

Understanding the Lives of Refugees Living in Exile: A Core
Social Motive Approach

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Preface and acknowledgements

This master thesis aims to investigate how it is to be a refugee living in a Norwegian asylum centre. This study is a part of a larger project focusing on refugees and humiliation managed by Human Dignity and Humiliation studies. The thesis is presented as a monograph. Some deviance from the American Psychological Association (APA) style may occur due to improvement of the layout of the manuscript.

There are several people to whom I would like to express my gratitude. I am deeply grateful to my informants and the employees at the asylum centre where I conducted my research. Thank you for being so helpful and positive, you made this study possible.

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Abstract

The main aim of this study was to investigate how it is to live in a Norwegian asylum centre. Research indicates that asylum seekers have to deal with acculturative stress, psychological stress, social exclusion, humiliation, discrimination and social stigma on a day-to-day basis. A custom-build qualitative research method inspired by grounded theory and to some extent interpretive phenomenological analysis was applied. Six asylum seekers were selected from an asylum centre close to a larger Norwegian city. The interviews focused on fulfillment of core social motives in general and humiliation in particular. The findings suggested that fulfilment of core social motives varied among the asylum seekers. None of the informants, however, had all five core social motives fulfilled. This was suggested to influence coping strategies and reactions to discrimination and humiliation. All the informants experienced being discriminated against and being an asylum seeker as humiliating.

Introduction

“No person wanted to be a refugee; a baby is not born a refugee. He was not a refugee by birth”

Informant M argues against the stereotype of asylum seekers as criminals.

According to the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI) refugees from Somalia, Iraq, Russia, Serbia and Montenegro and Afghanistan constituted the five major nationalities that applied for asylum in Norway in 2005. There has been a decline in number of asylum seekers coming to Norway the last few years. There were 30% fewer asylum applications in 2005 than in 2004. A total of 5 400 asylum applications were registered in 2005, less than 2500 asylum seekers were given Norwegian residency. On arrival in Norway an asylum seeker is offered accommodation in a centre for asylum seekers. On the 28th of February 2006, 8 794 refugees were living in Norwegian asylum centers.

The aim of centre for asylum seekers is to provide the inhabitants basic needs and the individuals need for safety. The residents get their own beds, bathrooms, toilets and common rooms dependent on age and gender. They are also given the opportunity to do laundry and to cook their own food. The asylum centers further offer equipment for spare time activities. In order to secure the inhabitants´ feelings of security they always have access to a phone in case of emergency. They also have the opportunity to contact the police in case they suffer injustice. Until 2003 the inhabitants were offered the opportunity to learn Norwegian. Today few meaningful activities are offered at the asylum centre resulting in boredom and long days.

The aim of this study is to investigate how it is to live in a Norwegian asylum centre. What is it like to be an asylum seeker? How is it to live a life where the most prevailing aspect is uncertainty? In order to try to answer these questions this paper will first look at research focusing on acculturation and mental health among asylum seekers. Literature on underlying core social motives (CSM) and social cognitive processes, such as social exclusion, humiliation, discrimination and stigma, which may threaten the core social motives will further be evaluated. Coping strategies will also be reviewed before introducing the research questions that guided this study.

Acculturation theory

Acculturation theory concerns the changes that occur in both people and groups as a result of interaction between people of different cultures (Smith & Bond, 1998). The concept of acculturation originated in Anthropology, but has recently been developed in cross-cultural psychology (Colic-Peisker & Walker, 2003). Acculturation research has focused on immigrants, sojourners, refugees and ethno-cultural groups (Berry & Sam, 1997).

Psychological acculturation refers to the results of intercultural encounters at the individual level. Psychological adaptation, on the other hand, refers to the personal long-term outcomes of these processes (Castro, 2003). Positive psychological adaptation is associated with a clear sense of personal and cultural identity, good mental health, and high self-esteem. Negative adaptation, on the other hand, is reflected in anxiety, depression, psychomatic symptoms and identity confusion (Berry & Sam, 1997).

Numerous psychological variables can play a role in how an asylum seeker experiences acculturation. These may include prior knowledge of language and culture, prior intercultural encounters, motives for the contact, positive or negative attitudes toward acculturation, positive or negative contact experiences with the larger society, sense of cognitive control, one's level of education and values and self-esteem (Williams & Berry, 1991).

