image of decay is distorted. A reporter who was visiting the area for the first time was surprised not to see any sign of the disorder, insecurity or physical decay as often depicted in the media.

> *Arriving in Herrgården, the area within Rosengård at the centre of the disturbances, I expected to see the usual signs of a ghetto. But the yellow-brick buildings built in the mid-1960s were not substandard housing. The sidewalks and surrounding grounds were well kept and the streets were clean*[33].

Besides having sidewalks and clean streets, Rosengård has many other amenities: a shopping centre with a big supermarket, a district hospital, daycare centres, schools, a sports centre with a boxing club –*Malmö Boxningsklubb,* children's playgrounds and a gas station. You can also find bus lines running through different streets of Rosengård, connecting the area to the city centre and the rest of Malmö. There are also many public institutions and private enterprises, both big and small, operating in the locality. This bright picture of the most deprived residential area in Malmö suggests that residential segregation in the city does not completely cut off social contact between migrants and 'natives'. However, compared to other parts of the city, Rosengård is a deprived residential area with housing conditions that could be seen as inferior to the general standard in the city.

One morning I went to visit a woman from Cameroon in Rosengård when a technician stopped by to check some appliances for possible repair or replacement. The housing company had been notified a few days earlier that the cooker and bathtub were broken. The woman and two other men from Cameroon lived in the flat, which has one bedroom and a living room. The woman (Linda), in her mid-twenties, lived in the bedroom while the two men, in their late twenties and thirties, occupied the living room. Each of the men had a small bed and their belongings at opposite ends of the living room. Linda and the younger man (Essono) came to Sweden as students for master's degree programmes in 2005. Linda came in the spring and was the first among the three of them to live in the flat. Back then she had two

[33] Report by Genevieve Worrell, "Rosengård: hardship and hope" 23 of Aug, 2007. Online: http://www.thelocal.se/8267/

different flatmates. Essono came to Sweden in the autumn and moved in when one of the earlier occupants moved out. The older man (Sama) came to Sweden in 2004 and tried to seek asylum. He lived in different parts of Sweden before moving to Malmö in late 2006. He was the last of the three occupants to move in. Around the time that Sama arrived in Malmö, his asylum claim had been rejected and the Swedish Migration Board had requested him to leave the country.

On the morning that I went to see Linda, she and Essono were in the flat, but he left shortly after my arrival. A few minutes later, somebody opened the door with an outside key. A middle-aged man entered, and I was a bit startled to discover that he was neither Essono nor Sama. Linda, who looked unsurprised, greeted the man and introduced me to him as a friend. She told me later that the man was their 'landlord'. The 'landlord', who is also from Africa, is a naturalised Swedish citizen. He seemed to have close contact with Cameroonians in Malmö. Linda had earlier complained to him about the broken appliances and he had notified the housing company. When he saw the cooker and the bathtub, he agreed with Linda that they were in bad shape and needed to be replaced. The cooker was visibly worn out: a good portion of the surface was covered in rust, one of the burners was not working properly, the oven trays were rusted and the walls of the oven damaged in such a way that the trays no longer fitted. In the bathroom, some of the tiles on the floor were broken and the bathtub had a leak beneath it, seemingly caused by a broken or blocked pipe. Not long after the arrival of the 'landlord' the technician came. I did not meet the technician because I was in the bedroom. After the technician left, I was surprised to hear that he said the bathtub and the cooker were OK. Linda and the 'landlord' seemed less surprised, as they agreed that housing companies do not really care about houses in that area. Later, the 'landlord' picked up some postal mail addressed to him and was about to leave when Linda asked him to wait. She gave him some money and said it was her share of the electricity bill.

When I was left with Linda, I tried to find out more about the terms of their housing arrangement. She said they had moved in as individuals and each person pays their share of the rent directly to the 'landlord'. He has a spare key to the flat and comes there about twice a month to pick up his mail and collect the rent/utility bills. Linda pays 2 500 SEK for her share of the rent, while the other two occupants pay 1 500 SEK each. Together they pay 5 000 SEK, though the actual rent for the flat is 3 500 SEK. This payment does not cover their utility bills. Since the 'landlord' does not show them the utility bills, there is the possibility that they are charged more, as is the case with the rent. From my discussions with the three occupants of the flat, it seems that they had done very little to look for other places to live. Both Linda and

Essono found the flat through other Cameroonians in Malmö and seemed to have settled for it. Linda, who by the time of the interview had completed her master's degree programme and applied for a permanent Swedish residence, was planning to move to the UK. Essono had done part of his studies in Stockholm and had plans to move there when writing his thesis. Sama, who was living in the country without any residence permit, was always open to the fact that he could leave for Cameroon any time, either willingly or forcibly through deportation.

The housing situation of these three Cameroonians highlights different sets of difficulties. First, there is financial exploitation by the man who sublets the flat to the three Cameroonians. The decision by the 'landlord' to take in three tenants, besides the fact that it enables him to get more financial benefit, creates the problem of overcrowding for the occupants of the flat. This problem is exacerbated because the 'landlord' has a spare key and 'unlimited' access to the flat. This indicates that there is a lack of privacy, which usually is a cause for concern to many people. Second, there seems to be reluctance on the part of the housing company to carry out maintenance work in the flat.

The living conditions where I lived during the fieldwork (at Rosengård) and other nearby houses were more or less the same as in the above example. I lived with two Cameroonians in a flat with one bedroom and a living room. We paid 5 500 SEK for the rent. This was higher than the actual rent (3 500 SEK) and it excluded the utility bills. The man who sublet the flat to us, a migrant from Africa, lived in Denmark but had someone in Malmö who acted as a caretaker. The caretaker, who was also a man and an African migrant, collected the rent and bills. This housing arrangement, though illicit, needs to be seen as an alternative to homelessness. Whilst this development is characterised by the exploitation of migrants by fellow migrants, it serves an important function which the major housing institutions have failed to serve. The role of the intermediate 'landlords' in providing housing can be seen as a result of the neglect and/or failure of the major housing institutions to cater for the housing needs of a segment of the population. However, the fact that some migrants take advantage of the housing situation and exploit the more vulnerable members of their community shows that the formation of exclusive migrant communities can cause problems for migrants. Reducing people to their perceived cultural differences and seeing them as static can be and has been a problem in some policies of state-sponsored 'multiculturalism'. A criticism in this sense has, for instance, been formulated against the Swedish policy of 'multiculturalism' (Ålund & Schierup 1991). Ali Mandanipour (1998) also raises some concern

about 'multicultural' policies, though he is equally concerned about the idea of assimilating migrants as a solution to their problems of exclusion.

> *On the one hand, emphasis on the eradication of difference and seeing the city as a melting pot has led to undermining sensitivities and to disruption of lives. On the other hand, the emphasis on difference has led to social fragmentation and tribalism. Both have failed to cure the wounds of those living on the edge of the society (ibid, p. 80).*

Mandanipour's discussion about marginalisation in urban areas begins with the assertion that exclusion or inclusion depends largely on access to decision-making (political arena), work or resources (economic arena) and common narratives (cultural arena). The denial of participation in any of these spheres of social life, he explains, can alienate individuals and social groups. When combined, alienation from these different spheres of life can re-enforce each other and create an acute form of social exclusion, as in deprived residential areas. From his point of view, space is the site in which these different forms of access are made possible or denied. He argues that the more restricted our social options, the more restricted our spatial options will be, and consequently the experience or feeling of exclusion. According to Mandanipour, a wide range of social options produces more possibilities such as different places to go, live, work and socialise. The underlying point in this argument is that residential deprivation is embedded in a matrix of different forms of marginalisation (economic, political and cultural).

Mixed responses to the housing difficulties of migrants

An interview with a Cameroonian woman provides more insights into how some of the migrants experience and deal with the housing difficulties in Malmö. Wendy is a woman from Cameroon who at the time of the interview had lived in Sweden for three years and was in her late twenties. She came to Sweden as a student for a master's degree programme and was engaged to a Cameroonian man in the UK. Halfway into her study programme she suspended her studies for health and other personal reasons. She has been in the northern Swedish town of Luleå for two weeks on a visit to a relative, who is also a student. The quote below highlights some of the difficulties which she encountered as she struggled to get a place to live. As we shall see in the interview, she lived in three different places under difficult conditions before finally getting a place of her own. The first time that we met was at her place but the interview was conducted at her friend's place. She was baby-sitting for her friend, who had just given birth.

> *Wendy: I started looking for accommodation in Malmö before I left Cameroon. I thought that having money would make it easy to find a house, but I was wrong. I even went to the student union president and pleaded but nothing came out. If only I*

succeeded to get accommodation then, I probably would not have encountered the problems which I faced later on. I blame the Swedish society and also Cameroonians in Malmö for what happened... [Short interruption as her friend walked in to talk to her.] What I was trying to say is that since I could not get my own apartment, I was forced to accept what was available. Someone told me I could rent a room from a Cameroonian man who lived in a big apartment. But when I got there, I realised that there would be other people sharing the room with me. We were four of us [all Cameroonians] sharing one bedroom. Living like that causes problems. There were problems like gossiping, people using your things and lack of privacy... One day I got into a fight with a girl who was my roommate. She accused me of stealing her watch and kept insulting me. I slapped her and we got into a fight. The owner of the apartment, who was having an affair with this girl, came and supported her. He held me and let her punch me. After that incident I packed my things and left. I went and stayed with a Cameroonian couple in Lund [for two weeks]. Later on I met a Cameroonian man who was about to move out of his apartment. He told me that if I could pay two months' rent in advance he would sublet the apartment to me. I paid the rent for the months of January and February. After paying the rent I went to Luleå for the Christmas break. I returned in the middle of January, when my classes were scheduled to begin, and was surprised to find out that the man was still living in the apartment. I told him to leave but he said that he needed some time. He had a key to the apartment and could easily get in and out. Sometimes he came in when I was not around and ate my food, brought his friends and even slept over. One day, I succeeded to take the key which was in his possession, but he kept coming. Around the end of February, I received two letters from the housing company informing me that the rent had not been paid for the past two months and that I should leave. A Cameroonian man living nearby, who was planning to move to Belgium, sympathised with me and offered to help. He went to the housing company and explained that we were a couple. He explained that he was going to Belgium and would want us to move to a different apartment in the building. He said he would be happy if I could move to the new place straight away because he had already signed out his apartment. The man we met said I should choose any apartment on the fifth floor, where all the rooms were newly constructed and vacant. I chose the apartment, which I have now.

In some ways, Wendy's situation is different from those of the three Cameroonians that we came across earlier. They did very little or nothing to find more suitable accommodation for themselves. The 'illegal' status of one of them was evidently the major obstacle of getting better accommodation in his case. With the other two, the fact that they had plans to leave Malmö can explain why they did not try to look for better accommodation. Besides the status of a person as a 'legal' or 'illegal' resident, their economic or financial situation has been considered to be a major influence on the chances of getting quality accommodation (Andersson 1999).

The story of Wendy indicates that money was not the problem, and we know that her residential status was not either. She also tried hard, without success, to get suitable accommodation. Nonetheless, she ended up living in an overcrowded room/flat. Though she succeeded in finding suitable accommodation in the end, it took her more than two years to do so and during that period she lived in substandard housing units and underwent

some unpleasant experiences. It exemplifies that migrants who live in poor housing conditions are not necessarily in that situation because they lack the financial resources or legal rights to stay in standard housing. What could therefore be the reason why someone like Wendy would end up living in such poor housing conditions? A possible explanation will have to do with the institutional/structural arrangements in the housing market that limit the housing opportunity of migrants, as we shall see towards the end of this chapter.

Wendy's narrative also shows how individual Cameroonian migrants respond in different ways to common difficulties. On the one hand, there are Cameroonian migrants who try to assist, like the neighbour who helped her find accommodation from the housing company. On the other hand, there are those who try to exploit the situation for personal gain, like the sub-landlord who failed to respect the terms of his agreement with Wendy. What appears evident at first sight, if one subscribes to romanticising images of community, is the fact that some of the hardships that Cameroonians experience are caused by other Cameroonians, usually by better established men. Here, Baumann's (1996) critique of using the term 'community' in a sense that denies or ignores cleavages within ethnic minorities explains why solidarity and exploitation coexist within the same collective. Baumann's argument that ethnic minorities experience the same cross-cutting social, political, economic, gender and other cleavages like the dominant society suggests that conflicts within migrant communities are quite normal.

The idea of cross-cutting social cleavages in a migrant community means that on the one hand solidarity in the 'group' could bind all members because of the common cultural background. On the other hand, solidarity could be based on other affiliations that bind only certain segments of the 'group' such as particular gender or social class commonalities. This second ground of solidarity could be extended to non-migrants who fall into the same social category. One example is migrant women bonding with non-migrant women because of their shared gender identity. This is what happened in the next example, where another woman (Fouda) from Cameroon explained that a Swedish 'native' woman helped her get a suitable flat. The flat has two bedrooms, a kitchen and a living room. Fouda lives with her boyfriend and their one-year-old son. The area where she got the flat is fairly mixed, with migrant and non-migrant populations. Fouda, who was in her early thirties at the time of the interview, came to Sweden in 2006 and applied for asylum. She was in Stockholm most of the time during the asylum process but moved to Malmö around the end of 2007 when she was granted asylum. In Malmö she lived with other Cameroonians for a short time before finding her own place. Fouda did not really know the Swedish woman who helped her.

Fouda: It is difficult to get a house in Malmö because there are many people looking for one. I was lucky to get this house, and I got it as a second-hand contract. It was crowded where I lived before and not suitable for the child and me. The woman who was staying here wanted to terminate her contract and move to another house, but when she saw me and heard my story she decided to sublet the house to me.

Jon: What was your relationship with this woman?

Fouda: I don't really know her. I met her through another woman [from Ghana] whom I met on the train and who is now my neighbour. In the course of our conversation when we met, I told her [the Ghanaian woman] that I was looking for a house, and she told me that her neighbour was planning to move out. That is how I got the contact of the Swedish woman, who later sublet the apartment to me. It is why I count myself as a lucky person. There are people who have been here for many years and they are not able to get a house...

Given the housing scarcity in Malmö and the difficulty that migrants face in finding suitable housing, it is understandable that Fouda saw herself as lucky for getting a flat that she likes. However, a closer examination of the events that led to Fouda getting the flat suggest that what happened cannot be seen as mere luck. Though the ways that Fouda met the women who assisted her in getting her accommodation appear to have been accidental, it is no coincidence that all of them are women and that the other women responded so positively to Fouda. In relation to the meeting between Fouda and the woman from Ghana, the fact that their conversation got to the point where the former talked about her housing need and the latter showed concern suggests that the two women tried to open up to each other when they first met. Also, the Ghanaian woman must have been close to the Swedish woman to know that she was planning to terminate her contract and to talk about Fouda to her. What all of this indicates is that these women bonded with each other despite having different ethno-national backgrounds. Fouda's decision to seek assistance from outside the Cameroonian community confirms the argument by Baumann that a community is not necessarily a closed homogeneous entity. In Fouda's case the possibility for multiple belonging was demonstrated by the fact that she decided to seek help from other women outside of the Cameroonian community – which, given the apparent lack of help from fellow Cameroonians over the issue of housing, is not surprising. Finally, her experience with the other two women indicates a sharp difference from the greed and exploitation of mostly Cameroonian men in a similar position to help with housing.

The impact of poor economic standing on getting housing

The analysis here will focus on a discussion with Jama in his mid-forties, - from Somalia. He left Somalia in the early 1980s to study in Asia, where he obtained a bachelor's degree in engineering. When the civil war started, he

went back to Somalia for a few months to see his family. After finding his sister in Egypt, they moved to Sweden and sought asylum in the early 1990s. He moved to Malmö in 1993 and first rented a one-bedroom flat, which he got without much difficulty. Later on, when he got married and had children, the one bedroom became too small for his family. In 2001 he moved into a three-bedroom flat in one of the residential areas with high migrant concentrations. Throughout his stay in Malmö, Jama has had several temporary jobs, usually lasting between four months to two years. From 1993 to the end of the decade he worked most of the time as a seasonal forest worker. The jobs he did include tree-planting and building fences. These jobs lasted between four to six months each season, with the possibility of resumption in the next year. Once he gained a two-years contract in another forest project where they cut trees, produced timber and built small bridges. Outside the forest, he was employed in a warehouse as a manual worker, worked for a leather company, and did a training programme on industrial computer programming. At the time of the interview, Jama was employed part-time as a programme coordinator for one of the Somali cultural associations that I cooperated with during my fieldwork. In the following quote he tries to explain his experience in the housing market.

> *Jama: Before I lived in a one-room apartment, but after I got married and had two children I wanted to move to a bigger house. I asked the housing company if I could get one but they said no. They said that it was not possible unless I had a job. They said, 'You have to bring this paper, and this paper and this paper.' At that time I was unemployed. I was living on social welfare. I asked if it was OK to bring a document from the welfare office that indicated they would take care of the rent. They said 'No, we don't want that.' Maybe they wanted to move immigrants out of that area. I don't know, but that could be a reason because they made it harder for us to get accommodation and I was really in need of a bigger place to stay. But one day I was out walking and decided to find out from a nearby housing company if I could get a big apartment with about three bedrooms. When I asked, they said yes. That is how I got the place where I live today. It was really easy, but today I am not very sure that you can easily get a house like that if you go to the same company.*

In this interview we can see that not having a job can have a negative effect on your chances of getting accommodation. Even though the Swedish government can provide housing assistance to the unemployed, housing companies sometimes make it difficult for the unemployed to get housing by giving preference to people who are employed. The housing companies in this way reinforce the exclusion that is produced by the labour market. In his analysis of the poor housing conditions of migrants in Sweden, Roger Andersson (1999) confirms that poor economic standing limits people's access to quality housing. However, he points out that the low economic standing of migrants is an outcome of racial/ethnic discrimination in the Swedish labour market.

In the above case it is difficult to understand why the housing company insisted on employment as a precondition for renting out houses even when there was a clear guarantee that the rent would be taken care of. Making employment a precondition for housing appears a fairly even-handed demand that does not specifically target somebody because of their migrant, ethnic or racial background. In reality it does discriminate against migrants and ethnic minorities because of their disproportionately higher representation among the unemployed and temporarily employed. The discrimination against migrants and/or ethnic minorities in this case is anchored in broader institutionalised practices, which makes it difficult to determine whether individual actions of housing agents are intended to discriminate or not. It is precisely because of the influence of institutional practices in the Swedish housing market that Anderson argues that discrimination against ethnic and racialised minorities takes place on both the institutional/structural and individual levels. The next section will examine some of the institutional and structural factors that exclude migrants from the housing market.

Institutional/structural barriers in the housing market

From the examples of housing difficulties of migrants examined so far, it appears that different categories of migrants face similar difficulties. Legal residents, undocumented migrants, students and non-students all face many difficulties in finding housing, alongside the possibility of living in a deprived residential area. A closer examination of the problem, however, indicates that these categories of migrants do not always face the same obstacles.

Undocumented migrants appear to face the most difficulties because of their status. Legally, they cannot apply for housing. The threat of deportation if discovered forces them to try as much as possible to avoid contact with public officials. Legal restrictions (housing policies) also affect other categories of migrants in negative ways (Andersson 1999, pp. 614-615). For example, as a result of the high demand for housing, housing companies usually give preference to earlier applicants. This creates a situation where people sometimes stay on the waiting list for years before they get a house. In big cities like Malmö, where there is such a long waiting period, all newly arrived migrants will find themselves at a disadvantage.

Migrants are sometimes excluded by the housing market because of limited access to information about housing. All the students in the above examples study in English, and knowledge of Swedish is not a requirement for admission. This means that students from abroad are likely to come to

Sweden without prior knowledge of Swedish[34]. In major Swedish university towns the main student housing providers give out all-important information on their website in both Swedish and English. This is not the case in Malmö, at least with the major providers of housing, which provide information in Swedish only. What makes this problematic to some students from abroad is that the University of Malmö (and other institutions of higher education in the city) does not own any rental flats and provides very little or no house-hunting assistance to non-exchange students. With little or no assistance, students from abroad face many language barriers to access some of the basic information about housing. This potential of language to exclude/include makes it an instrument of power (Bourdieu & Thompson 1991, p. 37). Language as such is more than a tool for communication. In the context of our discussion and with respect to students from abroad who have difficulty in accessing housing information because of the language barrier, it is evident that language reduces their opportunities for housing in that situation. We cannot blame the housing providers or Swedish institutions for communicating in Swedish. Having said this, universities are presented as institutions that promote and facilitate internationalisation. It is precisely because of this that universities try to design study programmes that can attract students from foreign countries. At the University of Malmö and other universities in Sweden, there are many programmes or short courses in the English language that are designed to attract students from abroad. In this context of internationalisation it is important for everybody to have access to information about some of the basic living conditions.

Deprived residential areas are known to produce numerous limitations and problems for their residents. Such areas in many towns around Sweden, as Andersson (1998, 1999) argues, did not come into existence by mistake. His explanation also suggests that nobody envisioned at the time of their development that they would become what they are today. In other words, the substandard nature of deprived residential areas in Sweden is not the product of any intentional decision. However, Andersson argues that government housing policies in Sweden have contributed to the development of present-day deprived residential areas. According to Andersson, the decision of the Swedish government in the 1960s to construct about a million dwellings, in what became known as the Million Programme, to address housing shortages laid the foundation for the problem. The aim, as he explained, was to provide accommodation for mostly working-class people working in the industries. Unfortunately, according to Andersson's

[34] Refugees/asylum seekers face similar language difficulties as students. However, the former and latter do not necessarily face the same housing barriers because refugees/asylum seekers usually have reception centres where they are housed, at least until they can find their own places. Students, on the other hand, have to find a place on their own before their arrival or as soon as they arrive.

explanation, the appeal of the new houses declined by the time the programme was completed. Some of the reasons for this decline that he gave include: they were located on or beyond the existing urban fringe and public transportation was sometimes not adequate, planned commercial centres came late into existence or not at all, and many residents started moving out of the houses, leaving behind many vacancies. The vacancies were first allocated to newcomers in the local housing market – young families, migrants from other parts of Sweden, and labour migrants from abroad – but these people again moved out. As a result, the Million Programme houses became the housing solution of last resort for people needing social assistance: alcoholic/drug-abusers and mentally ill people who were easily channelled to the Million Programme areas since they depended on state assistance for housing. As a consequence, many Million Programme areas acquired a bad reputation and became stigmatised. The bottom line of the argument by Andersson is that the deprived residential areas in Sweden today are largely a result of failed government policy.

To sum up: first is that 'declining' residential areas are mostly where migrants reside; second, the existence of structural/institutional barriers limits access for migrants to (suitable) housing; and finally, migrants themselves contribute to the housing problems of other migrants by exploiting their vulnerability. If we try to look at these different points together, we can come up with a sociological explanation that shows they are interconnected in a way that (re)produces the deplorable housing conditions of migrants. To explain this, I turn to Wacquant's (1996, 2008) analysis of deprivation in declining residential areas, notably the *ghetto*.[35] Examining high unemployment and economic hardship in some deprived residential areas, Wacquant observed the thriving of a surreptitious economy. The 'underground' economy is characterised on the one hand by slave-like jobs with very low wages and, on the other hand, by well-paid but risky jobs like illegal trade in contraband, stolen goods and drugs. He views this development as a result of the neglect of those deprived residential areas by public institutions and the exclusion of its residents from the labour market. His argument is thus that it is the failure of state institutions and the labour market that creates the conditions for an informal and often exploitative and dangerous 'underground' economy to thrive. While an underground economy like the one Wacquant presents is not visible in Malmö, we can

[35] The concept of a ghetto by Wacquant (1996) basically refers to a residential area where an undesired ethnic minority is forced to reside and allowed only minimal contact with the broader society. A ghetto, as such, is ethnically homogeneous, its residents cannot move out to other parts of the city even if they can afford to, and it is generally stigmatised (ibid, Drake & Cayton 1993). These characteristics indicate that none of the residential areas in Malmö that we are talking about qualifies as a ghetto. It is so because the deprived residential areas in Malmö are ethnically heterogeneous and residents of those areas are known to move to more affluent parts of the city when their economic situation improves.

apply his reasoning to our analysis of housing problems showing the (inter)connections between the three points that were outlined earlier. The argument here is that structural/institutional barriers forcibly relegate migrants to deprived residential areas. Furthermore, negligence of these areas by state institutions and housing companies make the living and housing conditions in the areas worse. Finally, the failure of these institutions leaves room for unscrupulous individuals and networks, which often comprise of migrants, to step in and exploit the vulnerability of other migrants.

Concluding remark

The focus of this chapter has been on the labour market and housing experiences of migrants. The analysis can be summarised by the following key points. First, established practices and policies of institutions like housing companies, employment offices and business establishments limit the access of migrants to (quality) housing and the labour market in general (and decent jobs in particular). Second, actions of individual migrants, 'natives' and officials in different institutions can limit or enable the access of migrants to housing and the labour market. Third, individual resources (that are considered valuable in Sweden) can increase the opportunities which migrants have in society, without providing any guarantee for success. To start with the first point, about the impact of established practices and policies of some institutions, we saw the following. In the labour market, employment offices sometimes demand extensive experience for jobs that do not necessarily require them, while some employers demand language competence for jobs which do not require communication. The restrictions caused by these demands tend to affect mostly migrants because, first, as a result of their high unemployment rate, which is often caused by discrimination, they are likely to have little or no work experience; and second, since migrants do not have Swedish as their mother tongue, language requirements for jobs affect them more than non-migrants. In the housing market, we saw that housing companies pay less attention to housing units in deprived residential areas and give preference to potential tenants who are employed. These practices, which appear normal from an economic point of view, negatively affect mostly migrants because of their higher concentration in deprived residential areas and higher proportion of unemployment. When normalised practices in an institution or organisation limit the opportunities of a particular segment of the population, it can be seen as institutionalised discrimination. In our analysis, where this affects a racialised minority we can also speak of institutionalised racism (Miles 1989, pp. 84 ff.). Institutionalised racism, according to Miles, can apply to two sets of circumstances. The first takes place when exclusionary practices arise

from and embody a racist discourse but may no longer be explicitly justified by such a discourse. The second involves a condition where an explicitly racist discourse is modified in a way that the explicitly racist content becomes eliminated but other words continue to carry the original meaning. Miles points out that in both cases the racist discourse is silent but embodied in the continuation of exclusionary practices or in the use of a new discourse, which are expressive of an earlier racist discourse. It is from this point of view that he states:

> *...the concept of institutionalised racism does not refer to exclusionary practices per se but to the fact that a once-present discourse is now absent and that it justified or set in motion exclusionary practices which therefore institutionalise that discourse (ibid, p. 85).*

In our analysis, we can start by acknowledging the absence of any explicit racist discourse in the labour and housing institutions that we have examined. Job requirements like extensive work experience and language competence are normal (and often legitimate) skills that are frequently required for jobs. The same can be said for the housing requirements that we listed. This means there is nothing obviously racist about the demand for these requirements. However, when these requirements turn to affect negatively mostly a particular segment of the population we can talk of discrimination. Discrimination alone, according to Miles (1989), is not racism. This means it is important to look at the second and most important condition for institutionalised racism, which is to show that the current exclusion in the labour market has some link to a past racist discourse in Sweden. Here, Sweden's involvement in the transatlantic slave trade and subsequent contributions to European racist discourse of the 19th century that supported the colonisation of non-Europeans all show that Sweden embraced practices that racialised non-Europeans in the past. Writing about racism in Sweden, Pred (2000, 2004) considers the rise of European nationalism in the 18th and 19th centuries in which Sweden played an important part to have coincided with the development of a discourse that represented Europeans as a homogeneous group. This development, according to Pred, laid the ground for racialisation of people considered to have no European background.

The analysis indicated further that all migrants were not subjected to the same discriminatory practices. While some of them were completely denied access to employment or housing, others were not (though often they had access only to 'substandard' housing or low-paid jobs). These differential treatments towards different migrants by the same or similar institutions give room for some suggestions about these institutions. The first is that the rules and norms that define how the institutions function leave space for

arbitrariness, thereby enabling officials to make their own decisions. This creates the possibility for individual officials to arrive at different decisions from the same facts. Another suggestion is that individual migrants have different skills, which affects how they are treated when they come into contact with an institution. The potential of actors at the grassroots level to influence institutional and structural exclusion raises an interesting point. It indicates that individual migrants and 'natives' are active agents whose actions can have influence on the (re)production of exclusionary practices in society. For this reason, it is important to pay as much attention to processes at the grassroots level just as to processes at the institutional/structural level. The next chapter is focused on the actions of individual migrants and 'natives' at the grassroots level and how they affect exclusion and the conflicts that we have examined in the preceding two chapters.

Chapter six. Diversity and division in society

This chapter examines the contribution of 'micro' factors to the social exclusion/inclusion and conflicts that have been presented in the previous chapters. It looks at the ways in which migrants and 'natives' represent and interact with each other. In general, the focus is on the construction of differences ('Us' and 'Them') and how this contributes to the (re)production of exclusion. Exclusion, according to Wodak (2008), takes place on different levels. On the one hand, there is the level of institutional/structural relations. On the other hand is the level of situated interaction where knowledge, institutional roles, language, gender, ethnicity, social class or a combination of all these factors work to re-enforce the exclusion that is produced by structural/institutional factors.

The argument by Wodak draws attention to the contributions of both 'macro' and 'micro' processes in the (re)production of social exclusion in society. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p. 7) made a similar argument when they asserted that 'social facts are objects which are also the object of knowledge within reality itself because human beings make meaningful the world which makes them.' For this reason, they argue for a methodological approach that focuses on relations between *agent* and *structure*, and oppose the treatment of *agent* and *structure* as opposing dualities.

The preceding chapter of our analysis illuminated how people experienced forms of exclusion that can be ascribed to institutional discrimination. This chapter will pay more attention to encounters between individuals in the everyday. The chapter is divided into two main sections. The first part looks at the construction of difference by both migrants and 'natives' and examines how they affect the exclusion of the former in mainstream society. In the second section, we look at the everyday interactions between migrants and 'natives' as they come into contact with each other. The aim is to find out whether they try to avoid or reach out to each other. This is important because reaching out could facilitate the establishment of social ties across the two 'groups' and consequently enhance the inclusion of migrants into mainstream society.

A recurrent theme in this chapter that requires some conceptualisation is 'culture'. In the social sciences, as noted by Hall (1997, p. 2), culture is often used to refer to whatever is distinctive about the 'way of life' of a people, community, nation or social group. Furthermore, he explains that emphasis usually is on the importance of *meaning* to the definition of culture.

Culture, it is argued, is not so much a set of things – novels and paintings or TV programmes and comics –as a process, a set of practices. Primarily, culture is concerned with the production and the exchange of meanings –the 'giving and taking of meaning' – between the members of a society or group. To say that two people belong to the same culture is to say that they interpret the world in roughly the same ways and can express themselves, their thoughts and feelings about the world, in ways which would be understood by each other (ibid, p. 2).

Being aware that the idea of 'shared meaning' makes culture sound too unitary and cognitive, Hall argues against such interpretations of culture. He points out that in any culture there is always a great diversity of meanings around any topic and more than one way of interpreting or representing it. Also, that culture is about feelings, attachments and emotions as well as concepts and ideas. There is no doubt that the idea of a shared 'way of life' in this definition can imply a certain uniformity and timelessness, which falsely fixes boundaries between social collectives in absolute terms (Baumann 1996). The discussed concept of culture rejects such a notion by presenting culture as something that is neither natural nor fixed. Culture therefore is not something that is inherent and does not cause behaviour.

Construction of difference: how migrants and 'natives' perceive each other

Differences (perceived or real) always exist between individuals and social collectives. Some differences are seen as unproblematic while others are perceived as problematic in some contexts. Debates about cultural diversity represent a good example of how difference, usually in relation to culture, is problematised (Brochmann 2003; Ålund & Schierup 1991). Usually the problematisation of difference takes place in a particular social and historical context. The hijab, for example, is seen by non-Muslims predominantly as a symbol of oppression of women, whereas many Muslims may see it as a normal dress for women. This suggests that difference *per se* is not a problem; rather, it is how we represent it that transforms it into problem. In this section, attention will be on how migrants and 'natives' perceive and represent difference.

Seeing migrant culture(s) as a disadvantage

The assistant head teacher who was interviewed for this study explained that he usually meets with parents, students and teachers when there is a problem that requires attention. In the quote below he explains some of the common problems that are often brought to him.

Asst. Head Teacher: The teachers complain about having a diverse class - - that some students are weak while others are strong. But when you scratch on the surface you

realise that the difficulty with the children is that they have different cultures, in a way. They have a different way of - - perhaps, they do not have a background of going to school. They have difficulties with language, they have difficulties because they have to work. And it is in that sense that they [teachers] are complaining that it is difficult to teach. And of course it is. It is difficult to teach a student who is not one hundred percent focused. But sometimes they do not realise that the students have other things going on in their lives. Sometimes we tell the teachers that a student has problems because of this and this and this. But sometimes it is amazing that the older generation does not realise that the students of today have a lot of distractions. When the teachers were young, society was different. We talk a lot about how the students work after school, have problems at home, live in overcrowded apartments, come from cultures where it is difficult for a girl to be independent. We talk a lot about these things.

The assistant head teacher is careful not to describe the problematic behaviours and underachievement of some of his students as the outcome of their culture. He does this by giving practical explanations (working and going to school, living in crowded apartments and having a lot of distractions) for the underachievement of the students. These explanations can be seen as applicable to students from a poor economic background or with any other specific problem at home, irrespective of whether or not they are migrants. In spite of this, we find the cultural explanations quite visible towards the end of the quote. According to this explanation, the problematic and/or underachieving students come from a cultural background which does not support learning.

The juxtaposition of the non-culturalist and culturalist explanations in the quote indicates that the assistant head teacher was cautious about using culture as the explaining variable for the problem that was being discussed. It could be that with his educational background he is more informed that there is no basis for seeing all differences through the cultural lens. Another possible explanation for the cautiousness is that he might have found it inappropriate to explain the underachievement of some students as the outcome of their non-Swedish culture to an African researcher. We cannot rule out the possibility that this cautiousness was a polite or subtle way of advancing a culturalist explanation to the underachievement of students with a migrant background. This makes sense given that the assistant head teacher started by suggesting that other practical factors are explaining variables but later on forcefully asserts that the cultures of the 'weaker' students are the reason for their underachievement. In this case, the view of the assistant head teacher reflects the general negative representations of migrants and their cultures in the Swedish media, political discourses (Norman 2004; Scuzzarello 2008), and sometimes in academic debates (Runblom 1994). Often, the media and political discourses represent migrant cultures as backward, oppressive and even threatening to the established Swedish way of life. Such negative representations of the cultures of

migrants are usually contrasted with a positive image of a 'Swedish culture'. In the above quote, the head teacher does not state explicitly that the dominant Swedish culture is better than the cultures of migrants. His views nevertheless suggest that students who do not have a different culture are not underachievers in school. Such a cultural outcome implies that culture determines the classroom performance of students. This culturalist argument reduces what can be seen as the political and economic conditions that hold back less privileged students, to culture. Culture is essentialised as it is taken out of a place-time frame and presented as something that is natural.

Negative representations of migrants' cultures or otherness are not limited to 'natives'. Migrants also represent each other's culture as a problem. We can see this in the next interview, with Nabila from Cameroon. I met Nabila through the Cameroonian woman Wendy. Wendy told me that they were friends and went to the same church. I asked Wendy to tell Nabila about me and that I would love to have an interview with her. A week after my interview with Wendy, I went to the church where they attended services but did not meet Nabila. She did not attend church service that day. We talked on the telephone later and she agreed to have an interview with me the next day. Nabila comes from the French-speaking part of Cameroon and was in her late twenties at the time of the interview. She came to Sweden in 2006. A few days after her arrival she applied for asylum and was sent to an asylum camp in Stockholm. She stayed in different camps during the period that her case was being processed. In one of the camps, she shared a flat with four other women. Three of them came from Somalia and one from the DR Congo. While at the camp, Nabila met a man from Cameroon who is a naturalised Swedish citizen and they started a relationship. She moved in with the man and they later got engaged. The interview below is about her relations to the girls who shared the flat with her at the asylum camp.

Jon: What is your opinion about the girls who were your flatmates at the camp?

Nabila: The Congolese girl was open to me and we were friends. She is still a good friend of mine today.

Jon: What about the Somali girls?

Nabila: You know that they are, errr, I don't like to sound disrespectful but I think they do not like to socialise with people from other parts of Africa. They like to stay close to themselves.

Jon: Is that what you noticed?

Nabila: I have been living with Somalis for six months and, believe me, it was very difficult. Their culture is very different – their way of thinking and way of doing things are different and difficult.

The way Nabila represents her former flatmates in the interview appears to reflect the kind of relationship that they had while at the asylum camp. The Congolese girl, who was close to her, is described as a nice and open person. On the other hand, the Somali girls (who did not get along with Nabila) are portrayed as having a difficult culture and being unfriendly to people from other parts of Africa. The representation of the Somali girls as 'unfriendly' and their culture as different and difficult has one major implication. It suggests that the reason why Somali migrants supposedly do not like to socialise with people from other parts of Africa is because of their culture. This can be seen as another example of essentialising culture and consequently seeing it as the cause of any perceived deficiency of the people born into that particular culture.

It can also be seen from the interview that while Nabila considers the 'Somali culture' to be different, she does not seem to think so about 'Congolese culture'. This perhaps means that she considers Cameroon and the DR Congo to have a similar culture. If that is the case, we cannot help but wonder why she would consider these two African countries to have a similar culture but sees Somalia, another African country, as having a different culture? It is tempting to think that the ability of Nabila and the girl from DR Congo to speak a common language (French) brought them closer while language and religious differences between Nabila and the Somali girls made communication with them difficult. Shared characteristics like language and religious faith can have a positive impact on bringing people closer to each other. At the same time, people who share certain common traits such as language, religious faith can differ in other ways that might make communication difficult and vice versa. The fact that Nabila uses the culturalist explanation only when talking about the perceived negative qualities of the Somali girls suggests that cultural difference is used as an explanation where relationships are difficult for whatever reasons. In the case where the relationship was satisfactory, the idea of culture did not come to her mind.