An asylum seeker faces many challenges, such as new language, different customs, norms, laws and life style changes, in contact with a new host society (Organista, Organista & Kuraski, 2003). We also have to keep in mind that some groups are more accepted than others depending on ethnicity, race or religion. Even in societies that are generally tolerant of differences, there are still degrees of social acceptability of various ethnic groups. The less accepted groups are more likely to meet barriers such as prejudice, discrimination and exclusion (Williams & Berry, 1991).

Mental health among asylum seekers

Asylum seekers are survivors by definition. They are individuals who wish for a new and better life, a chance for a tabula rasa where problems and conflicts are in the past. Traumatic events often become taboo and consequently grieving of losses are arrested (Nieves-Grafals, 2001). Mental health is more than just the absence of illness or dysfunction; it is also the presence of well-being. Data on the experience of exile are sparse, thus the relationship between mental health and exile-related variables are still poorly understood (Miller et al., 2002). A Norwegian study conducted on psychiatric outpatients at a

psychosocial centre for refugees found significantly higher levels of emotional stress, compared to the normal population. The mean scores were far greater than the 1.75, which is the normal cut-off point for significant emotional stress (as measured with the HSCL-25 using a scale with scores that ranges from 1 (low) to 4 (high)). It has to be kept in mind that this was a sample of help-seeking participants. The scores, however, varied within the sample. Mean scores for housewives, widows and refugees without settled refugee status were all higher than 3.00. This indicated a high level of symptom suffering. The results further indicated that the exile factors “refugee status not settled” and “employment in Norway” increased symptoms on emotional withdrawal/retardation and anxiety/depression (Lavik, Laake, Hauff & Solberg, 1999). Nicholson (1997) investigated the influence of pre-emigration and post-emigration stressors on mental health among refugees from Southeast Asia. The results indicated that 40% suffered from depression, 35% from anxiety and 14% from posttraumatic stress disorder. One pre-emigration factor; experienced trauma, and two post-emigration factors; degree of stress created by acculturative tasks and perceived health, had a direct effect on mental health outcomes. A recent study has suggested that high levels of acculturative stress can lead to body dissatisfaction and bulimia among minority women (Perez, Voelz, Pettit, Joiner jr., 2001).

Posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is widespread among asylum seekers who have been exposed to violence and torture. Although many asylum seekers are able to overcome traumatic experiences some struggle with symptoms of PTSD. The symptoms can be nightmares, flashbacks, emotional detachment and difficulty trusting other people. Irritation, sleeping problems and hyper vigilance may erupt into violence. A side effect can be a tendency to “medicate” themselves with alcohol and substance abuse. (Nieves-Grafals, 2001). A study conducted on adult Tamils living in Toronto indicated that among those who had experienced trauma, 36,2 % qualified for a diagnosis of PTSD. One third of the informants reported experiencing traumatic events, such as witnessing combat, physical assault or rape. The PTSD prevalence of 12 % in this group, which is much higher than the 1% found in the general population (Beiser, Simich & Pandalangat, 2003). It has further been suggested that social isolation is significantly related to PTSD symptomatology. This is likely to be due to the fact that socially isolated individuals are likely to have a low level of supportive interactions and experience minimal distraction from intrusive and recurrent trauma-related images and emotions (Miller et al., 2002).

As research indicates asylum seekers often experience high levels of emotional stress. There have been several assumptions made about the harmful effects from interviewing

individuals in crisis. Will the research make it worse because the individual has to revive distressing memories and thoughts? Are researchers exploiting individuals in a vulnerable position? (Dyregrov, Dyregrov & Raundalen, 2000). Dyregrov et al. (2000) re-interviewed 30 refugee family members in order to investigate the “effect” of having participated in research. The results suggested that the participation was rated as positive. It was further suggested that when carried out sensitively and appropriately studies on traumatised populations could have beneficial effects.

A problem with cross-cultural research on mental health is that most measures are based on European-American norms, and thus often ignore unique cultural and religious belief systems (Castro, 2003). There is a chance that this might have influenced the results the research reviewed in this section.