Looking back at Nabila's perception of the Somali girls, she saw them as socially inaccessible and blames the 'Somali culture' or their way of life as the cause of this 'problem'. Nabila's conception of the difference(s) between her and the Somali girls constructs the Somali girls as representative of a particular group who by virtue of their origin or place of birth are endowed with certain characteristics. In theories of racism, this way of representation

is considered a necessary condition (but not sufficient) for racism (Miles 1989, Pred 2000, Räthzel 2008). This essentialist conception of culture and its implication for seeing people of the same cultural background as more or less the same bears some similarity to the views of the assistant head teacher that were presented earlier. As we shall see later on, Nabila's and the assistant head teacher's views have the potential to produce different outcomes because of their different social locations in society.

Seeing Swedish culture as a disadvantage

Migrants also represent 'Swedes' as being different. However, they represent this difference in varying ways, sometimes negatively and other times positively. The examples below highlight these points. The first example is from an interview with Ali (about 25 years old) from Somalia. Ali is one of the Somali youth leaders in the youth project called *Ung Vision*. Like some of the other youth leaders, Ali came to Sweden when he was a child. Just before the civil war broke out in Somalia, his father, who was a successful businessman, seemed to have anticipated the trouble and fled with his family. First they went to Yemen, then Pakistan, thence to Germany, before finally settling in Sweden. Some of the relatives who fled together with his father ended up in Canada, Australia and countries in the Middle East. After graduating from high school Ali travelled to North America and around Europe for one year visiting relatives. Ali coordinated the activities of two groups. One of the groups was made up of young boys between the ages of nine and fourteen, while the other was composed of older boys between the ages of fifteen and twenty. A major activity of the two groups was sport, notably football. The excerpt below is from an interview with Ali that was conducted in the office where they work. Two of his colleagues were present at the beginning of the interview but left after a few minutes. In the interview, we were talking about Ali's life in school and his work at *Ung Vision* when he made a point that migrants are always causing trouble while 'natives' are not. I asked why he thought so and he responded as follows:

> *Ali: They [Swedes] are calmer. Swedes are - - not all, but I think more than 80 percent, they are calm people; they don't like confrontations. Can you say that?*
>
> *Jon: I think so.*
>
> *Ali: The Swedes are calm, while immigrants usually come from countries where there is war, from homes where they get beaten up, and for these reasons they are aggressive. So, we [immigrants] are always shouting and trying to get noticed. It is a big and normal thing here in Sweden. You can see that on the soccer playground. They chase each other and scream. If you go to a Swedish playground, they don't talk – they just play. If someone trips on another person, he says 'Are you OK?' and continues to play.*

Ali seems very certain that ['native'] Swedes are calm whilst people with a migrant background are not. An important point in the interview is how he explains the supposed difference between 'natives' and migrants (or people with a migrant background). From his point of view, growing up in the middle of a war and being raised in a home where your parents beat you is what causes you to become a violent person later in life. In other words, our (social) environment can influence us to become aggressive or not. This means that the quality of being aggressive or calm is not inherited but acquired through socialisation. As such, migrants or 'natives' could have any of these qualities depending on their (social) environment.

In the next example, we shall see how migrants represent 'Swedes' in a negative way. The example is from an interview with the Cameroonian man Fonkemba. He lived in Malmö and worked in Copenhagen at the time of the interview. He commuted from Malmö to Copenhagen, like many of the inhabitants of Malmö city.

> *Jon: Given that you spend about half of your time in Sweden and the other half in Denmark, how can you compare your experiences in the two countries?*
>
> *Fonkemba: There is a big difference because first of all the Danes are open, especially when it comes to employment. They do not have language barriers and foreigners find it easier in the job market. In addition, the Danes like to socialise with the people around them. When it comes to Swedes, they are very insincere. A Dane who is not satisfied with something that you do would let you know that, whereas a Swede would say everything is OK. If you go somewhere looking for a job, a Swedish employer would take your contact information and promise to call later but will never call. A Dane would tell you straightforward that 'I don't have a job for you.'*
>
> *Jon: So Danes are open when it comes to work?*
>
> *Fonkemba: Even when it comes to socialising with people.*
>
> *Jon: But Denmark is viewed as one of the countries in Western Europe which strongly opposes immigration.*
>
> *Fonkemba: Yes, that is quite clear and they are open about it. They don't want immigrants – you know that and I know that. Is different from a situation where you say that you are pro- immigrants but the reality shows a different story. That is what we find in Sweden.*

Fonkemba's characterisations of Swedes represent differences he experienced while living in two countries. Different behaviours in different countries are experiences many of us come across. They need not be problematic, because the ways we behave may have different meanings in the context of different countries or cultures. This means that Swedes (and people in other countries) can be different in many respects from one another. When we

start making value judgements about differences, we risk representing them in terms of right or wrong. This is exactly what Fonkemba does when he describe Swedes as insincere. Describing any collective as insincere is derogatory and constitutes a stereotype. In sociology stereotypes are conceived as negative characterisations, and they are often attributed to the s*tigmatisation* of a social collective (Goffman 1963, pp. 13-14; cf. Krzyzanowski & Wodak 2009, p. 15). The key points about a stereotype from these studies are, first, that it (re)produces an exclusive identity, and second, that it associates a particular social collective with characteristics that are undesirable. The impact in terms of material consequences on those stereotyped depends on the power relations between groups in a social setting.

From the above argument, instead of looking at differences in terms of right or wrong, it is better to try to understand them from the perspective of those who are seen as different. If we look at differences in this way, the qualities that are peculiar to any social collective can always be seen in a positive light. Take the example of discrimination against migrants in a country like Sweden, where public opinion and policies support immigration. While Fonkemba might want us to see this as being insincere, this apparent discrepancy would have a different meaning if we look at it from the Swedish point of view. The established tradition of solidarity in Sweden, epitomised by the welfare state and a history of pro-immigration policies (Pred 2000; Lundberg 1987), suggests that solidarity with people from within and abroad is important to the Swedish way of life, or at least has been important at certain moments in time. Taking this into consideration, we can say support for immigration in Sweden is congruent with the tradition of social concern in the country. Though Fonkemba is right to see discrimination against migrants as not reflective of the pro-immigration ideals, this discrepancy does not mean that solidarity with migrants in Sweden is inexistent. Perhaps what we could say is that, despite solidarity at some point, enough has not been done to ensure that migrants get the same opportunities as 'natives'.

In conclusion, one can say that migrants and 'natives' in our sample represented otherness in similar ways. They viewed individuals (or a few people) from a particular (national) background as representatives of all the people from that (national) background. Their representation of otherness also focused on negative qualities of the other, with the exception of Fonkemba, above, who described two different groups of 'others', one positively, the other negatively. The major difference between the representation of otherness by migrants and 'natives' is that their stereotypical constructions of otherness have different respective impacts. According to theories of racism, it takes more than the negative

representation of otherness to produce racism. The theories hold that it takes a combination of factors, such as the essentialisation of culture, denigration and negative representation of otherness and the persistent subordination/exclusion of the 'other', to produce racism (Miles 1989; Pred 2000; Räthzel 2000). The type of racism that this produces is usually referred to as the new kind of racism because cultural and not biological markers (as was the case in the past) are the basis for racialisation. This conception of racism is well-explained by Räthzel (2002, 2008). She defines racism as 'statements and practices by which individuals are described as representatives of a group, which is defined as having certain inherent static traits due to its assumed place of birth' (ibid, p. 108). She goes on to warn against the danger of including any description of behaviours, customs, or ways of life that may differ in the context of different countries or cultures as racism. For this reason, she insists on the necessity to analyse the context within which such statements are made. From her point of view, we can only talk of racism if, first, individuals are described in a certain way that questions the legitimacy of their presence in the country they live in; second, if the traits and behaviours that are described are seen as effects of people's origin and as static, quasi-natural; and thirdly, if those describing others as inferior are in a position of relative power to those described, which allows them to translate their constructions into material disadvantage.

We have already explained that 'natives' in our sample represented migrants in a way that essentialises migrants cultures. This means that they see the traits and behaviours that are associated with migrants as the effects of their origin. What has not been explored is how the 'native' representation of migrants questions the legitimacy of their presence. The explanation here lies in the negative representation of otherness and the capacity to exclude or subordinate those who are othered. To subordinate those who are othered is to deny them the rights and opportunities which the society provides to its people. Denying them such rights and opportunities can be seen as a refusal to recognise them as legitimate members of that society. In everyday life this can happen when people who are othered occupy a subordinate structural social position while those who represent them as 'other' occupy a dominant structural position. The consequence usually is that this creates a power relation whereby those who dominate are in a position where they can exert considerable influence on the people who are dominated. In the context of our analysis, we can consider 'native' Swedes to be in a dominant structural position where they can exert influence on migrants. The assistant head teacher, for example, is in a position where he can influence the recruitments and laying-off of teachers, as well as the admission of students. If he thinks that migrant students make it difficult for teachers to teach and as such are a problem to other students, he could use his influence to limit the number of

migrant students who are admitted to that school. It is this power relation that makes the negative representation of 'native' Swedes by migrants less threatening for Swedes. This does not mean that negative representation of 'natives' by migrants is unproblematic or less derogatory (though less threatening, perhaps), because they lack the capacity to subordinate or exclude 'natives'. Since migrants are generally in a subordinate structural position, they also do not have much influence on each other, at least not in the same way that 'natives' have influence over them. This means that migrants can perceive other migrants from a different national background as deficient or inferior but would lack the capacity to move beyond representation and exclude or subordinate those whom they consider to be as such.

The (re)production of exclusion/inclusion in daily interactions

This section analyses daily interactions between migrants and 'natives'. Specific attention is paid to interactions in 'public' places and the formation of social ties. 'Place' is used here to refer to a physical, material area (Räthzel 2008, p. 283). The images, discourses and memories about a place are conceptualised as space (ibid). In relation to interactions in public places, many studies indicate that a place can be the site of exclusion and conflict. An example is when a 'group' appropriates an area for the exclusive use of its members. This has been shown to happen in some segregated residential areas (Wacquant 2008; Mandanipour et al. 1998). We have already seen how the segregation of migrants and 'natives' in some residential areas in Malmö subordinates the former and helps to produce or reinforce the conditions that exclude them in society. The focus here will be on more localised public places which are supposed to be open to everybody. The focus on social ties is inspired by research on social capital. Theories of social capital indicate that social networks are resourceful but also divisive and capable of (re)producing exclusion in society (Bourdieu 1997; Putnam 2000; Behtoui 2009). According to these theories, members of the same social network can help each other. These theories also indicate that social networks can (re)produce exclusion if people who are marginalised are excluded from the social networks of members of the dominant group. The social networks of migrants can therefore tell us something about their exclusion or inclusion in society (ibid; Bourdieu 1997).

Migrants' social networks and their resourcefulness

Participant observation in cultural associations of migrants helped to provide a better understanding of the social ties they form. At the *Ung Vision* project there were six Somali youth leaders (3 male and 3 female) who

coordinated various activities for other youths with migrant background. The youth leaders were assigned to form the groups, which they headed. They recruited the members for the groups and each group consisted of people who were interested in a particular activity or set of activities. In a way, the group leaders and the members of each group decided on the kind of activities that the group should participate in. From participant observations in the different groups, it became evident that some of the groups were more diverse than others. This difference was largely along the gender line of the group leaders. The groups headed by men were composed of only young males with a Somali or Middle Eastern background. On the other hand, the groups headed by the female youth leaders were diverse in two major ways. The first is that many of the female-headed groups were diverse in terms of the gender composition of their members, that is, they had male and female members. Second, the female-headed groups were more diverse than the male-headed groups in terms of the national origin of their members. One of the female youth leaders, Sufia (in her early 20s and raised in Sweden), also invited 'native' girls to her activities on several occasions. Sufia appeared to take pride in the fact that her groups were ethnically very diverse. In fact, she named one of them *gott och blandat*, which in English can be translated as 'well-mixed'. *Gott och blandat* actually is the brand name for a candy that is common in Sweden. Sufia explained that the choice of this particular name was because it reflected the ethnic diversity of the group.

> *Sufia: I adopted a name for the girls. The name is gott och blandat. Gott och blandat is different and yummy. Is like - - is a candy that is called gott och blandat. Is a bag with candies of different colours. Some of them are dark, others are light and there are different candies. And my girls have different skin colours. There are girls who are very white, very dark, light skin and brown skin in the group. That is why I call them gott och blandat.*

Naming the group *gott och blandat* highlights its ethnic diversity and also portrays the diversity as a symbol of the group. Sufia's openly expressed enthusiasm in the composition of this group and the fact that all the groups that she headed were more or less diverse in the same way indicates that she views ethnic diversity as a positive development. The groups headed by Sufia's male colleagues presented a different picture. They were less diverse both in terms of gender and ethnic composition of their members. Ali (one of Sufia's colleagues) headed a group which, among other activities, was interested in football. The group played football regularly (twice a week) at an indoor sports facility near the *Ung Vision* office. The sports facility had two playgrounds that could be used for different kinds of team sports, and a smaller hall for other sports and recreational activities, like pool and video games. After noticing that there were other young people who played football in one of the playgrounds each time that Ali's group was playing, I asked Ali

whether all the young people from the different playgrounds sometimes get together and play with each other. He said no and pointed out that it would be a bad idea to get migrant and 'native' young people to play together because they would start fighting. I had noticed earlier and on other occasions that the migrant youths sometimes argue, yell and push each other around, and so I reminded Ali that migrants do fight among themselves even when there are no 'natives'. He said that was exactly the problem. According to him, migrant youths like to fight, while Swedish ['native'] youths do not.

> *Jon: Have you considered inviting some of those young people to play together with the young people in your group?*
>
> *Ali: No. Just like I told you before, if I bring a couple of Swedish guys here it will only be a matter of time before we start having problems and, errr, I don't want that.*
>
> *Jon: Already you think that is going to be a problem?*
>
> *Ali: I know is gonna be a problem.*
>
> *Jon: But the immigrants here fight with each other.*
>
> *Ali: We will create a bigger problem if we try to mix them... I can't do that because I know is gonna cause a bigger problem. To bring Swedish and immigrant kids together will require some time to make it work. In school when they play together during sports time there is usually a teacher, and that is different because they don't have a choice. But during their free time when they are with friends you cannot just introduce two or three unknown guys into the group, because that will cause a problem.*
>
> *Jon: The immigrant youths here fight among themselves, and I don't understand what difference it makes if they fight with their Swedish peers.*
>
> *Ali: When they fight among themselves they easily stop, or one of them stops the fight, and after that they remain friends. But if someone from outside starts fighting with one of them, his friends could come to his assistance and they would gang up against the person from outside. And why put a person in that situation where everybody can beat him up? If it were a different project aimed at mixing immigrant and Swedish kids, then I will work in a different way and do things differently. But this is just about them playing with their friends, so I can't. My policy here is not to make them mix, and feel like 'Ahh - - everything is good here,' you know. That is a different project... If the Swedish government wants another project to make them mix with Swedish kids from other parts of town, it will have to give us more money and training for that. And we will have to work in a different way.*

Since the *Ung Vision* project specifically targeted young people with migrant background, Ali's position about not mixing them with 'natives' is in-line with the objective of the project. The focus of the project on young people with migrant background did not necessarily mean that 'native' youths were not welcome to participate in their activities. In fact, there were several

occasions when the young people from *Ung Vision* jointly participated with 'native' youths in the same activity, e.g. workshops and sports competitions. It was also no secret that Sufia and other female youth leaders invited 'natives' to participate in their group activities and yet nobody raised any objection. This means that this was not considered to be problematic by the officials of *Ung Vision*. However, one cannot be sure whether Ali's judgment of the situation was not correct and the reason that Sufia was able to invite native 'peers' related to the fact that girls generally do not get into physical fights as quickly as boys do.

The network ties of Cameroonian migrants show gender variations that mirror those of the Somali youth above. The interview with Fouda showed how she contacted a Ghanaian woman on a train who later helped her get a flat. In a subsequent interview with her, she talked about having friends from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. When I asked her how she met those friends, she responded as follows:

> *Fouda: We meet in class, at the hospital. I think if you are a friendly person it is not difficult to get a friend. I have a Swedish friend call Maria whom I met on the train and we became friends. She calls me all the time and we talk. At times she invites me to her home and other times she comes here [Fouda's flat].*

Compared to Fouda, the Cameroonian man Essono had lived in Sweden for a slightly longer period of time than Fouda but appears to have had fewer social contacts with 'natives'.

> *Essono: I have been in Sweden for four years now and I don't really have a Swedish friend. The only one that I know - - I cannot really call a friend – is a guy I met at the library. I used to read in the library until late at night and everybody would leave except the two of us. That is how we got to know each other. There is another guy whom I met at a club and later on we met in other clubs and became used to each other. Whenever we meet at the club we socialise and sometimes he offers to buy me a drink, but our interaction ends at the club.*

The only 'native' acquaintances of Essono were people he met at a library and a pub and their often brief interactions took place only in these places where they met occasionally. For Essono (who lived in a residential area with high migrant concentration), public places like the library and pubs can present him with a good opportunity to meet 'natives'. This is also true for Fouda, who made her friends in class, at the hospital and on the train. However, while Fouda developed a friendship with a 'native' woman, Essono's contacts did not develop into a serious 'friendship'. How this variation can be explained is something that shall be addressed later on in the analysis. The variation, in terms of establishing social ties with 'natives', between Fouda and Essono shows some similarity with the variation

between Ali and Sufia. The similarity is that gender difference seems to influence the formation of social ties across ethnic or cultural boundaries. Migrant women from Cameroon and Somalia appear more likely than men from the two countries to establish 'strong' social ties with 'native' women.

It is difficult to relate this disparity to a single factor, as there are several possible causes that could account for it. A well-known factor that influences the formation of social ties by migrants across traditional cultural and ethnic markers of difference is the duration of their stay in the country of immigration (Hébert et al. 2003). As indicated in this study, which was conducted in Canada, migrant youths who have lived longer in the country of immigration tend to have a higher percentage of friends from different ethnic groups. Hébert and colleagues (p.102) point out that as the migrant youth slowly integrate into the host country, they tend to loosen their ties with their friends in the country of origin and friends in the same ethnic groups, and try to make more friends and extend their circles of friends outside their ethnic group. In the examples that have been presented in this section, both Sufia and Ali came to Sweden when they were infants and were raised in the country, whereas Fouda and Essono from Cameroon are newly arrived migrants. The effect of time spent in the country of immigration could be useful if we noticed any major difference between the migrants from the two countries.

From the examples that have been examined, gender difference appears to be the defining factor over the time spent in the country of immigration. We therefore need to look for explanations that take the gender differences into account. A possible explanation is that the subordinate social position of women, though different for migrant and 'native' women, makes it easier for them to bond with each other than is the case with men. Representations of migrant men in the dominant Swedish discourse as sexist (see Scuzzarello 2008), prone to criminality and dangerous (Lindgren 2009; Abiri 2000) promotes antipathy toward migrant men. The likely feeling of being disliked by people outside of their community probably encourages migrant men to form durable and strong social ties predominantly with members of their own community or other migrants. It is also possible that the dominant social position of men, though also different for migrant and 'native' men, reduces the need for solidarity between them. The potential outcome of this variation between migrant women and their male counterparts is that the women are more likely to become part of social networks that cut across different ethnic groups, whereas men tend to form ethnic homogeneous social network ties. It seems that the ability of migrant women to bond with women from outside of their country of origin and ethnic background positions them as cultural brokers.

Criteria for socialising

In one of the interviews with Mariam and Hofan, they expressed views that highlight the significance of peer pressure on the choice of friends that young people make. To remind the reader: these girls are from Somalia and are siblings. They live in a neighbourhood with high migrant concentration in Malmö and have also stayed in Brixton (London), which has a strong presence of ethnic minorities.

> *Mariam: It is not like you just wake up one day and say, 'Oh, I am not gonna hang out with white people.' It just happens, is natural, is just there. Sometimes you see a black girl with white people, white friends and you are like - - errr, I don't know, is just a reaction like 'Why is she trying to act white?' If she speaks in a different way, you are like, 'Why is she trying to act white when she is not?'*
>
> *Jon: Is that something you have noticed?*
>
> *Mariam: Yeah.*
>
> *Hofan: I think there are many people who are like that.*
>
> *Mariam: Is not as if you are racist, you know, is just like, 'Why are you talking like that?'*
>
> *Hofan: Yeah, we don't talk like that.*
>
> *Mariam: Or 'Why are you walking like that? What are you wearing?'*
>
> *Hofan: We don't dress like that, ha-ha-ha.*
>
> *Jon: What kind of clothes are you talking about? For example, do you think I am dressed in a way that a black person should dress?*
>
> *Hofan: Yeah, like you are wearing trainers, is OK. I don't know, is like when you wear tight jeans like that guy [she pointed at a poster of a blond man on the wall] – that is his style and is OK. But if a black man wears that I would be like, 'What is that? It is wrong.'*

From Mariam's and Hofan's points of view, they grew up seeing that black and white people do not hang out together and they consider that to be the norm. Probably because of this conception of how things are supposed to be, they see close social ties between blacks and whites as something that defies the norm and is therefore unacceptable. Interestingly, they also question black people who dress or act in ways that supposedly imitate white people. In another part of the interview, which does not appear above, they were

critical of one of their classmates from Albania because they felt that he dresses (and acts) like a black person. It therefore appears that they expect people from these two different social categories to avoid close contact with each other and what they see as imitating each other.

Putnam (2000, p. 22) describes in his theory of social capital 'bonding' or inward-looking as a form of social capital. Bonding, he explains, tends to reinforce exclusive identities and homogeneity of a social collective. As for social capital that is inclusive, he uses the concept of bridging to describe it. Mariam's and Hofan's disapproval of social ties formation between black and white people can be seen as producing or enforcing exclusive social networks – bonding.

Living in residential areas with high migrant concentration in Malmö and in London might have influenced Mariam and Hofan to think the way that they do. It is possible that they have been exposed to the discourse(s) of ethnic minorities that represent their marginal position in society as the outcome of discrimination. Studies in the UK have shown that, among young people of African and African-Caribbean descent, there is a tendency for a strong self-definition and pride in being black, to identify with 'blackness' when faced with racism, and to feel pressured to embrace a 'black identity' (Back 1996; Back et al. 2008). The pressure to embrace a 'black identity' is exemplified by labels like 'coconut' and 'Bounty' (a bar of dessicated coconut coated in chocolate), which means 'being white inside and black outside'. This is used for black people who are seen to embrace 'white norms' (Back 1996, p. 60; Gilroy 2000, p. 51). Back also shows that the construction of a 'black identity' by young black people in the UK is often influenced by the local context and individual experience. Consequently, he argues that identity is dynamic depending on the circumstances under which people live.

> *...although 'neighbourhood nationalism' may curb the expression of racism, it does not banish the prevalence of racist practice. Black young people both maintain a commitment to the concept of neighbourhood nationalism and also probe the possibility for identification with a wider black collectivity (Back 1996, p. 71).*

The tendency for some young people to establish social ties with people who are mostly like them is not restricted to young people with migrant background. The next interview, with Rebecca, indicates that some young 'native' Swedes also find themselves in situations which discourage or make it difficult for them to establish cross-cultural ties with people from a migrant background. Rebecca, in her early 20s, was a high school graduate who was prepapring to go to the university.

Jon: I don't know if you have much contact with the migrant community in Malmö?

Rebecca: Not very much because Malmö is segregated, and I went to school in a small town on the outskirts of the city where there is like almost no immigrants around.

Knowing that she had just graduated from one of the high schools in Malmö, which is ethnically very diverse, I asked her if she had much social contact with the non-'native' students:

Rebecca: None of my close friends; all of them [close friends] are basically Swedish. Is not like I chose it that way, but is like you go to a gymnasium and almost everyone in my class is Swedish.

Jon: But your gymnasium is very diverse.

Rebecca: It is very different from class to class... Immigrants kind of stick together because they are a minority and everyone else is from Sweden. I think there should be more projects like houses where there are stuffs happening in the evenings where you meet outside of school, because in school you have your group and you don't want to look uncool to your friends and you don't know what people would think if you talk to someone else.

This interview highlights points that reflect those in the preceding interview with Mariam and Hofan. Just like Mariam and Hofan, Rebecca explains that not having close social ties with migrants is not something that happens overnight. Rather, according to her explanation, it is the outcome of living in segregated residential areas and peer pressure. She lived in an area where they are no migrants, and in school, where there are migrants, she is afraid that her friends might not welcome the idea of her establishing social ties with them. The interview also reveals some major differences about what Rebecca and Mariam/Hofan think about the social distance between migrants and 'natives'. Unlike Mariam and Hofan, who seem to accept that the social distance should stay the way it is, Rebecca's suggestion that something should be done to bring migrant and 'native' students together suggests that she supports bridging the existing social gap.

A possible explanation about the difference between Rebecca's attitude and the attitude of Mariam and Hofan has to do with how minorities and members of the dominant group in society perceive exclusive homogenising (ethnic) identities. Writing about racism, Miles (1989) argues that the discourse, which constructs ethnic minorities as the 'other' and consequently racialises them, has been used in some sense by the racialised minorities as a discourse of resistance. According to Miles, ethnic minorities have done so by using the discourse in a way that mobilises and promotes solidarity between them. In relation to the analysis here, it can be argued that Mariam

and Hofan are in a defensive position, where they need to develop some sense of self-confidence in order to resist marginalisation. Under such conditions, exclusionary identities against the marginalising majority are a form of self-defence, even though, turned into ethnic absolutism, they become counterproductive. In Rebecca's case, the peer group's tendency not to socialise with migrants does not have this aspect of self-defence. It is possibly that Rebecca (rightly) sees the formation of exclusive ethnic identities as (re)producing inequality between migrants and 'natives' and as such tries to position herself as someone who is opposed to discrimination against migrants.

It appears that social ties formation between people from different ethnic backgrounds could be encouraged if they have more opportunities to interact with each other. This could be very important for migrants and 'natives' who live in segregated residential areas and have limited contact with each other. Public places like hospitals, pubs, and train/bus stations can provide this opportunity. While some migrants and 'natives' appear to make contacts and subsequently establish social ties through such avenues, there appear to be some barriers. Essono, who made his only Swedish acquaintances at a library and a pub, explained in a follow-up interview that he does not like to go to pubs because he feels discriminated against. Often, he said, he and his other African friends get turned away at the entrance for reasons like: they are not wearing the right shoes/clothes even though other people who are dressed like them are allowed in, or that their names are not on the guest list. Some Somali men in the study told similar stories and expressed the same reluctance to go to pubs and some public places. One of them, who lives in Rosengård, as indicated in Ngeh (2009), explained that he feels discriminated against when he goes to pubs and other places where there are fewer migrants. It is partly for this reason, he told me, that he prefers to spend most of his time in Rosengård, sometimes staying for months without going out of the area. The experiences of these migrant men are not uncommon: there are numerous accounts about how nightclubs and bars in Malmö (and other big cities in Sweden) systematically prohibit people with visibly migrant backgrounds from getting in. About 80 percent of the complaints filed to the Anti-Discrimination Bureau in Malmö are about ethnic discrimination, and one of the most common complaints is about nightclubs and restaurants refusing to admit people with a visibly migrant background (van Heelsum 2008). A well-known example involved a local nightclub in Malmö which was found guilty of ethnic discrimination against four students from abroad and asked by the court to pay each of the students

15 000 SEK (about 1 500 Euros)[36]. What the issue of discrimination in nightclubs indicates is that agents who control access to public places tend to restrict migrants' access to places where 'natives' like to be.

Concluding remark

The analysis in this chapter has highlighted the complexities and nuances of the constructions of otherness that are difficult to grasp. On a general level, the analysis indicated that the construction of otherness is something that is common in the everyday encounters of all people – migrants and non-migrants. However, as indicated in the analysis, there are variations in othering and the impact that it produces. Sometimes, stressed difference (construction of otherness) appears to refer to different learned social relations that can be understood within a socio-historical, economic and spatial context. The part of the quote by the assistant head teacher where he explained that some students have difficulties in school because they have to work after school is a good example. The explanation considers work after school to have a negative impact on the performance of a student. Difference in this case is represented as the outcome of belonging to different social class backgrounds.

In some other cases, forms of othering construct the other as essentially, i.e. unchangeably and negatively different. This form of construction can become the basis of exclusionary practices by those who are in a structurally powerful position to exclude members of minorities. In the same quote by the assistant head teacher he sometimes argued in a way that suggested migrants are unchangeably and negatively different. This is evident in his suggestion that some students face difficulties in school because they come from cultures which oppress women. Two points to note about this remark are, first, if coming from a particular culture is the reason why some students face difficulty, then culture can be said to determine behaviour. Second, if the culture of students who have difficulty in school is seen as oppressive to women, it implies that the culture of students who do not face such a difficulty is not oppressive. This binary division of cultures into oppressive and non-oppressive types reflects well-established ideologies of inferiority/superiority that have been used to justify the exclusion of the 'inferior' other in some societies (Miles 1989). When difference is conceptualised as fixed, negative attributes (and inferior status) associated with otherness are seen as everlasting. A consequence of this, in many cases, is that otherness is seen as a threat to cohesion in society and consequently

[36] O'Mahony , Paul (2007) "Malmö nightclub found guilty of discrimination", *The Local*: Sweden's news in English ,April 24th. Available at http://www.thelocal.se/7096/20070424/ [8 April 2008]

something that society ought to counter. Fighting against such a threat happens through the exclusion of those perceived as other. It is this second type of othering and the exclusion it produces that has been conceptualised as racism (ibid; Räthzel 2002, 2008). Those who are the target of this exclusion (racism) might experience it in different ways. Some tend to see everything that does not favour them in that society as racism, while others prefer not to acknowledge racism. People deal with exclusion against themselves in varying ways. Some try to fight back by forming their own communities of belonging, protesting and/or taking legal actions. Others try to adopt the norms and values of the dominant society in the hope that they will be accepted. There are also those who try a combination of different measures depending on the situation at hand.

In the process of fighting back, people tend to construct those whom they fight against as the other. Othering in this case can be seen as the result of experiences, as opposed to negative images that feed into and are informed by general ideologies of inferiority/superiority. This is because the othering of 'natives' by migrants is not predominantly informed by an ideology that categorise 'natives' as inferior to migrants. The history of colonialism has dominated and exploited people from the Global South, and the representations legitimising this domination are still alive and influence the mutual constructions of the other. Experiencing discrimination and exclusionary practices in countries of the North might trigger off or emphasise collective historical memories of colonisation. Both 'native' Swedes and migrants from the Global South will be influenced by the history of colonialism, but in opposite ways: while 'natives' might tap into images that construct them as superior, migrants are confronted with images that construct them as inferior and will find strength in counter-images of resistance. While both groups might share some common experiences, the histories of oppression and domination (which have not disappeared, since power relations between the Global South and the Global North still allow the latter to take advantage of the former) as well as the histories of resistance serve to interpret those experiences in different ways.

The above explanation suggests that the construction of the migrant other by 'natives' and vice versa could have different meanings and consequences. Generally, the former construction has the potential to racialise migrants whereas the latter type of construction lacks such a potential. However, this does not imply that the construction of otherness by 'natives' always racialises the target of the construction. Even when it does, it is usually difficult to determine the intention of the speaker. This can make it problematic to ascertain whether othering is based on some established ideology, experience or a combination of the two. The quote by the assistant

head teacher provides a good example that highlights the complexities of othering. Some statements in the quote suggest that he does not see culture as static and a bounded whole which determines behaviour. Yet other statements in the quote intimate that he upholds this erroneous conception of culture, which also represent migrants as the inferior other. It is important to note here that there is no indication in the quote (and entire interview with the assistant head teacher) to suggest he is a racist or has any intention to racialise migrants.

The analysis of othering in this chapter is therefore not about people being racist or not. Rather, it is about feeding into and being informed by (consciously or unconsciously) powerful ideologies of racism and racialisation and situating individuals within that history. On the one side of the continuum we find blatant and open forms of discrimination such as the rejection of access to pubs and nightclubs. It is these blatant and explicit forms of racialised discrimination that form the background for the experience of other forms of othering that might have a different intention or may just be the result of the wrong information. For those who are the targets of racism, these different experiences with different meanings communicate with each other.

Chapter seven. Transformation of migrants

Chapter four of this thesis indicated that relations between migrants and 'natives' are characterised by conflict and that the individuals in a conflict deal with it in different ways. Some simply express their grievances and address the issue(s) bothering them, while others try to avoid any confrontation. The analyses of conflicts in the chapter revealed that conflict relations between migrants and 'natives' are characterised by unequal power relations, which subordinate the former. Chapters five and six examined two areas of marginalisation – the labour market and housing – and discussed some of the everyday relations in which these broader processes of marginalisation are experienced. Generally, these developments (conflict and marginalisation) affect both migrants and 'natives' but the focus in this thesis has been on the former. Consequently, the discussion in this chapter will be about the transformation of migrants through conflicts and experiences of marginalisation. Before getting into the discussion, it is important to clarify the meaning of 'transformation'. Following David Stark (1992), transformation can be seen as a process in which the introduction of new elements combines with adaptations, rearrangements, permutations and reconfigurations of existing organisational forms. He states:

> *In a theory of change based on an analysis of transformative practices, the new does not come from the new –or from nothing – but from reshaping existing resources. These resources include organizational forms (which are likely to migrate across domains), habituated practices, and social ties whether official or informal. Thus transformation will resemble innovative adaptations that combine seemingly discrepant elements – bricolage – more than architectural design (ibid, p .301).*

Although both 'natives' and migrants may like to think of their ways of life in terms of a timeless tradition, it is not the case in practice. In other words, transformation is an ongoing process. That said, transformation of a people at any given time can be seen as the developments taking place in their lives which are altering what is considered at that moment to be their established way of life. The discussion about migrant transformation, as also indicated in the literature on migrant adaptation (see Schierup & Ålund 1987; Foner 1997), is therefore about the alterations in established migrant ways of life that are taking place as they come into contact with the new society, its institutions and people.

The different conflict case studies in chapter four have shown the existence of conflicts within migrant communities and between migrants and 'natives'. These conflicts, as indicated in the analyses, produce different outcomes.

Depending on how actors deal with their conflict, existing tension could be aggravated, temporarily resolved or transformed into a relation of less conflict. The possibility for these different outcomes in any conflict shows that conflict can create the condition for transformation. Chapters five and six have indicated that there is discrimination which migrants have to deal with. Certainly, this contributes to existing conflicts between migrants and 'natives' but it also produces other reactions from migrants. Conflict and discrimination can also be said to influence how migrants interact with other members of society. In this regard, it can be seen also as producing a condition for transformation.

Even as conflict, discrimination, or combinations of the two have potential to produce transformation, there are other forces that bear considerable influence on the kind of transformation that takes place. Notable are factors associated with the migrants' home country and those associated with the country of immigration (ibid). Schierup & Ålund (1987, p. 28) have explained this in their study on migrants from the former Yugoslavia in Sweden and Denmark. Transformation can thus be seen as a process that is influenced by intersecting forces such as structural, socio-cultural conditions and individual agency. These dimensions will provide a useful guide in the analysis of transformation in this chapter. Drawing from the previous empirical chapters, the transformations to be discussed will be examined under three main themes: transformations of identity, of gender roles – that is, women's empowerment – and transformation of the ways in which people perceive and deal with the daily challenges of their lives.

Transformation of how people construct their identity

The idea of a fixed and stable self, with a core essence, has been refuted in the social sciences. See, for example, Hall (1992, 1996). In his critique, Hall conceptualises identity as an articulation between the subject and discursive practices. Hall's definition rejects the notion of a unifying subject with a defined sameness that characterises him/her throughout life.

> *I use 'identity' to refer to the meeting point, the point of suture, between on the one hand the discourses and the practices which attempt to 'interpellate', speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, and, on the other hand, the processes which produce subjectivities, which construct us as subjects which can be 'spoken'. Identities are thus points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us (ibid, pp. 5-6).*

This definition draws from psychoanalysis and post-structuralism as it considers elements of the psychic and social fields as constitutive of identity. A central concept in Hall's definition is identification. According to him,

identification refers to the construction of sameness, which is based on the idea of a common origin or shared characteristics. In relating this idea to the discussion on identity, he argues that identification does *not* signal a stable core of the self. Also, that it cannot be conceptualised as a collective or 'true' self which a people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common and which can stabilise, fix or guarantee an unchanging 'oneness' (pp. 3-4). Finally, he notes that identities are the product of the marking of difference and exclusion and not the sign of an identical naturally constituted unity. The discussion about transformation and of how people view their identity will be grounded in this concept of identity. A central question that will guide the discussion is, how has the identity that is held by migrants been transformed? Addressing this question requires some understanding of the kind of identities that people construct in Cameroon and Somalia and those that migrants from these countries construct in Sweden.

In many sub-Saharan African countries tribal and ethnic affiliations, among other more particularistic bonds, appear to be the key markers of identification. Tribal and ethnic affiliations were strongly encouraged in many cases by colonial administrators and greatly shaped by local boundaries and administrations that were set up during the period of colonisation (Nyamnjoh 2010). Sentiments of nationalism played a crucial role in the anti-colonial struggle and helped to forge a national identity. There are also indications that the development of a national identity in many African countries went alongside the development of regional identities. A study by Meredith Terretta (2005) in the 'Grassfields' of Cameroon shows that villagers articulated nationalist ideals and village politics to produce what she described as hybridised village nationalism.

> *...nationalism occasioned a popular protest against the French administration's intervention in village politics, particularly in matters of land, justice and governance. On the surface, Grassfields villagers' involvement in nationalism appeared to centre around the position of the village chief, or fo, and his degree of assimilation into the French administration. In Baham, following the French arrest and suspension of the fo in 1956, village 'conservatives' like Djonteu allied with 'radical' UPC nationalists in order to preserve their fo's position (ibid, p. 76).*

In an attempt to consolidate national unity the government in Cameroon under the country's first President, Ahmadou Ahidjo, tried to discourage local and tribal forms of identification. This was reflected in the ban on ethnic and tribal-based associations in 1967 (Mercer et al. 2008). The past twenty years in Cameroon have seen a complete reversal of this ban as the government now openly promotes ethnic, tribal and other regional forms of identification (Nyamnjoh & Rowlands 1998; Pelican 2008). These forms of identity, as explained by these authors, appear to benefit the ruling class in

Cameroon because they promote ethnic, tribal and regional cleavages and make it difficult for the population to mobilise against the government. It can therefore be said that the most common identities in Cameroon are constructed in relation to national, regional, ethnic and tribal affiliations.