A Core Social Motives (CSM) approach

Baumeister and Leary (1995) argue that the need to belong is a fundamental human motivation. Motives are the reasons people have for initiating and performing voluntary behaviour (Reiss, 2004). Fiske (2004) defines motives as the motor for behaviour. Motives result from the interaction of a person and a situation where the motives determine the psychological situation for that person. This argument is consistent with the social psychological view on situationism claiming that what matters is a person’s own interpretation of the situation (Fiske, 2004). It is likely that asylum seekers are in a situation where core social motives may be threatened.

The belongingness hypothesis claims that human beings have a drive to form and maintain lasting, positive and significant interpersonal relationships. This notion has been supported by an extensive review of research on social bonds, cognition, emotion, deprivation and innateness (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Staub (1999) claims that human beings need to have their basic psychological needs fulfilled in order to lead satisfying lives. Fiske (2004) presents five core social motives that describe fundamental underlying processes that impel people’s feelings, thinking and behavior in social situations. The five motives are all oriented toward making people fit better into groups and thus increase their chance for survival. The social core motives are: belonging, understanding, controlling, enhancing self and trusting.

Many personality and social psychologists have developed ideas about basic motives. This is illustrated in the section on social exclusion where Williams and Govan (2005) argues that social exclusion threatens the four fundamental beliefs: belonging, self-esteem, control, and meaningful existence. According to Fiske (2004), however, the five core social motives:

belonging, understanding, controlling, enhancing self and trusting others, have come up repeatedly. This paper chose to apply the core social motives approach as a framework due to the fact that it constitutes the belonging hypothesis as well as cognitive and affective aspects of group membership. Fiske (2004) offers a unifying framework for understanding the field of social psychology by presenting a small number of core social motives that enhance people's survival in groups.

Fiske (2004) argues that the motive to belong forms the core motive that underlies the other four core social motives. Belonging to a group helps an individual to survive both psychologically and physically. Understanding and controlling are cognitive in nature and concern thinking processes, one (understanding) is more reflective and the other (controlling) is more active in the world. The most fundamental cognitive motivation is to understand. People need to understand their environment, be able to predict what will happen in case of uncertainties and make sense of what actually is happening. The motive of control encourages people to feel effective and competent at dealing with themselves and their social environment. The last two motives, self-enhancing and trusting, are more affective in nature; one (self-enhancing) is more self-directed while the other (trusting) is more other-directed (Fiske, 2004). Self-enhancement involves either maintaining self-esteem or being motivated by the possibility of self-improvement. Self-enhancement makes people feel good, and people like to feel that they are good and lovable. Trusting involves seeing the social world as a benevolent place. To trust others facilitate important human behaviour and daily life, people are quite ineffective socially if they always expect the worst from other people.

CSM and asylum seekers

Asylum seekers have to justify their presence, while living under the ever-present threat of being repatriated (Sourander, 2003). They are living in legal limbo (Luebben, 2003) and have a life dominated by social, cultural, economic, familial and psychological transitions (Weine 2001a, cited in Weine et al., 2006). Little research has been conducted on refugees living in exile in Norway. International research, however, have suggested that asylum seekers through forced immigration lose aspects of their identities that were imbedded in jobs, skills, language and culture (Colic-Peisker & Walker, 2003). A study conducted on Bosnian refugees in Chicago aimed at investigating the primary sources of exile related stress. The results indicated a lack of social support in their present life. Social isolation, loss of family, friends and social network limit their opportunities for supportive contact with others who share their culture and experiences of war (Miller, Muzurovic, Worthington, Tipping &

Goldman, 2002). Lacking a sense of belonging may result in feeling socially isolated. Lack of control may further contribute to limited opportunities for supportive contact with others.

A second primary source of exile related stress was loss of life-projects such as a home and business, which they lost because they most likely had to flee in haste. This problem was greater for older refugees, as younger refugees might not have developed any life projects yet. A third identified source was lack of environmental mastery. Life in exile often involves learning a new language, becoming familiar with new culture, values and practices (Miller et al., 2002). Both lack of understanding and control is likely to contribute to feelings of lack of environmental mastery.

Going into exile also meant leaving behind valued social roles, loss of meaningful structure and activity in everyday life. Older refugees might lose ability to work because of the new language and stress related to war experiences and of life in exile (Miller et al., 2002). Unfulfilled motive of self-enhancement is likely to result in feelings of loss of meaningful structure and activity in everyday life. It may also result in greater likelihood of mental health problems. A recent Norwegian study that investigated whether removing the opportunity to learn Norwegian in 2003 had any effect on mental health among asylum seekers living in Norwegian asylum centres. The results indicated an increase in mental health problems among asylum seekers after the removal of the opportunity to learn Norwegian (Berg et al., 2005).