Constructions of identity in Somalia show a pattern that is similar to the described situation in Cameroon. The predominance of Islam in Somalia, a fairly uniform language and a perceived single ethnicity are the cornerstone of a unifying Somali identity (Wolde-Mariam 1977; Lewis 1991). The idea of a unified Somali identity is well expressed in the old struggle to unify all the territories in the Horn of Africa in which ethnic Somalis are the predominant population (ibid; Wolde-Mariam 1977). At first, there was the unification of former British Somaliland and Italian Somaliland, not long after each of these former colonies became independent, to form Somalia. The birth of Somalia did not really unify all the Somali territories, as some of them were still a colony or part of a neighbouring country. Djibouti on the northwest frontier remained a colony of France, the Ogaden territories on the western frontier continued to be part of Ethiopia and an area in the southwest frontier remained part of Kenya. The ethnic Somalis in these territories showed strong support for unification with Somalia. Public opinion of ethnic Somalis in Kenya in the early 1960s showed overwhelming support for unification with Somalia and, when it became obvious that they could not achieve this goal through acceptable forms of political expression, they resorted to guerrilla attacks (Farah 1993). Ethnic Somalis in Ogaden also resorted to violence as attempts were made to secede from Ethiopia by force in the 1970s (Lewis 1991), while ethnic Somalis in Djibouti supported the idea of unification with Somalia in a referendum in 1967 (Shehim & Searing 1980). Another development that promoted national unity in Somalia was the institutionalisation of Somali as the official language. This process was facilitated by the transformation of Somali from just a spoken to also a written language in 1972. The direct implication of this move was that it helped to standardise Somali, which is quite varied in different parts of Somalia. This development has been seen as contributing to the notion of a unified Somali national identity (Puglielli 2001). National unity was also promoted under the regime of General Mohamed Siyad Barre, whose policies tried to discourage clan loyalty and identification (Lewis 1991, pp. 8-9). However, despite the development of strong nationalism, clan identity remained strong in Somalia.

> *The development of a strong nationalist movement and of a lively parliamentary democracy did little to change these traditional allegiances, which remained fundamental in politics, government and administration. Clan nepotism became a deeply entrenched phenomenon, tending to weaken governments and the civil service, where family ties where more important than education or ability.*

> *Governments were formed on a tacit principle of clan balance, the major clans being allocated at least one minister. The growing tension between transcendent nationalist aims and local clan realities was reflected in the adoption into Somali speech of the English (or Italian) word ex as a euphemism for clan. It was thus possible to talk about the political realities of the present as though they existed in the past! The 'problem of tribalism' was theoretically solved by a linguistic sophistry (ibid, p. 5).*

The different ways of identification that have been noted in Somalia indicate that the most common types of identity in the country are constructed in terms of national and regional affiliations.

As to how Cameroonian and Somali migrants in Sweden construct their identity, the analysis will draw from the previous empirical chapters. The four conflict case studies that were analysed in chapter four indicated that the issue of identity was at the heart of almost all the conflicts. Case studies one and two are about conflicts between migrants and natives. In case study one, Mariam saw the term Negro as a derogatory label for black people and got into a heated argument with a classmate who insisted that it is OK to call black people Negro. In this particular case Mariam saw herself as a black person, thereby identifying with black people. Case study two is on tensions between co-workers.

Case studies three and four, about internal conflicts within the migrant communities, showed that national and regional identities were all at the centre of the conflicts. Case study three, about conflict in the main Cameroonian cultural association, revealed how some Cameroonians opposed the leadership of their vice president because they doubted his Cameroonian nationality. In this case, the formation of a national cultural association can be seen as aiming to reproduce a unified Cameroonian national identity. Additionally, the attempt by some members of the association to disqualify the vice president from a top leadership position because they did not consider him to be a (legitimate) member of the Cameroonian nation-state shows the marking of difference and exclusion, which are all necessary for establishing imaginary fixed identity (Hall 1996). The formation of a regional cultural association like CAMGRASS indicated that national identities represented for some people not a strong enough attachment to fulfil their need for belonging.

Case study four, about conflict within the Somali community, identified national and regional identities as central to the tension as well as cohesion between Somali migrants. Internal conflicts within the Somali community as well as national solidarity between Somalis were well demonstrated in this case study with Amina. She expressed acknowledgement and support for her

Somali national identity but also made known her resentment and suspicion about Somalis from rival clans or other regions. In doing so, she showed different loyalties to her Somali national and Somaliland identities. There are more examples in chapters five and six, which show that some of the migrants interviewed felt that they were discriminated against because of the colour of their skin or the fact that they are migrants. This experience can promote solidarity between black people because they have a shared problem. Experiences of discrimination can thus become the basis of a new identity as being black, and in certain contexts this might override national and regional identities and the accompanying divisions.

The different forms of identification by the migrant sample in this study indicate that they continue to embrace national and regional identifications now that they are in Sweden. In addition to these forms of identification, they have also embraced an identity that is based on experiences that are related to their appearance: namely, the colour of their skin. Such identification connotes the idea of 'races', since, as we know, skin colours and other physical features have been (and continue) to be seen as a basis of a common 'race' by pseudoscientific theories of 'race'.

> *The fact that only certain physical characteristics [notably, skin colour] are signified to define 'races' in specific circumstances indicates that we are investigating not a given, natural division of the world's population, but the application of historically and culturally specific meanings to the totality of human physiological variation. This is made equally evident when we consider the historical record which demonstrates that populations now defined as 'white' have in the past been defined as distinct 'races'. Thus, the use of the word 'race' to label the groups so distinguished by such features is an aspect of the social construction of reality: 'races' are socially imagined rather than biological realities (Miles 1989, p. 71).*

Miles also argues that the discourse of 'race' is historically linked to the construction of otherness. He explains further that it has been used in some sense as a discourse of subordination and in another sense as a discourse of resistance. According to Miles, the discursive construction of otherness as a distinctive 'race' is a discourse of subordination. He also points out that those who have been the object of this subordination have sometimes accepted their designation as a biologically distinct and discrete population or 'race', but have done so in a way that promotes solidarity and resistance against their subordination. It is this latter meaning that applies to our discussion about 'race' as a marker of identity.

The discourse of anti-racism and the collective resistance against racism that it generates helps to promote solidarity and develop an identity that is based on the shared experiences of racism. It is on the basis of such solidarity and shared experiences of discrimination that associations like *Afrosvenskarnas*

Riksförbund (National Society of Afro-Swedes) and the Equality for Afro-Swedes are built. These associations are primarily concerned in raising awareness about racism against people of African descent in Sweden and also mobilising against it. While *Afrosvenskarnas Riksförbund* operates at a national level, Equality for Afro-Swedes is locally based in Malmö. Interviews were conducted with some of the members of these two associations during a workshop in May 2008 organised by the Equality for Afro-Swedes association. From the interviews and participation in the workshop, it was clear that it was mainly migrants from sub-Saharan Africa and Swedes who had at least one parent from this region who were active in the Equality for Afro-Swedes association (and also *Afrosvenskarnas Riksförbund*). Those members or participants from sub-Saharan Africa came from different parts of the continent: Nigeria, Ghana, South Africa, Somalia, Kenya and so on. Although none of the Cameroonian or Somali migrants in my sample was involved with *Equality for Afro-Swedes*, they adopted or produced a similar discourse that tried to establish a uniform identity between people of African descent. The coming into play of an identity as Afro-Swedes can be seen as a transformation. National and regional identities are now complemented with a 'racial' identity.

The argument to conclude this section is therefore that identity in Cameroon and Somalia (and across many parts of Africa) is largely defined in terms of national and regional attachments. In Sweden, national and regional attachments continue to influence how migrants from Cameroon and Somalia construct their identity, especially as multicultural policies in the country encourage migrants to form national, regional, ethnic, etc cultural associations. Besides national and regional identities, 'racial' identity also appears to gain more currency among these migrants. In the context of Sweden, shared knowledge about racism against migrants enables them, even when they come from different national origins and different ethnic, tribal, clan and local regions, to see their fate as connected. It is the growing importance of 'racial' identity among Cameroonian and Somali migrants that I understand as a transformative change. It can be defined as transformative since it pushes other identifications, that have been predominant in the past, into more marginal positions, which mainly have salience in relationships between nationals, but become less important where individuals deal with the everyday realities of Swedish existence.

Transformations of gender roles and power relations within the family and cultural associations

Women in different parts of the world have always tried to resist systems of gender relations that oppress them. At times, their struggles have yielded

some successful results, such as new laws and other measures that have been introduced to ensure greater equality between women and men (see Coe 2010). Even though gender equality has not been achieved in any existing country, the situation of women across the world varies, which is not surprising given existing disparities in the economic, political and socio-cultural conditions between different countries. In the following, I will try to show how migrant women are shifting away from gender relations they have experienced in their country of origin. This will require some understanding of gender relations in the home country of migrants and the kind of gender relations that these migrants are forging in Sweden. My focus will be on the migrant family and cultural associations and on the labour market.

Gender relations in African societies, like elsewhere in the world, are patriarchal. Unequal gender roles in Somalia are well-reflected in important institutions, customary norms and practices. In the traditional Somali family, to start with, division of labour is largely determined by gender (and also age). While the husband's primary task is to provide for the subsistence of the family, the primary task of the wife is to provide care in the household (Helander 1991). These gendered roles mean that the husband works outside of the home for a wage, while the wife works at home for no wages. However, due to economic conditions nowadays, as noted by Bernhard Helander, it has become increasingly common for Somali women to get involved in small businesses outside the home. The division of labour that exists between husband and wife is also reflected in children. Girls are expected to provide a helping hand to their mother, whereas young boys can sometimes help at home but the older they become the more they are expected to work outside the home (ibid). Helander also makes it clear that there are no direct cultural barriers preventing a Somali man from cooking or performing other household chores. In spite of this, they prefer to spend their (free) time outside the home, as too much time spent at home is commonly interpreted as a sign of illness. Another important gendered relation in the Somali family is that customary beliefs and norms require women to be obedient to their male relatives and husband (Kapteijns 1999).

> *Proper girls as represented in Somali stories were obedient. They served the male members of their households, including male visitors, and took orders from them. A girl had to obey her father in particular. Marrying against his wishes, or refusing the groom chosen by him, might provoke a father's ultimatum, 'Duco ama habaar dooro': 'Choose either blessing [by obeying] or curse [by disobeying].' For many young women this metaphysical sanction, added to excommunication from family and kin group, was too great a risk to take (ibid. p. 31).*

However, the analysis by Kapteijns also indicates that Somali customary law does leave some room for young people to defy their parents and marry the

partner of their choice by 'eloping' (running away secretly to get married). Such a marriage is acceptable in Somalia and sometimes the parents of the couple gradually embrace the union. In spite of this, penalties for elopement such as the parental curse and excommunication from the very relatives that young couples might depend on for a number of their basic needs can scare some young people from daring to marry against the wish of their parents. Elopement (*la–tagis*) in Somalia, as explained by Mohamed Abdullahi (2001), is more difficult in rural areas than in urban areas because it carries more risk in rural areas. While in the cities in Somalia elopement is less risky as it involves the couple simply going secretly to a judge in a nearby town to get married, couples eloping in rural areas have to go far away to find a judge, and this can increase their chances of getting caught (ibid).

Somali women have reacted to the above system of gender relation that subordinates them by showing resistance whenever the opportunity arises. They have done so by sometimes deviating from some of the roles that are assigned to them such as taking paid jobs outside the family (Helander 1991), or practising disobedience in the form of elopement (Kapteijns 1999). Occasionally the government in Somalia has stepped in with some reforms that promoted the legal rights of women in the country (Johnsdotter 2002). Nevertheless, the analysis by Johnsdotter indicates that there is continuous influence of certain beliefs and practices that oppress women in Somalia. Notably, the majority of people in Somalia consider it normal for men to keep their wife/wives at home despite the fact that an increasing number of middle-class women are seeking paid work. The laws and customs in the country provide limited opportunity for women to inherit property. Additionally, polygamy is legal and there is no legislation against domestic violence against women (ibid, p. 41; Helander 1991; Academy for Peace and Development/UNICEF report 2002[37]). The collapse of the central government and the ongoing civil war in the country has also worsened the situation of women in many respects. There has been a rollback of the progressive legislations that increased women's right prior to the breakout of the civil war. As the civil war continues, there are reports of women being raped by militias from rival clans, government and peacekeeping forces[38].

The situation for women in Cameroon shows some resemblance to that of their counterpart in Somalia – a major difference is that, unlike Somalia, Cameroon presents a very fragmented ethnic picture, with hundreds of linguistic groupings and vernaculars (Le Vine 1971 pp. 45ff.). With the

[37] Available online at: http://www.unicef.org/somalia/resources.html

[38] Pan African Voices for Freedom and Justice. 'And what about Somali women?'.Report by Nada Ali, December 2008. [Accessed on Nov 3th 2010, http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/comment/52573]

exception of the Bamum people, who have a written language (invented at the turn of the 20th century), none of the local languages are written. The fragmented population in Cameroon also shows variations in their socio-cultural, political and economic organisation. Some of the ethnic groups or tribes have a more centralised and hierarchical traditional system of administration than others (Pelican 2006). In some local areas the system of kinship is matrilineal, while in others (the majority of the country) it is patrilineal (Vubo 2005). In terms of religion, different parts of the country are either largely Muslim, Christian, follow animist beliefs or a combination of any two or all of them (Le Vin 1971). These differences make it difficult to generalise about gender relations in the family because family structures and gender relations within them are largely influenced by the local customs and norms.

Despite the difficulty in generalising on specifics of gender relations in families across Cameroon, there are indications that the Cameroonian family, like other key institutions and structures in the country, is patriarchal. A report by *Equality Now* (1999) shows that official policies, customary laws, cultural beliefs and widespread attitudes in Cameroon severely discriminate against women. Examples given in the report include: 1) the legal system and customary laws, besides regarding women as the property of their husband, allow men to keep all property after a divorce; 2) customary laws deny women the right to inherit property; 3) there is legal recognition of polygamy; 4) despite widespread evidence that women are commonly subjected to domestic violence, marital rape and sexual harassment, there are no laws that criminalise these offences; and 5) there are structural and institutionalised forms of discrimination which discriminate against women in the labour market (cf. International Women's Right Action Watch report on Cameroon 1999[39]).

The effects of these laws on women in Cameroon (and Somalia) depend on their social class position. It is also important to mention that women's groups in Cameroon have been active in challenging the patriarchal structures and institutions that subordinate women in Cameroon (Hambuba & Kagoiya 2009). Women's groups, as explained in this and other studies, collaborate with regional and international women's movements and have been successful in changing some of the gender norms that oppress women. Despite the work and achievements of the women's groups in Cameroon, existing structures and institutions, as noted earlier, support many practices that discriminate against women.

[39] Available online at: http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/iwraw/cescrcameroon.htm

It is thus quite obvious that the situation of women in Cameroon and Somalia bear similarities in that laws condone some of the blatant practices that oppress women. In addition, there are customs and established practices in the two countries which severely restrict the rights of women and their access to material resources. Unlike the systems of gender relations in Cameroon and Somalia, Sweden does not have the above laws that support blatant discrimination against women. There is formal equality between women and men in Sweden, although in practice there are many structural and institutional factors that discriminate against women (Calasanti & Bailey 1991; Pincus 2002). Taking into account the different conditions of women in the migrant home countries and Sweden, the analysis will proceed to show how life in Sweden is transforming gender relations among migrants.

The first key empirical example, which indicates a direct challenge to the system that subordinates migrant women in the traditional family in the migrant home country, is Amina's views about marriage. In chapter four, case study four, she expressed a willingness to marry a man of her choice even if that meant defying the will of her parents. This was very clear when she mentioned that she was open to marrying a 'native' Swede despite being certain that her parents would not embrace him – at least, not immediately. If marrying against the will of one's parents is possible in Somalia, why should Somali migrant women in Sweden who marry against the wish of their parent(s) be seen as transforming their gender position? Considering the extremely powerful position of men vis-à-vis women in a traditional Somali family, any action by Somali women that challenges the authority of the family indirectly questions the authority of men. It consequently challenges the unequal power relations in the family. Whether this happens in Somalia or Sweden, the impact and symbolism remain the same. In either country, Somali women are challenging the authority of men within a Somali family unit.

Understanding resistance as a form of power from below suggests that the act of marrying against the wish of parents is a way of exercising power by Somali girls within their families. This is transformational because it undermines the structure of the traditional Somali family unit, which confines women to the role of obedience often to the detriment of their own interests. It is possible that formal equality between men and women in Sweden is making it easier for Somali and other migrant women to resist being dominated by male relatives in the family. The fact that Swedish law and value systems support women's independence can help women like Amina to make their own decisions. At the same time, existing discrimination against migrants has seen some migrants turning inward to their

communities and families for solidarity. Apparently, conditions in Sweden can facilitate the empowerment of women within the family through legal protection of their rights but can also inhibit such empowerment when minority women are forced to rely on their families and communities because of discrimination in society. These different possibilities for migrant women within the family structure indicate that the empowerment and transformation of these women does not occur uniformly. While some of these women are able to resist men's domination in the family and to empower themselves, others are not able to do so for reasons that include lack of resources. Amina's example therefore represents an individual case of empowerment and transformation of a Somali migrant woman. In this particular case, Amina, who was raised in Sweden, has experienced and has grown up into notions of equality between women and men in Sweden. In addition, she has been working, travelling abroad on her own and has 'native' as well as other non-Somali friends. In fact, when she moved back to Sweden from the UK she moved in with a female friend from the former Yugoslavia and not a relative or fellow Somali countryman/woman. All of this suggests that Amina was fairly independent from her family and had a social network which extended beyond the Somali migrant community. Her situation can be seen as presenting both the opportunities and resources that can facilitate migrant women's emancipation from their families.

Gender relations in migrant community

Further discussion on changing gender roles and power relations will take the migrant cultural associations as the starting point. A presentation of those cultural associations in chapter three revealed that their primary aims are to support fellow migrants from the same home country and to promote the culture(s) of their nation of origin. A closer examination of the migrant cultural associations indicates that migrant men dominate in these associations. One of the Somali associations was exclusively for men. As for the other Somali and Cameroonian associations, which were mixed, the visible absence of women in top leadership positions suggested that migrant men also dominated in the associations. Consequently, they influenced the kind of activities that were prioritised and the kind of discourses that were produced and circulated by the associations. Men's football, for example, is an activity that was common to the Cameroonian cultural association as well as to the mixed Somali cultural associations. Other activities of the associations, which saw the joint participation of men and women, were organised in ways that reproduced male dominance. The analyses below of some of the common activities in those cultural associations can help to demonstrate this point.

Social events organised by the migrants from Cameroon were often characterised by festive meals, drinking and dancing. Fouda, who had once been the host of a social event, noted that the only thing that Cameroonians in Malmö care about is feasting. 'The only way you can get the attention of Cameroonians in Malmö is to cook food and buy drinks, otherwise they will not pay attention to what you have to say.' During a meeting by SKÅNECAM in early February 2008 there was a discussion about celebrating the national holiday of Cameroon, which is on the 20th of May. About a month prior to the national holiday there was no agreement about what to do. Some of the men, who were frustrated with the lack of progress about what to do, suggested that a party should be organised. Some members of the association opposed this suggestion and the association ended up not celebrating the national holiday at all. However, those who supported the idea of a party got together as private individuals and organised a party that was open to the public. What was noticeable during the whole debate is that men introduced the idea of the national holiday celebration and they dominated in the debate. This was also the case with other debates and major decisions in the association. Women, for their part, were often restricted to subordinate roles and minor duties like cooking, serving food and much of the cleaning during festivities. This division of labour can be said to reflect and reproduce the unequal gender relations in Cameroon. Given that the associations are controlled by Cameroonian migrant men, it is not surprising that the associations are embracing traditional Cameroonian norms and practices that subordinate women.

In the Somali cultural associations *Somaliska Kultur och Idrottsförening*, *Somalilands Förening i Malmö* and *Hidde Iyo: Ung Vision*, the arrangements were similar to the one in the above Cameroonian cultural association. In these Somali associations there was no woman in any of the leadership positions. The first two associations, which were closely integrated because they shared a common working-place, were organised in a way that men and women did not mix. Different activities in the associations such as helping people find a job, tutoring, Islamic studies/prayers, informal meetings and so on were also dominated by men and targeted mostly men. This was noticeable from the kind of access which men and women had to the resources at the associations. Men could use the resources at the association every day, whereas women and children held their activities only on special days, mostly at weekends. The other association, *Hidde Iyo: Ung Vision*, though it also had only men in its highest leadership, had a fairly balanced gendered representation at the lower leadership level and, more importantly, the young men and women who made up the lower leadership level were empowered to choose the kind of activity that they wanted and to select young people from the public to participate in those activities. The outcome

was that the young women reached out to people with diverse ethnic backgrounds and formed groups that reflected the ethnic diversity of the city of Malmö. The young men, on the other hand, reached out to mostly young people with a Somali and/or Muslim background. The difference between the young male and female group leaders suggests that, given the opportunity, women make different priorities, which probably are closer to their interests.

These observations about the migrant cultural associations lead to a number of key points. There is no doubt that these associations provide a forum where migrants can support each other and feel attached to one another. This can be very important in making up for the vast network of social support which is lost when people migrate. The associations, which are all headed by men, are (re)producing closed social networks that to a certain degree reflect the migrants' national or religious belongings. They are (re)producing divisions of labour and power relations that give undue advantages to men over women. Differences between male and female Somali youths in their leadership style in *Hidde Iyo Dhagar: Ung Vision* association suggested that, were these organisations led and influenced by women, their activities might be different. The main difference in this case is that the Somali male youth leaders formed groups that were less ethnically diverse, whereas their female counterparts formed groups that were ethnically diverse. The choice by these women to accept people from different ethnic backgrounds suggests that they weaken the exclusive national or religious bonds that are (re)produced when social bonds are exclusively between people from the same national, religious or other particularistic identities. As Räthzel (2007) has shown, what allows women to forge cross–ethnic relationships is their common experience of subordination. While accepting their differences, they also recognise the similarity of their experiences and on this basis are able to support each other. Räthzel suggests calling such forms of organisation 'hetero-homogeneous'.

Also, the reluctance of migrant women to embrace agendas that are controlled by the male leadership of the associations can be seen as opposition to gender roles that allow men to take major decisions and women to simply follow. From these developments, it can be argued that some of the migrant women in our sample are embracing the ideas of gender equality that are formally recognised in Sweden. This is transformational because it challenges an established system of gender relations which allows men to dictate to women, and empowers women to have more control over their own lives. It is important to note that the transition taking place is championed by migrant women since migrant men are strongly connected to activities that are (re)producing established gender inequality.

The final example and discussion of changing gender roles and power relations can be illustrated with an examination of the labour market situation. Chapters four and five have shown several examples concerning the labour market situation of individual migrants. The general picture from the individual cases is that the migrants in this study occupy a marginal position in the labour market. These difficulties appear to affect migrants of either sex in more or less the same way. They are either unemployed, employed in temporary and/or low-paid jobs, or employed in stable but low-skilled occupations. Although migrant men and women appear to face similar difficulties in the labour market, there are reasons to believe that these are eroding the power influence of migrant men while improving those of migrant women. First, the subordinate position of migrants in the labour market means that migrant men are losing some of their power: namely, the power that was based on control of the economic resources of the family in their home countries. In these countries, men have greater access than women to economic resources. Second, the greater possibilities in Sweden (compared to their countries of origin) for women to get paid jobs or welfare support from the government if they are unemployed make them less dependent on their husbands.

Besides the fact that the labour market conditions have diminished the traditional role of the migrant men in this study as breadwinners, the opportunity for migrant women to get the same access to paid work as their husbands is affecting traditional gender roles in the migrant family. Migrant women now have to spend more time working outside of the home, which undoubtedly gives them more independence. Even if, as studies suggest also for 'native' women in Sweden and other European countries (Moen 1989; Ungerson 1990; Borchorst 1990), they will still be predominantly responsible for the household, they are no longer exclusively reduced to this traditional gender role. From observations at the migrant cultural associations, migrant women appear to be more responsible than their male counterparts for care work within the family. The social events that were organised by the Cameroonian cultural associations showed a gendered division of labour, with men responsible for the running of the associations and women confined to traditional female roles like cooking. This indicated the persistence of gender inequality within the family even when women are working for a wage outside the home.

Transformations in the everyday

So far, the analyses in this chapter have focused on transformations that are taking place on a collective level and thereby affecting most migrants or segments of the migrant population. This has been done by analysing

relations between migrants in their cultural associations and family relationships. By making the cultural associations and family the focus of the analyses, it has been possible to show how interactions between migrants within these local contexts are producing transformations that affect them collectively. In the following section, the focus is more on how individual migrants are transformed in their daily interactions with the broader society outside of their families and migrant social networks. The analysis will show how migrants' perception of the challenges that they face and how they deal with them are changing over time. Different types of challenges have been shown to confront migrants. In the face of the challenges they have all fought back in different ways. Sometimes this has been done collectively, as, for example, through empowerment and solidarity in their cultural associations. There are also indications that they have adopted individual strategies like confronting the problem, politely trying to walk away from it or seeking help. As mentioned earlier, the analysis here will pay closer attention to individual responses to perceived problems and how such responses are transforming over time.

Beginning at chapter four, the conflict case studies that were examined show some variations between individuals in how they perceived and dealt with the challenges that they faced. In conflict case study one, Mariam felt that she was being treated unfairly because she is a black person, thereby implying she was the target of discrimination. Her reaction to this was confrontational as she yelled at the classmate who was having an argument with her and protested at the teacher's handling of the problem. Conflict case study two showed a slightly different story. According to Keita, who was involved in the conflict, his co-workers ignored him at work and he felt disrespected. However, he let it go because, from his point of view, it was difficult to prove that his co-workers had done anything wrong. Later on when a co-worker was bossy to him, he felt disrespected again but reacted this time by complaining to their boss. He also requested to be reassigned with a different co-worker. His reaction this time was still quite cautious because he chose to complain rather than get confrontational. The way the boss resolved the problem left him dissatisfied, but he let that go. In all, it can be said that Keita was non-confrontational and quite cautious in how he dealt with the problems.

The analyses in chapter five reveal more examples where individuals deal with perceived problems in different ways. Amina expressed a general dissatisfaction with the labour market in Sweden. She also felt discriminated against in the labour market. After working in Sweden as a care-provider for some time she left for the UK, where she worked for a couple of years before returning to Sweden. Jasmine, who also worked as a care provider,

expressed satisfaction with her job and did not feel discriminated against in the labour market. Still in the labour market, Chantal's story about how her boss refused to consider her for a vacancy as a waitress at the restaurant where she was a dishwasher suggested that she was dissatisfied. In the interview she simply narrated what happened and avoided coming to the conclusion that her boss's action was aimed at discriminating against her. She did nothing about it and continued working at the restaurant as a dishwasher. There is also Ekaney, whose job was the distribution of newspapers. The interview with him indicates that he considered the lack of jobs as the major problem in the labour market and not discrimination. Outside the labour market, Wendy faced a lot of difficulties in getting accommodation, mostly through fellow Cameroonian migrants. She blamed Cameroonians and also broader Swedish society for the difficulties which she faced. Fouda lived in a crowded flat before getting a bigger flat as a sublet from a 'native' woman. She agreed that it is difficult to get accommodation in Malmö but the cause of the problem, from her point of view, is the housing shortages in the city. There is also Jama, whose attempt to get a bigger flat was unsuccessful at first but later on successful when he contacted a different housing company. Jama was uncertain whether or not it was because of discrimination that he did not get a bigger flat from the first housing company that he contacted.

These examples show variations between individual migrants on how they perceive and deal with the challenges they face. Some of them see the difficulties as the outcome of discrimination against them. Others see them as the result of general hardships in society that are affecting everybody. There are also those who think there is no discrimination or its effects are not significant. In addition to these differences there are also variations in how people react to perceived problems. Confrontations, seeking mediation or help, or walking away and just letting it go are some of the ways in which the above migrants in our study have reacted to perceived problems.

These differences highlight the heterogeneity among migrants. However, there are similarities in some of the perceptions and reactions as well. The most pronounced similarities are among those who felt discriminated against as well as those who felt that discrimination was not a (major) problem. Among those who felt discriminated against are Mariam, Amina, Keita, Chantal and Wendy, whose dissatisfaction was directed at both fellow Cameroonians and 'natives', while those who did not consider discrimination to be a problem include Jasmine, Ekaney, Fouda and Jama. A quick look at these two categories of migrants says very little about what people in the same category might share in common. A closer observation tells a different story. It appears that those who felt discriminated against are predominantly

those who have lived in Sweden for a long time. This is especially true for Mariam and Amina, who were raised in Sweden and spent most of their lives in the country. With the exception of Wendy, who had lived in the country for less than five years, Keita and Chantal have lived in the country for a fairly long time but not as long as Jama and Jasmine, who did not feel discriminated against. Nevertheless, Jama and Jasmine have not lived in Sweden as long as Mariam and Amina, thereby suggesting that among migrants from Somalia those who were raised in Sweden were more likely to feel discriminated against than those who were not. In addition to Jama and Jasmine in the second category of those who did not feel discriminated against are Ekaney and Fouda. These two, who are all from Cameroon, had each lived in Sweden for less than five years. This also indicates that among migrants from Cameroon those who had lived longer in Sweden were also more likely to feel discriminated against than those who had not.

Considering the trends of migrants from these two countries, it appears that newly arrived migrants showed a tendency of not challenging negative experiences, while those who were raised in Sweden showed the opposite tendency, i.e. they were more likely to be confrontational when they felt discriminated against. Being raised in Sweden, taught in school and other Swedish institutions to see equality as a fundamental Swedish value, these migrants expect to have the same access to resources as any 'native' Swede. Consequently, they see exclusionary behaviour towards them more likely as discrimination because they cannot be said to have less capabilities or know less about Swedish society than 'natives'. In addition, so-called second-generation migrants, as explained by Portes (1995, pp 254-256), can be influenced by native-born minorities to be more aware and reactive to dominant discrimination. This is because, as Portes points out, it is usually the 'second generation' migrants as opposed to the 'first generation' ones who are more likely to have social contacts with native-born minorities as they come across each other in school and in playgrounds in the residential areas. Newly arrived migrants might agree that 'natives' should have certain advantages in relation to them, because they still need to acquire the necessary skills and knowledge in order to function in their host society. Therefore they might see themselves as the problem at the early stage of their arrival as being in need of learning Swedish and understanding Swedish society. Later on, after acquiring the necessary skills without finding improved opportunities in society, they become disappointed and start questioning why life is not improving. It is at this point that they too become more likely to question some of the injustices against them.

It has already been indicated that this transformation from acceptance to confrontation seems to take place at different times for migrants from

Cameroon and Somalia. The different migration experiences of Cameroonian and Somali migrants can provide a useful answer to this difference. In addition to the dreadful experience of the civil war in Somalia, many of the Somali migrants who were interviewed went through different countries where they faced numerous difficulties before arriving in Sweden. They first fled to neighbouring countries like Kenya, Ethiopia, Uganda and Yemen. When they moved to Europe, some of them first arrived in Eastern European countries like Russia and Poland before finally making it to Sweden. Many of the countries where they first fled to before moving to Sweden are quite weak, both economically and in terms of democratic rights, and therefore unable to provide adequate assistance to refugees. With the bitter memories of the experiences in Somalia and some of these early host countries, Somali migrants are more likely to be appreciative of the reception in Sweden. Contrary to the tough and long migration experiences of Somali migrants, almost all the Cameroonians interviewed came directly to Sweden from Cameroon and in most cases they migrated 'voluntarily'. The fairly stable conditions under which they migrated and with little or no experiences of the poor treatment which migrants face in other countries make them less likely than their Somali counterparts to accept discriminatory experiences. This suggests that migrants who faced extremely difficult situations in their home country and severe hardship in other countries are more readily satisfied in a country which offers them a fairly stable life. Even if they are discriminated against in that society, the experience of relative stability and improved opportunities can cause them to be less critical of the disadvantages. Whereas migrant who have not faced such severe difficulties or hardship in other countries will surely require more than just a guarantee of a relatively stable, war-free life to be satisfied.

As for migrants who were raised in the country to which they or their parents migrated, they are knowledgeable about that society. In a country like Sweden, this means that they grow up learning that everybody in society is equal and needs to be treated equally. At the same time, they are exposed to discourses that represent migrants as the inferior other as well as to anti-racist discourses sympathetic to migrants. In a nutshell, it can be said that the Somalis who were raised in Sweden know Swedish life better than any other they have not experienced. They have not experienced the civil war in Somalia and hardship in refugee camps in different countries. Having been raised in Sweden, they can only compare their life situation with those of other Swedes. Such a comparison certainly shows their 'native' peers as more respected and thus more successful in many areas of life. The realisation that 'natives' are more likely than people with a migrant background to succeed gives them a greater sense of the discrimination they experience.

Finally, migrants who felt discriminated against were more likely to react in ways that can be seen as confrontational, whereas those who did not see discrimination as a problem for the most part avoided any confrontation. The argument about transformation can be made that, when migrants come from conflict or war areas, they are more accepting of discriminatory living conditions in the early stage of arrival in Sweden. However, after a longer period they are also more likely to experience disadvantages in everyday situations, in the housing market and in the labour market, as forms of discrimination.

Conclusion

Investigating the lives of migrants from Cameroon and Somalia in the southern Swedish city of Malmö, this thesis has sought to explore how they have experienced and perceived life in Sweden. The issue of particular interest about the lives of the migrants under study has been the challenges which they face, how they deal with them and how they are possibly transformed by them.

The research questions guiding this study were developed on the basis that migrants have been and still are marginalised and that exclusionary practices today target migrants largely from the Global South. Taking Cameroonians and Somalis in Sweden as an example, the thesis can be said to provide some insight into the lives of migrants from the Global South. The migrants under study faced exclusionary practices in the areas of the labour market, housing and in everyday encounters with 'native' Swedes. They also had to deal with conflicts arising in their own organisations. However, the study also showed that the experiences of migrants in these areas differ, as do their judgements, of their lives in Sweden and the opportunities that are open to them in society. The main outcomes from the analysis are discussed in the following.

The analysis has highlighted how established practices in major institutions affect migrants negatively. For instance, when experience and qualifications are required for certain jobs, they are not in a position to acquire such experiences because they do not have the same access to the labour market as 'native' Swedes. Their unemployment rates are much higher. The findings also indicated a tendency by officials at major institutions to ignore or dismiss the fact that discrimination against migrants is a major problem. Since a problem cannot go away simply because we fail to acknowledge it, discrimination against migrants tends to meet no serious opposition. The denial that migrants are discriminated against is therefore part of the structures that produce their marginalisation in society. This structural marginalisation can result in a vicious circle where exclusionary practices become the basis for an even higher degree of marginalisation. For instance, institutional practices that exclude migrants in the labour market can deprive them of the economic resources that are needed to acquire the goods and services necessary for a reasonable standard of living. Since established practices in major institutions and structural relations have specifically negative effects on migrants, we can speak about institutionalised discrimination.

On the micro level, a major finding from the thesis is that both migrants and 'natives' are involved in practices that produce experiences of marginalisation and discrimination for the former. Actions that produced conflicts, material deprivation and exclusion – due to the construction of otherness – could be seen in the daily practices of both migrants and 'natives'. However, the outcomes of these actions have been different depending on whether they were caused predominantly by migrants or 'natives'. For example, conflicts between migrants and 'natives' distanced them further from each other, increasing tension between them, whereas conflicts among migrants did not prevent them from working together when the need arose. Likewise, the discursive construction of otherness, which (re)produced exclusionary positions such as ethnically homogeneous social networks, had different consequential impacts on (and symbolism for) migrants and 'natives'. Given that supporting each other is one of the benefits of being part of a social network (Bourdieu 1997; Eve 2002), one can argue that it is more beneficial to have social ties with people who are well-connected and 'successful' in society than it is with those who are not. In other words, it can be more beneficial for migrants to be in the same social networks with 'natives', who generally have greater access to the economic and political resources in society. Excluding the former from the social networks of the latter has the effect of excluding them from resources in society, because those who have greater economic and political power in society control pivotal resources (Bourdieu 1997; Behtoui 2009). Consequently, exclusively 'native' social networks were seen as (re)producing notions of a fixed homogeneous Swedish (or European) belonging. This was analysed as reinforcing existing structural relations that exclude ethnic minorities. With respect to exclusively migrant social networks, the argument was that they also have similar effects of excluding 'natives'. However, since migrants have limited access to resources in society, the material consequences of exclusion by migrants are limited compared to those by 'natives'. The argument therefore concluded that exclusively 'native' social networks had the consequence of (re)producing structural relations that marginalised migrants, while exclusively migrant social networks acted as resistance against the structures and dominant practices that marginalised them.

Another important finding is the existence of differences between migrants in relation to how they experienced and perceived some of the common challenges that they faced in society. Some of them saw the practices that produced their marginalisation as infringements on their basic rights, and thereby responded by actively fighting back. Others were less critical of similar practices and did little or nothing about them. Migrants also adopted different kinds of long-term strategies in resisting the structures and practices that marginalised them. While some of them turned inward into

their communities for support and empowerment, others (while maintaining contacts with their communities) tapped into ethnically diverse social networks for the same reasons. Further differences were noted between migrants in relation to how they are transformed in Sweden. The transformations were related to identities, to power relations within the migrants' communities and to the way they dealt with everyday challenges in Sweden. These differences, as analysed, were largely influenced by their experiences in Sweden and in other countries where they had been living on their way to Sweden.

Transformations in identities were analysed as occurring where migrants were adopting forms of identity that were not salient in their home countries. Most notable was the adoption of a 'racial identity', which saw them identifying with other Africans and people of African descent whom they saw as facing common experiences and challenges in Sweden. Power relations within migrant communities were also shown to be transforming in the sense that women became increasingly empowered and economically independent. The empowerment of migrant women was shown to take place through actions that openly challenged the authority of migrant men and also by adopting roles which were previously seen as the domain of men in the home countries of the migrants. The transformations of migrant women reflected the subordinate position of women in migrant communities, thereby suggesting that they are affected by more than one structure of discrimination in society. Lastly, there were indications that the tendency for migrants to be critical about dominant structures and confrontational towards individuals whose actions they saw as discriminatory against them was influenced largely by whether or not they had been raised in Sweden. Migrants raised in Sweden were more likely to be critical and confrontational than newly arrived migrants. This was analysed as resulting from the fact that the former see themselves as entitled to the same rights and obligations as 'natives'. As opposed to this, newly arrived migrants seemed to see themselves as 'outsiders' with limited knowledge about the new society and therefore not entitled to the same rights as 'natives'. Migrants who saw their situation as the outcome of discrimination were more likely to be critical of dominant institutions and confrontational towards people whose actions they saw as discriminatory.