The last identified factor of exile related stress was stress due to lack of sufficient income and adequate housing, many described living on poverty level income (Miller et al., 2002). Sourander (2003) further suggest that the foremost distress among asylum seekers is fear of deportation and separation from family members. Lack of trust and be able to see the world as a benevolent place is likely to result in fear of deportation and separation from family members.

To sum up, past research might indicate that living in an asylum centre is a situation where a person's core social motives are not fulfilled. Lacking a sense of belonging may result in feeling socially isolated. Lack of understanding and control is likely to contribute to feelings of lack of environmental mastery. Lack of control may further contribute to limited opportunities for supportive contact with others. Having an unfulfilled motive of self-enhancement is likely to result in feelings of loss of meaningful structure and activity in everyday life. Lack of trust and be able to perceive the world as a benevolent place is furthermore likely to result in fear of deportation and separation from family members.

How do individuals react when their core social motives are not fulfilled or threatened? The next sections of this paper will look at the social cognitive processes; social exclusion, humiliation, discrimination and social stigma, which are likely to threaten core social motives. Research on these processes will be evaluated in order to investigate how a CSM approach may be able to explain observed reactions to these processes.

Social Exclusion

Being socially excluded is a situation where individuals may experience that their core social motives are threatened. Social exclusion is often called social death and can be a metaphor for what life would be like if the target did not exist. Thus, social exclusion can be a reminder of the fragility of his or her life (Williams & Govan, 2005). While living in an asylum centre waiting for their asylum application to be processed asylum seekers are excluded as a group from the rest of the society. William and Govan (2005) proposed that social exclusion threatens the needs of belonging, self-esteem, control and meaningful existence. The need of belonging is threatened because social exclusion is an active denial of being connected with the target. A target's self-esteem might be threatened due to the fact that social exclusion is associated with punishment and implicit negative feedback. Verbal accusations and punches can provide the target with a sense of influence over the situation. A sense of control is lost when the target is unable to elicit any reactions from the source.

Most adults will experience being the targets and sources of social exclusion at some point in their lives (Williams, Cheung & Choi, 2000). It is likely, however, that asylum seekers are more likely to experience social exclusion than the general Norwegian. This is based on the fact that asylum seekers live in Norway, but they are not Norwegians. Reactions to social exclusion or rejection are often negative and include negative mood, hurt feelings and feelings of isolation (Williams & Govan, 2005). It has further been suggested that socially rejected individuals show cognitive deconstruction; a mental state designed to ward off negative consequences of rejection (Twenge, Catanese & Baumeister, 2003). Twenge et al. (2003) aimed at investigating the intra psychic consequences of social exclusion. The informants first participated in a group engaging in structured conversation in order to get to know each other. After this, the informants were asked to name two people with whom they would like to work in pairs. Half of the informants were told that no one had showed an interest in working with them, the other half heard that everyone chose them. The informants then had to judge the time of two time intervals, complete a mood measure and a future time orientation scale. Their results suggested that socially excluded individuals have distorted

time perception, less orientation towards the future and flattened affect. A lack of belonging may be able to explain these reactions.

In another study informants were given feedback about their likely future on the basis of a personality test (Twenge, Baumeister, Tice & Stucke, 2001). Some were told they were likely to end up alone whereas others were told their future would involve a rich network of personal relationships. The informants were furthermore given either praise or criticism of an essay they had written. Aggression was measured by giving the informants the opportunity to damage the person, who had either praised or criticised, chance of getting a job. The results suggested that the participants who received the future alone manipulation were the most aggressive and delivered the most negative rating of the candidate (Twenge et al. 2001). This study can be related to asylum seekers whose lives are dominated by insecurity and uncertainty about the future. It may be that aggression is a reaction to not having fulfilled the core social motives of control and understanding.