Equally influential to the way in which migrants perceived their situation in Sweden was also their country of origin: among the newly arrived migrants, those from Cameroon were more likely to be critical and confrontational than their counterparts from Somalia. This was understood as caused by the different circumstances surrounding their migration to Sweden. Somalis who migrated because of the civil war in their country were more likely to be

happy with life in Sweden, which they saw as stable and safe, especially since many of them had passed through countries where life had been harsh in terms of their economic and social position. Cameroonians, on the other hand, who migrated from an overall stable country, were seen as expecting more than just safety in Sweden and therefore more likely to be critical and confrontational if, after acquiring some of the relevant skills in Sweden, they felt that they were not making progress in society.

These different outcomes were analysed as a result of unequal power relations between 'natives' and migrants and thus as creating the necessity for migrants to support each other due to their shared marginalisation within Swedish society. However, this structural marginalisation, for instance in the housing area, also provided the framework for practices of exploitation between migrants. Although migrants in general are in lower positions of power in relation to 'natives', that does not mean that there are no hierarchical relations between migrants. Gendered power relations and the availability of different material resources created hierarchical relations between migrants. The lesson from this is that there is no reason to romanticise migrant communities as spaces of undivided solidarity and equality. The recognition of contradictions within migrant communities and the different ways in which they experience their living conditions and react to them contradict the homogenising view of migrants. As in all communities, there are forms of exploitation and domination as well as forms of support and solidarity in migrant communities; there are people who want to cling to their established traditions and there are those who want to transform or invent new traditions; there are individuals conforming to rules and there are those breaking them. This might appear a trivial point to make but it seems to be a necessary one, given the culturalist homogenising negative as well as the homogenising positive images of migrants in public debates.

The theories used in the analysis were instrumental in understanding the empirical material: the theory of conflict and the theory of transformation made it possible to highlight the differences between migrants; the theories of discrimination were useful in showing how structural relations and institutional practices marginalise migrants. By paying attention to the experiences of individual migrants, what they perceived as problems, why they felt that certain actions were problematic to them and how they responded to such actions, the conflict theory enabled a more nuanced view on the everyday practices of migrants. It made it possible to perceive migrants as individuals with agency, whose actions affect what happens to them in life. The focus on individuals and how they dealt with specific 'problematic' issues proved resourceful not only in analysing specific

'problems' but also understanding how they were experienced and reacted to differently.

The theory of transformation provided a more specified account of the differences between migrants. However, the main contribution of this theory is that it provided a perspective of analysing changes in the lifestyles of migrants that do not subscribe to the linear notion of change that is characteristic of the *modernist* conception of change. Theories of assimilation and integration conceptualise changes by migrants in terms that suggest a progression from an 'inferior' to a 'superior' lifestyle. Often, these theories view change in terms of migrants gradually adopting the dominant lifestyle (culture) of the host society while abandoning the ways of life of their societies of origin. Although this conception of change is strongly associated with theories of assimilation, theories of integration are said to subscribe to the same thinking by analysing changes by migrants in relation to the dominant lifestyle of the host society (Brochmann 2003). According to this notion of change, migrants who fail to fully adopt the lifestyle of the dominant society are erroneously considered as incapable of change. They are seen as clinging to their tradition and unable to adapt to the new society. Contrary to this linear conception of change, the theory of transformation in this study sees changes as strategies developed by migrants to deal with the challenges they face in a new country. From the perspective of transformation used in this study, it has been shown that migrants are adopting different tools and strategies in the face of new challenges in Sweden. They are doing this in ways that are changing their lives, not necessarily by copying the dominant way of life but by combining elements of their previous life with elements of their present life in Sweden.

References

Abdullahi, M. D. (2001) *Culture and customs of Somalia,* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.

Abiri, E. (2000) *The securitisation of migration: towards an understanding of migration policy changes in the 1990s: The case of Sweden,* Göteborg: Dept. of Peace and Development Research, Univ.

African Vibes Magazine (2008) 'The Njangi', Available at: Africanvibes.com, Oneline: http://africanvibes.com/wordpressnew/category/lifestyle/money-matters-lifestyle/

Aggestam, K. (1999) *Reframing and Resolving Conflict: Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations 1988-1998,* Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Ahlström, B. (2009) *Bullying and Social Objectives: A Study of Prerequisites for Success in Swedish schools, Akademiska avhandlingar vid Sociologiska institutionen, Umeå universitet,* Umeå: Department of Sociology, Umeå University.

Aldrich, H. and Waldinger, R. (1990) 'Ethnicity and Entrepreneurship', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 111-135.

Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, ed., London: Verso.

Andersson, B et al. (2003) *Fyra Stadsdelar: Fyra Vägar mot Integration: Storstadssatsningen i Malmö: Utvärdering av Demokratiarbete och Skolprojekt,* Malmö: Malmö stad.

Andersson, R. (1998) 'Socio-Spatial Dynamics: Ethnic Divisions of Mobility and Housing in Post-Palme Sweden', *Urban Studies*, 397-428.

Andersson, R. (1999) ''Divided cities' as a Policy-Based Notion in Sweden', *Housing Studies,* 601-624.

Arai, M. and Vilhelmsson, R. (2004) 'Unemployment-Risk Differentials Between Immigrant and Native Workers in Sweden', *Industrial Relations*, 690-698.

Back, L. (1996) *New Ethnicities and Urban Culture: Racisms and Multiculture in Young Lives*, London: UCL Press.

Back, L., Cohen, P. and Keith, M. (2008) 'Between Home and Belonging: Critical Ethnographies of Race, Place, and Identity' in Räthzel, N. and Cohen, P., eds., *Finding the Way Home: Young People's Stories of Gender, Ethnicity, Class, and Places in Hamburg and London*, Göttingen: V and R Unipress.

Bask, M. (2005) 'Welfare Problems and Social Exclusion among Immigrants in Sweden', *European Sociological Review*, 21(1), 73-89.

Baumann, G. (1996) *Contesting Culture: Discources of Identity in Multi-Ethnic London*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Behtoui, A. (2004) 'Unequal Opportunities for Young People with Immigrant Backgrounds in the Swedish Labour Market', *Labour*, 18(4), 633-660.

Behtoui, A. (2009) 'Social Capital and Stigmatised Immigrants' in Neergaard, A., ed. *European Perspectives on Exclusion and Subordination: The Political Economy of Migration*, Maastricht: Shaker Publishing.

Bennett, L., Jr. (1970) 'What's in a Name?' in Rose, P. I., ed. *Americans from Africa: Old Memories, New Moods*, New York: Atherton Press.

Bevelander, P. (2004) *Immigration Patterns, Economic Integration and Residential Segregation - Sweden in the late 20th century*, Malmö: Malmö Högskola, Internationell Migration och Etniska Relationer (IMER).

Blanck, D. and Tydén, M. (1995) 'Becoming Multicultural? The Development of a Swedish Immigration Policy' in Åkerman, S. and Granatstein, J. L., eds., *Welfare Statesin Trouble: Historical Perspectives on Canada and Sweden*, Uppsala: Swedish Science Press.

Bonilla -Silva, E. (1997) 'Rethinking Racism: Toward a Structural Interpretation', *American Sociological Review*, 465-480.

Borchorst, A. (1990) 'Political Motherhood and Child Care Policies: a Comparative Approach to Britain and Scandinavia' in Ungerson, C., ed. *Gender and Caring: Work and Welfare in Britain and Scandinavia*, New York and London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Borjas, G. (1986) 'The Self-Employment Experience of Immigrants', *Journal of Human Resources*, 485-506.

Bosswick, W. and Heckmann, F. (2006) *Integration of Migrants: Contribution of Local and Regional Authorities*, Dublin: European Forum for Migration Studies.

Bourdieu, P. (1997) 'The Forms of Capital' in A.H. Halsey et al., ed. *Education: Culture, Economy, and Society*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. and Thompson, J. B. (1991) *Language and Symbolic Power*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. c. J. D. (1992) *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Boyle, E. and Ali, A. (2009) 'Culture, Structure, and the Refugee Experience in Somali Immigrant Family Transformation', *International Migration*, 47-79.

Broch-Due, V. (2005) *Violence and Belonging: The Quest for Identity in Post-Colonial Africa*, London: Routledge

Brochmann, G. (2003) 'Welfare State, Integration and Legitimacy of the Majority -The Case of Norway' in Forsander, A. and Similä, M., eds., *Cultural Diversity and Integration in the Nordic Welfare States: Proceedings of the 12th Nordic Migration Conference 2003*, Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.

Broomé, P. et al. (2007a) *Organisations as Gateways for Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities, Current themes in IMER research*, Malmö: IMER, Malmö Högskola.

Broomé, P. et al. (2007b) *Quantitative Indicators of Diversity: Content or Packaging?*, Current *themes in IMER research*, Malmö: IMER, Malmö Högskola.

Brydon, L. (2008) 'Constructing Avatime: Questions of History and Identity in a West African Polity, c.1690s to the Twentieth Century', *Journal of African History*, 23-42.

Bråmå, Å. (2008) 'Dynamics of Ethnic Residential Segregation in Goteborg, Sweden, 1995-2000', *Population Space and Place*, 101-117.

Böcker, A. and Havinga, T. (1998) *Asylum Migration to the European Union: Patterns of Origin and Destination*, European Commission.

Calasanti, T. and Bailey, C. (1991) 'Gender Inequality and the Division of Household Labour in the United States and Sweden: A Socialist-Feminist Approach', *Social Problems*, 34-53.

Castles, S. (2003) 'Towards a Sociology of Forced Migration and Social Transformation', *the Journal of the British Sociological Association*, 13-34.

Castro, P. and Lindbladh, E. (2004) 'Place, Discourse and Vulnerability - A Qualitative Study of Young Adults Living in a Swedish Urban Poverty Zone', *Health & Place*, 259-272.

Cleveland, W. L. (2004) *A History of the Modern Middle East*, Boulder, Colo.: Westview.

Coe, A.-B. (2010) *How Social Movements Influence Policies: Advocacy, Framing, Emotions and Outcomes Among Reproductive Rights Coalitions in Peru*, Umeå: Sociologiska Institutionen, Umeå Universitet.

Davis, F. J. (2001) *Who is Black? : One Nation's Definition*, 10th Anniversary ed., University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Delamont, S. (2004) 'Ethnography and Participant Observation' in Seale, C. et al. eds., *Qualitative Research Practice*, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Delanty, G., Jones, P. and Wodak, P. (2008) 'Migration, Discrimination and Belonging in Europe' in Delanty, G. et al., eds., *Identity, Belonging and Migration*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Dennis, A. and Martin, P. (2005) 'Symbolic Interactionism and the Concept of Power', *British Journal of Sociology*, 56(2), 191-213.

Denzin, N. K. (1997) *Interpretive Ethnography: Ethnographic Practices for the 21st Century*, London: Sage Publications.

Diken, B. (1998) *Strangers, Ambivalence and Social Theory, Research in Ethnic Relations series*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Drake, S. C. and Cayton, H. R. (1993) *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City*, Rev. and ed., Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dunbar, C. J., et al. (2003) 'Race, Subjectivity, and the Interview Process' in Holstein, J. A. and Gubrium, J. F., eds., *Inside Interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Elwert, G. (2001) 'Conflict, Anthropological Perspectives', in Smelser N. and Baltes, P. eds *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences*, Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Enequist, G. and Gärdqvist, A. (2010) *Internationell Mobilitet i Högskolan 2008/09*. Högskoleverket and SCB

Englund, C. (2000). 'Migrants, Minorities and Employment in Sweden: Exclusion, Discrimination and Anti-Discrimination', *RAXEN 3 Report to the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC)*, Stockholm

Eriksson, M. (2005) 'Transcend and Transform: an Introduction to Conflict Work', *Millennium-Journal of International Studies*, 607-609.

Eve, M. (2002) 'Is friendship a Sociological Topic?', *Archives Europeennes de Sociologie*, 43(3), 386-

Eyoh, D. (1998) 'Through the Prism of a Local Tragedy: Political Liberalisation, Regionalism and Elite Struggles for Power in Cameroon', *Africa*, 338-359.

Fairclough, N. (2001) 'Critical Discourse Analysis as a Method in Social Scientific Research' in Wodak, R. and Meyer, M., eds., *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, London: Sage Publications.

Fairclough, N. (2006) *Language and Globalization*, London: Routledge.

Farah, M. I. (1993) *From Ethnic Response to Clan Identity: A Study of State Penetration among the Somali Nomadic Pastoral Society of Northeastern Kenya*, Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International.

Fayolle, A. and Kyrö, P. (2008) *The Dynamics Between Entrepreneurship, Environment and Education, European Research in Entrepreneurship*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Foner, N. (1997) 'The Immigrant Family: Cultural Legacies and Cultural Changes', *International Migration Review*, 961-974.

Foucault, M. (1981) 'The Order of Discourse' in Young, R. J. C., ed. *Untying the Text: A post Structuralist Reader*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Foucault, M. (1990) *The History of Sexuality. Vol. 1, An Introduction,* New York: Random House, Inc.

Foucault, M. (1997) *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth,* New York: New Press.

Fryklund, B. (2008) 'Ett Förändrat Sverige: Migrationen och dess Konsekvenser' in Bennich-Björkman, L. and Blomqvist, P., eds., *Mellan Folkhem och Europa: Svensk Politik i Brytningstid*, Malmö: Liber.

Galtung, J. (2004) *Transcend and Transform: An Introduction to Conflict work*, London: Sterling, Va.: Pluto Press in association with Transcend.

Gilroy, P. (2000) *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture Beyond the Color line*, Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Glaser, B. G. and Strauss, A. (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research,* New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Goffman, E. (1963) *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Goldberg, D. T. (2002) *The Racial State,* Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.

Gordon, D. (2006) 'History on the Luapula retold: Landscape, Memory and Identity in the Kazembe Kingdom', *Journal of African History*, 21-42.

Griffiths, D. J. (2000) 'Fragmentation and Consolidation: The Contrasting Cases of Somali and Kurdish Refugees in London', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 13(3), 281-302.

Grzymala-Kazlowska, A. (2005) 'From Ethnic Cooperation to In-Group Competition: Undocumented Polish Workers in Brussels', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 675-697.

Gunaratnam, Y. (2003) *Researching Race and Ethnicity: Methods, Knowledge and Power*, London: SAGE.

Hall, S. (1992) 'The Question of Cultural Identity' in Hall, S. et al., eds., *Modernity and Its Futures*, Cambridge: The Open University.

Hall, S. (1996) 'Who needs identity?' in Hall, S. and Gay, P. d., eds., *Questions of Cultural Idenity*, London: Sage Publications.

Hall, S. (1997) 'The Work of Representation' in Hall, S., ed. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Hambuba, C. and Kagoiya, R. (2009) *Freedom of Information (FOI) and Women's Rights in Africa: A Collection of Case Studies from Cameroon, Ghana, Kenya, South Africa and Zambia*, Nairobi: FEMNET.

Hatton, T. (1995) 'A Model of Scandinavian Emigration, 1870-1913', European *Economic Review*, 557-564.

Hatton, T. and Williamson, J. (1994) 'What Drove the Mass Migrations From Europe in the Late -19th Century', *Population and Development Review*, 533-559.

Hatton, T. J. and Williamson, J. G. (2002) *What Fundamentals Drive World Migration?, Working paper series/ National Bureau of Economic Research*, Cambridge, Mass.: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Hedberg, C. (2009) 'Intersections of Immigrants Status and Gender in the Swedish Entrepreneurial Landscape', Stockholm: The Stockholm University Linnaeus Center for Integration Studies Working Paper 2009: 8

Helander, B. (1991) 'The Somali Family' in Barcik, K. and Normark, S., eds., *Somalia: A Historical, Cultural and Political Analysis*, Uppsala: Life and Peace Institute.

Henderson, A. (2003) 'What's in a Slur?', *American Speech*, 78, 52-78.

Hirschman, C. (1983) 'American Melting Pot Reconsidered', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 9, 397-423.

Hjerm, M. (2004) 'Immigrant Entrepreneurship in the Swedish Welfare State', T*he Journal of the British Sociological Association*, 739-756.

Holstein, J. A. and Gubrium, J. F. (2003) 'Inside Interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns' in Holstein, J. A. and Gubrium, J. F., eds., *Inside*

Interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns, Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Horsti, K. (2008) 'Europeanisation of Public Debate: Swedish and Finnish News on African Migration to Spain', *Javnost-the Public*, 41-53.

Hébert, Y. et al., (2003) 'Relational Citizenship as Social Networks: Immigrant Youth's Maps of their Friendships', *Encounters on Education*, 4, 83-106.

Jacobsen, C. G. and Brand-Jacobsen, K. F. (2000) 'Our War Culture's Defining Parameters: Their Essence; Their Ramifications; (external; domestic; 'racism'; 'borders'; 'international law')' in Galtung, J. and Jacobsen, C. G., eds., *Searching For Peace: The Road to Transcend*, London, Sterling, Virginia: Pluto Press.

Johnsdotter, S (2002) *Created by God: How Somalis in Swedish Exile Reassess the Practice of Female Circumcision*, Lund: Dept. of Sociology, Univ.

Jua, N. and Konings, P. (2004) 'Occupation of Public Space Anglophone Nationalism in Cameroon', Cahiers D'Études Africaines

Kapteijns, L. and Ali, M. O. (1999) *Women's Voices in a Man's World: Women and the Pastoral Tradition in Northern Somali orature, c. 1899-1980, Studies in African literature,* Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Kelle, U. (2004) 'Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis' in Seale, C., Gobo, G., Gubrium, J. F. and Silverman, D., eds., *Qualitative Research Practice*, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications

Khosravi, S. (2009) 'Sweden: Detention and Deportation of Asylum Seekers', *Race & Class*, 38-56.

Kleist, N. (2004) 'Nomads, Sailors and Refugees: A Century of Somali Migration', Sussex: Sussex Migration Working Paper no. 23

Knocke, W. (2000) 'Integration or Segregation? Immigrant Populations Facing the Labour Market in Sweden', *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 361-380.

Kriesberg, L. and Millar, G. (2009) 'Protagonist Strategies that Help End Violence' in Dayton, B. W. and Kriesberg, L., eds., *Conflict Transformation*

and Peacebuilding: Moving from Violence to Sustainable Peace, London, New York: Routledge.

Krzyzanowski, M. and Wodak, R. (2009) *The Politics of Exclusion: Debating Migration in Austria,* New Brunswick and London: Transaction.

Laclau, E. and Mouffe, C. (1985) *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, London: Verso.

Le Vine, V. T. (1971) *The Cameroon Federal Republic, Africa in the Modern World*, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell U.P.

Lederach, J. P. (1995) *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures,* Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press.

Lemaitre, G. (2007) 'The Integration of Immigrants into the Labour Market: The Case of Sweden',

Lewis, I. M. (1991) 'The Recent Political History of Somalia' in Barcik, K. and Normark, S., eds., *Somalia: A Historical Cultural and Political Analysis*, Uppsala: Life and Peace Institute.

Lewis, J. (2003) 'Design Issues' in Ritchie, J. and Lewis, J., eds., *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*, Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Lindgren, S. (2009) 'Representing Otherness in Youth Crime Discourse: Youth Robberies and Racism in the Swedish Press 1998-2002', C*ritical Discourse Studies,* 6(1), 65-77.

Lindqvist, T. and Gärdqvist, A. (2008) *Utländsk Bakgrund för Studerande i Grundutbildning och Forskarutbildning 2006/07,* Högskoleverket and SCB.