The notion that social exclusion can result in aggression has been supported by a recent study suggesting that rejection elicit anger, sadness, hurt feelings and a tendency to aggress toward the rejecter (Buckley, Winkel & Leary, 2004). It has further been argued that social hunger caused by unfulfilled belongingness needs resulted in selective memory for socially relevant stimuli (Gardner, Pickett and Brewer, 2000). The researchers used a simulated chat room to present brief acceptance or rejection experiences to the informants. The informants then had to read a diary containing both social and individual events. The results indicated that the rejected informants had a selective memory for the social events presented in the diary. The authors argued that this greater processing of socially relevant information among the rejected individuals occurs in order to fulfil the need for belongingness. This study indicates how the thoughts and actions of human beings are driven by motives.

Social pain may be experienced as physical pain. Indeed, recent research by MacDonald and Leary (2005) suggested that social pain can be experienced the same way as physical pain and supports the notion that a person's social and physical world is deeply entangled. The authors reviewed research from a range of psychological disciplines and concluded that physical and social pain operates via the same mechanisms. Both function to guide social animals away from threats and towards helpful others. They also share common psychological correlates and physiological pathways.

In brief, social exclusion and rejection appears to threaten core social motives of belonging, control and understanding. Reactions to these unfulfilled motives may include

negative mood, hurt feelings, feelings of isolation and loss of self-esteem belonging (Williams & Govan, 2005), distorted time perception, less orientation towards the future and flattened affect (Twenge et al., 2003), anger, sadness and a tendency to aggress toward the rejecter (Buckley, Winkel & Leary, 2004). It has also been suggested that lack of belonging may result in a greater processing of social information in order to fulfil the need to belong (Gardner et al., 2000).

These studies were not conducted on asylum seekers but illustrate how people may react when their social core motives are threatened. It has to be kept in mind that asylum seekers are in general excluded as a group not as individuals. They are likely to have friends who are in a similar position. They are being rejected and neglected by the larger society as a group.

Humiliation

A phenomenological study conducted on seven adult female Bosnian refugees living in the United States noted that feelings of culture shock, loneliness, psychic numbness, grief, humiliation, inferiority and no sense of belonging were implicit in their experiences (Keyes & Kane, 2004). Case studies conducted on Bosnian refugees residing in Australia have further suggested exposure to trauma cause complex psychological reactions of anger, humiliation and helplessness (Momartin, Silove, Manicavasagar & Steel, 2002). It is likely that humiliation threatens core social motives and that lack of core social motives may lead to feeling humiliated.

So, what exactly is humiliation? The word humiliation has its roots in the Latin word *humus*, or soil and entails a downward orientation (Lindner 2002). Scheff (1994) argue that humiliation is one of the most direct ways to refer to the emotion of shame. This has been the traditional way to study humiliation (Lindner, 2002). Being humiliated is often associated with envy and anger, since these attitudes are concerned with some undeserved hurt being done to us: in envy it is undeserved inferiority and in anger, undeserved offence. Sometimes humiliation is associated with the belief that an inferior situation is deserved; in this case humiliation may generate shame (Ben-Ze'ev, 2000).

Lindner (in press) claims that humiliation is a forceful and complex phenomenon consisting of acts and feelings that can come about without shame being involved. She calls humiliation the “nuclear bomb of emotions” and claims that feelings of humiliation can control individuals’ life to the extent that their actions can damage themselves and others. Lindner (2000) defines humiliation as:

“Enforced lowering of a person or group, a process of subjugation that damages or strips away their pride, honor or dignity. To be humiliated is to be placed, against your will and often in a deeply hurtful way, in a situation that is greatly inferior to what you feel you should expect. Humiliation entails demeaning treatment that transgresses established expectations... Indeed, one of the defining characteristics of humiliation as a process is that the victim is forced into passivity, acted upon, made helpless”. (p. 6).

After reviewing various definitions of humiliation Goldman and Coleman (unpublished) provided an integrated definition of humiliation:

“Humiliation is an emotion, triggered by public events, which evokes a sense of inferiority resulting from the realization that one is being, or has been, treated in a way that departs from the normal expectations for fair and equal human treatment. The experience of humiliation has the potential to serve as a formative, guiding force in a person’s life and can significantly impact one’s individual and/or collective identity. Finally, the experience of humiliation can motivate behavioral responses that may serve to extend or re-define previously existing moral boundaries, leading individuals to perceive otherwise socially impermissible behavior to be permissible.” (p. 10-11)

Lindner (2002) further claims that humiliation connects many aspects of the human condition: it is inscribed within a societal process (and implies the existence of oppressive hierarchy); it is a process between people including a “humiliator” and a “victim” (and implies an interpersonal act); and, not least, it is an emotional state (and implies the occurrence of an experience and feeling).