Lofland, J. and Lofland, L. H. (1995) *Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis,* ed., Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth.

Lundberg Lithman, E., (1987) *Immigration and Immigrant policy in Sweden,* Stockholm: Swedish Institute in coop. with the Swedish Ministry of Labour.

Madanipour, A. (1998) 'Social Exclusion and Space' in Madanipour, A., Cars, G. and Allen, J., eds., *Social Exclusion in European Cities: Processes,*

Experiences and Responses, London and Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Madanipour, A. et al. (1998) *Social Exclusion in European Cities: Processes, Experiences, and Responses*, London; Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley.

Malmö Stad, (2006) *Annual Report 2006*, Malmö: Malmö Stad.

Malmö Stad, (2010) *Fakta om Stadsdelen Rosengård*, Malmö: Malmö Stadkontoret.

Martens, P. et al. (2008) *Discrimination in the Criminal Justice Process in Sweden*, Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande Rådet

Mercer, C., Page, B. and Evans, M. (2008) *Development and the African Diaspora: Place and the Politics of Home*, London; New York: Zed Books.

Mercer, C., Page, B. and Evans, M. (2009) 'Unsettling Connections: Transnational Networks, Development and African Home Associations', *Global Networks-a Journal of Transnational Affairs*, 9(2), 141-161.

Miles, R. (1989) *Racism, Key Ideas*, London: Routledge.

Miles, R. (1993) *Racism after "Race Relations"*, London: Routledge.

Moen, P. (1989) *Working Parents: Transformations in Gender Roles and Public Policies in Sweden*, Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, London: Admantine.

Moya, J. (2005) 'Immigrants and Associations: A Global and Historical Perspective', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 833-864.

Neergaard, A. (2009) *Racialisation in the Labour Market: In Search of a Theoretical Understanding*, in Neergaard, A., ed. *European Perspectives on Exclusion and Subordination: The Political Economy of Migration*, Maastricht: Shaker Publishing

Ngai, M. (1999) 'The Architecture of Race in American Immigration law: A Reexamination of the Immigration Act of 1924', *Journal of American History*, 67-92.

Ngeh, J. (2009) 'Challenges and Aspirations of Somali Youth Immigrants in Sweden' in Katsas, G., ed. *Sociology in a Changing World: Challenges and Perspectives*, Athens: ATINER.

Ngeh, J. (Forthcoming) 'Discourses of Exclusion: The Case of Cameroonian Students in Sweden' in Sjölander, A. E. and Payne, J. G., eds., *Tracking Discourses. Politics, Identity, and social change*, Lund: Nordic Academic Press.

Niessen, J. et al. (2007) *Migrant Integration Policy Index*, Brussels: British Council and Migration Policy Group.

Nordin, L. (2000) 'Gender, National Identity and Transboundary Marriages' in Ann Kristin Carlström et al. eds. *Embodying Culture: Perspectives on Transformations of Gender, Health and Sexuality in the Complex Society*, Tumba: The Multicultural Centre, Botkyrka, 53-60.

Nordiska Ministerrådet (2010) *Labour Market Mobility in Nordic welfare states., TemaNord,*, Copenhagen: Nordic Council of Ministers.

Norman, K. (2004) 'Equality and Exclusion: 'Racism' in a Swedish town', Ethnos, 69(2), 204-228.

Equality Now. (1999) *Cameroon, Submission to the United Nations Human Rights Committee, 67th Session, October 1999*.

Nyamnjoh, F. (2010) 'Racism, Ethnicity and the Media in Africa: Reflections Inspired by Studies of Xenophobia in Cameroon and South Africa', *Afrika Spectrum*, 57-93.

Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2005) *Africa's Media, Democracy, and the Politics of Belonging*, London: Zed.

Nyamnjoh, F. and Rowlands, M. (1998) 'Elite Associations and the Politics of Belonging in Cameroon', *AFRICA*, 68(3), 320-337.

Parekh, B. C. (2000) *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Multural Diversity and Political Theory*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Pelican, M. (2006) *Getting Along in the Grassfields: Inter-Ethnic Relations and*
Identity Politics in North-West Cameroon, Halle-Wittenberg: PhD Thesis, Martin-Luther Universität.

Pelican, M. (2008) 'Mbororo Claims to Regional Citizenship and Minority status in North-West Cameroon', Africa, 78(4), 540-560.

Petronoti, M. and Papagaroufali, E. (2006) 'Marrying a 'Foe': Joint Scripts and Rewritten Histories of Greek-Turkish couples', *Identities-Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 557-584.

Pincus, I. (2002) *The Politics of Gender Equality Policy : A Study of Implementation and Non-Implementation in three Swedish Municipalities, Örebro studies in political science,*, Örebro: Univ.

Portes, A. (1995) *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays on Networks, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship,* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Portes, A. and Stepick, A. (1985) 'Unwelcome Immigrants: The Labor Market Experiences of 1980 (Mariel) Cuban and Haitian Refugees in South Florida', *American Sociological Review*, 493-514.

Powell, J. (2005) *Encyclopedia of North American immigration, Facts on File library of American history*, New York: Facts On File.

Pred, A. (2004) *The Past is not Dead: Facts, Fictions, and Enduring Racial Stereotypes,* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Pred, A. R. (2000) *Even in Sweden: Racisms, Racialized Spaces, and the Popular Geographical Imagination,* Berkeley, Calif andLondon: University of California Press.

Puglielli, A. (2001) 'Language and Culture' in Lilius, M. S., ed. *Variations on the Theme of Somaliness,* Turku: Centre for Continuing Education Åbo Akademi University.

Putnam, R. D. (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community,* New York: Simon & Schuster.

Pålsson, E. (2007) 'Malmöbor med Utländsk Bakgrund', Malmö: Malmö Stadkontoret.

Richmond, A. (1988) 'Sociological Theories of International Migration –The Case of Refugges', *Current Sociology-Sociologie Contemporaine*, 7-25.

Ristilammi, P.-M. (1994) *Rosengård och den Svarta Poesin: En Studie av Modern Annorlundahet, Symposion Bibliotek,* Stockholm; Stehag: B. Östlings bokförl. Symposion.

Rose, A. M. (1969) *Migrants in Europe: Problems of Acceptance and Adjustment,* Minneapolis, Minn.

Runblom, H. (1994) 'Swedish Multiculturalism in a Comparative European perspective', *Sociological Forum*, 9(4), 623-640.

Rydgren, J. (2004) 'Mechanisms of Exclusion: Ethnic Discrimination in the Swedish Labour Market', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 697-716.

Ryding Zink, C. and Hammarström, G. (2001) *Where You Come From Decides Where You Are Heading: A Qualitative Study of Well-Educated Immigrants Entering the LaborMarket in Sweden, Working paper series,* Uppsala: Sociologiska institutionen, Uppsala Univ.

Ryen, A. (2004) 'Ethical Issues' in Seale, C., Gobo, G., Gubrium, J. F. and Silverman, D., eds., *Qualitative Research Practice,* London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications

Räthzel, N. (2002) 'Developments in Theories of Racism' in Foundation, T. E., ed. *Europe's New Racism: Causes, Manifestations and Solutions*, Evens Foundation.

Räthzel, N. (2005) 'Hetero-Homogeneity: Some Reflections on Meeting Places in Tensta', *Nordic Journal of Architectural Research*, 18, 17-36.

Räthzel, N. (2006) 'From Individual Heroism to Political Resistance: Young People Challenging Everyday Racism on the Labour Market', *Journal of Education and Work,* 19(3), 219-235.

Räthzel, N. (2007) 'Hetero-Homogeneity: Några Reflexioner Kring Mötesplatser I Tensta' in Nylund, K., ed. *Periferin I Centrum: Gränsöverskridande Praktiker I Stockholms Offentliga Rum*, Göteborg: Daidalos.

Räthzel, N. and Cohen, P. (2008) *Finding the Way Home: Young People's Stories of Gender, Ethnicity, Class, and Places in Hamburg and London,* Gottingen: V&R Unipress.

Salt, J. and Clout, H. D. (1976) *Migration in Post-War Europe: Geographical Essays*, London: Oxford University Press.

Sanders, J. (2002) 'Ethnic Boundaries and Identity in Plural Societies', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 327-357.

Sawyer, L. (2003) *Routings: "Race", African Diasporas and Swedish Belonging*, Östersund: Institutionen för socialt arbete, Mitthögskolan.

Sawyer, L. S. (2000) *Black and Swedish: Racialization and the Cultural Politics of Belonging in Stockholm, Sweden*, Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI.

Schierup, C.-U. (1991) ''The Duty to Work': The Theory and Practice of Swedish Refugee Policy' in Alexandra, Å. and Schierup, C.-U., eds., *Paradoxes of Multiculturalism: Essays on Swedish Society*, Aldershot: Avebury.

Schierup, C.-U. and Ålund, A. (1987) *Will They Still be Dancing? : Integration and Ethnic Transformation among Yugoslav Immigrants in Scandinavia*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Schmauch, U (2006) *Den Osynliga Vardagsrasismens Realitet, Akademiska Avhandlingar vid Sociologiska Institutionen, Umeå universitet*, Umeå: Sociologiska institutionen, Umeå universitet.

Schreuder, Y. (1996) 'Report of the Salzburg Seminar Session, "Involuntary Migration," Held in Salzburg, Austria, July 8-15, 1995', *International Migration Review*, 803-808.

Schwandt, T. A. (2003) 'Three Epistemological Stances for Qualitative Inquiry: Interpretivism, Hermeneutics, and Social Constructionism' in Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. S., eds., *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues*, Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi: SAGE Publications.

Scuzzarello, S. (2008) 'National Security Versus Moral Responsibility: An analysis of Integration Programs in Malmo, Sweden', Social Politics, 15(1), 5-31.

Seale, C. F. (2003) 'Computer-Assisted Analysis of Qualitative Interview Data' in Holstein, J. A. and Gubrium, J. F., eds., *Inside Interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns*, Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Shehim, K. and Searing, J. (1980) 'Djibouti and the Question of Afar Nationalism', *African Affairs*, 209-226.

Sianesi, B. (2002) *Differential Effects of Swedish Active Labour Market Programmes for Unemployed Adults During the 1990s, Working,* Uppsala: Institute for Labour Market Policy Evaluation.

Slavnić, Z. (2009) 'Integration into the Vertical Mosaic: Reflections on the History of Integration Policy, IMER Research and Journalism in Sweden since the 1960s' in Neergaard, A., ed. *European Perspectives on Exclusion and Subordination: The Political Economy of Migration*, Maastricht: Shaker publishing.

Smith, R. (2002) 'Race, Gender, and Authority in the Workplace: Theory and Research', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 509-542.

Smith, T. (1992) 'Changing Racial Labels –From Colored to Negro to Black to African-American', *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 496-514.

SOU (2006:79) 'Integrationens Svarta Bok', *Agenda för Jämlikhet och Social Sammanhållning*,

Stark, D. (1992) 'The Great Transformation? Social Change in Eastern Europe, From System Identity to Organizational Diversity: Analysing Social Change in Eastern Europe, *Contemporary Sociology-a Journal of Reviews*, 299-304.

Statistiska Centralbyrån (2009) *Tabeller över Sveriges Befolkning 2008, Sveriges Officiella Statistik,* Örebro: Statistiska Centralbyrån.

Stoler, A. (1992) 'Sexual Affront and Racial Frontiers –European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial South East Asia', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 514-551.

Stråth, B. (2008) 'Belonging and European identity' in Delanty, G., Wodak, R. and Jones, P., eds., *Identity, Belonging and Migration*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Svedjemo, E. (2002) *In Search of a State -Creating a Nation: The Role of the Diaspora in Somaliland's Pursuit of Recognised Statehood*, Unpublished thesis, University of Sussex.

Sverige, I. (2006) *Pocket Facts: Statistics on Integration,* Norrköping: Integrationsverket.

Sverige Utrikesdepartementet (2001) *Sweden in 2000: A Country of Migration: Past, Present, Future,* Stockholm: Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Sørensen, G. (1992) 'Utopianism in Peace Research: The Gandhian Heritage', *Journal of Peace Research*, 135-144.

Terretta, M. (2005) "God of Independence, god of Peace': Village Politics and Nationalism in the Maquis of Cameroon, 1957-71', Journal of African History, 46(1), 75-101.

Turton, D. (2003) *Conceptualising Forced Migration,* Oxford: Refugee Studies Centre.

Ungerson, C. (1990) *Gender and Caring: Work and Welfare in Britain and Scandinavia,* New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Ures, M. B. (1999) *Utanförskapets Reservarmé": Talet om Rosengård i Svensk Dags- och Kvällstidningspress,* Unpublished thesis, University of Lund.

van Dijk, T. A. (2007) 'Discourse and the Denial of Racism' in Dijk, T. A. V., ed. *Discourse Studies*, Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

van Heelsum, A. (2008) *Case Study on Diversity Policy in Employment and Service Provision Malmö, Sweden.*

van Tubergen, F. (2005) 'Self-Employment of Immigrants: A Cross-National Study of 17 Western Societies', *Social Forces,* 709-732.

Vetenskapsrådet (2002) *Forskningsetiska principer inom humanistisk-samhällsvetenskaplig forskning,* Stockholm: Vetenskapsrådet.

Vubo, E. Y. (2005) 'Matriliny and Patriliny Between Cohabitation-Equilibrium and Modernity in the Cameroon Grassfields', *African Study Monographs,* 26(3), 145-182.

Wacquant, L. (1996) 'The Rise of Advanced Marginality: Notes on its Nature and Implications', *Acta Sociologica*, 121-139.

Wacquant, L. c. J. D. (2008) *Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality*, Cambridge: Polity.

Walls, M. (2009) 'The Emergence of a Somali State: Building Peace from Civil War in Somaliland', *African Affairs*, 371-389.

Westin, C. (2000) 'The Effectiveness of Settlement and Integration Policies Towards Immigrants and their Descendants in Sweden', *International Migration papers 34*,

Westin, C. (2006) 'Sweden: Restrictive Immigration Policy and Multiculturalism', Migration Information Source (MPI)

Whyte, W. F. (1993) *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum*, 4th ed. ed., Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press.

Wise, A. and Velayutham, S. (2008) 'Second-Generation Tamils and Cross-Cultural Marriage: Managing the Translocal Village in a Moment of Cultural Rupture', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 113-131.

Wodak, R. (2008) ''Us' and 'them': Inclusion and Exclusion -Discrimination via Discourse' in Delanty, G., Wodak, R. and Jones, P., eds., *Identity, Belonging and Migration*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Wolde-Mariam, M. (1977a) *Somalia: The Problem Child of Africa*, Addis Ababa: University of Addis Ababa

Wood, W. (1994) 'Forced Migration -Local conflicts and International Dilemmas' *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 607-634.

Yates, S. (2004) *Doing social science research*, Rev. and Expanded ed. ed., London: Sage.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2006) 'Belonging and the Politics of Belonging', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 197-214.

Ålund, A. and Schierup, C.-U. (1991) *Paradoxes of Multiculturalism: Essays on Swedish Society, Research in ethnic relations series*, Aldershot: Avebury.

Bilagor

Andra än artklar och manus

FÖRTECKNING ÖVER LICENTIATUPPSATSER OCH DOKTORS-AVHANDLINGAR VID SOCIOLOGISKA INSTITUTIONEN, UMEÅ UNIVERSITET

Licentiatuppsatser

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

Doctoral Theses at the Department of Sociology

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

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

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

D 34 Schrieber, Trine
Förhåbninger og skuffelser i kvindeerhvervene. Kvinders möde med ny teknologi og organisatorisk Forandring ht -94

D 35 Hansson, Carl-Gösta
Fackliga karriärer. Boréa bokförlag. Umeå vt -96

D 36 Waara, Peter
Ungdom i gränsland. Boréa bokförlag. Umeå vt -96

D 37 Eriksson, Nils
The Psychosocial Work Environment and Illness among Office Workers vt -96

D 38 Augustsson, Gunnar
Etniska relationer i arbetslivet - Teknik, arbetsorganisation & etnisk diskriminering i svensk bilindustri vt -96

D 39 Stern, Peter
Prisoners of the Crystal Palace - Mapping & Understanding the Social and Cognitive Organization of Scientific Research Field ht -96

D 40 Eriksson, Helén & Gunnarsson, Elly
På tröskeln till omvårdnadsvärlden vt -97

D 41 Löwander, Birgitta
Rasism och antirasism på dagordningen - Studier av televisionens nyhetsrapportering i början av 90-talet ht -97

D 42 Melin, Göran
Co-production of Scientific Knowledge - Research Collaboration between Countries, Universities and Individuals ht -97

D 43 Stattin, Mikael
Yrke, yrkesförändring och utslagning från arbetsmarknaden - en studie av relationen mellan förtidspension och arbetsmarknadsförändring vt -98

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

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

D 65 Öhman, Susanna
Public Perceptions of Gene Technology – On the Edge of Risk Society vt -02

D 66 Sundström, Eva
Gender Regimes, Family Policies and Attitudes to Female Employment: A Comparison of Germany, Italy and Sweden vt -03

D 67 Mählck, Paula
Mapping Gender in Academic Workplaces: Ways of Reproducing Gender Inequality within the Discourse of Equality vt -03

D 68 Karlsson, Peder
Forskares socialisation: Kunskapssociologisk visit i doktoranders livsvärldar vt -04

D 69 Gustafson, Åsa
Sköra livsmönster. Om integrations- och normalise-ringsprocesser bland bosniska flyktingar vt -04

D 70 Grönlund, Anne
Flexibilitetens gränser. Förändring och friktion i arbetsliv och familj ht -04

D 71 Hult, Carl
The way we conform to paid Labour: Commitment to Employment and organization in a comparative perspective ht -04

D 72 Westberg, Annika
Becoming an Adult. Living Conditions and Attitudes among Swedish Youth vt -05

D 73 Tigervall, Carina
Folkhemsk film: med "invandraren" i rollen som den sympatiske Andre vt -05

D 74 Almqvist, Anna-Lena
The Care of Children: A Cross-National Comparison of Parents´ Expectations and Experiences vt -05

D 75 Karlsson, Lena
Klasstillhörighetens subjektiva dimension: Klass-identitet, sociala attityder och fritidsvanor vt -05

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

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

D 98 Anna-Britt Coe
How Social Movements Influence Policies: Advocacy, Framing, Emotions and Outcomes among Reproductive Rights Coalitions in Peru vt -10

D 99 Adam Droppe
Konstitueringen av ett vetenskapligt object:
Exemplet det manliga klimakteriet vt -10

D 100 Jonny Bergman
Seeking Empowerment – Asylum-seeking Refugees from Afghanistan in Sweden ht -10

D 101 Jonathan Ngeh
Conflict, Marginalisation and Transformation:
African Migrants in Sweden. vt -11

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A 62 Anna-Britt Coe
How Social Movements Influence Policies: Advocacy, Framing, Emotions and Outcomes among Reproductive Rights Coalitions in Peru vt -10

A 63 Adam Droppe
Konstitueringen av ett vetenskapligt object: Exemplet det manliga klimakteriet vt -10

A 64 Jonny Bergman
Seeking Empowerment – Asylum-seeking Refugees from Afghanistan in Sweden ht -10

A 65 Jonathan Ngeh
Conflict, Marginalisation and Transformation: African Migrants in Sweden. vt -11