This study aimed to investigate feelings of humiliation among asylum seekers; do they feel humiliated? The study also wanted to investigate how a CSM approach can explain reactions to humiliation. Research conducted on asylum seekers in exile suggest that refugees are placed in a situation greatly inferior to what they should expect. They are put in a situation where they are made passive and helpless and are being treated in a way that is likely to depart from their expectations for fair and equal human treatment. The discussion section of this paper will include a definition of humiliation based on prior research and findings from this study.

Stereotypes

Stereotypes are seen as a cognitive component of category-based reactions, reactions to people from groups who are perceived to be different from one’s own, whereas discrimination is seen as the behavioural component (Fiske, 1998). A person who is being

discriminated against can be seen as a “victim” while the person who has got the stereotype and acts discriminating are the “humiliator”. Most research on stereotypes and discrimination has been conducted on immigrants and ethnic groups. It is likely that dark skinned asylum seekers in Norway experience being discriminated against. Thus, the next section of this paper will take a close look at research conducted on stereotypes and discrimination in order to investigate how stereotypes can influence both the “humiliator”; the Norwegian majority, and the “victim”; asylum seekers. A CSM approach will be applied in order to explain reactions to discrimination.

The Norwegian media frequently write about crime conducted by dark skinned males. In America there is a well-known stereotype of African Americans as violent. In general, stereotypes can be useful for clarifying a confusing social situation. A quick classification of a unique individual into a broad social category can lead a person to assume that traits normally associated with this category also apply to this individual (Correll, Park, Judd, Wittenbrink, 2002). The automatic association between Black Americans as violent and criminal has been suggested to be a consequence of shared cultural understandings and social patterns (Eberhardt, Goff, Purdie & Davies, 2004). This stereotype has been the focus for a lot of research.

Eberhardt and colleagues (2004) argue that Black faces and bodies trigger thoughts of crime. They further claim that just thinking of crime can trigger thoughts of black people. The first study in their investigation of this bidirectional association suggested that the exposure of black faces facilitated the detection of crime-relevant objects such as a gun or a knife. The bidirectional association was further supported by their second study where they found that the association between Blacks and crime produced an attentional bias toward Black faces. The participants were faster at directing their attention to the location of a black face when the concept of crime was activated than when it was not. This study also used police officers as participants; the findings indicated the same attentional bias. In the last experiment the police officers were presented with Black and White male faces and asked, “who looks criminal?” The results suggested that black faces were perceived as more criminal to police officers; the darker skin, the more criminal. There is a possibility, however, that the results indicate a natural response due to the high proportion of Blacks convicted of crime in America. A limitation with this study was that it did not investigate the effect of showing a White face. Payne, Lambert and Jacoby (2002) applied both Black and White faces as primes in a similar procedure investigating misidentification of objects. Black faces caused lures, such as a tool, to be identified as a weapon, whereas White faces caused weapons to be misidentified as a

non-threatening object. These results suggest that if Norwegians have a stereotype of asylum seekers as criminals this may automatically guide their behaviour towards them. Norwegians may act more suspicious and critical towards asylum seekers than towards other Norwegians. Findings have further suggested that observing an African American's negative action activates corresponding stereotypes among White Americans (Henderson-King & Nisbett, 1996). This study also indicated that watching an African American perform a negative action was likely to result in the desire to avoid contact with African Americans and evoke feelings of in-group favourism among White Americans.

It has further been suggested a shooter bias; people are more likely to shoot a target when it is African American and less likely to shoot when the target is a White American (Correll et al., 2002). Correll et al. (2002) examined the effect of a target's ethnicity on an informant's decision to "shoot" the target. They attempted to recreate the experience of a police officer that is confronted with a possibly dangerous situation and has to make a decision to shoot or not. Both African Americans and White Americans were presented in a video game holding either a gun or a non-threatening object. The informants were both White and African Americans. It has to be kept in mind that this experiment did not test police officers and it is not clear whether this shooter bias exists among police officers. There is a possibility that police training may reduce shooter bias (Correll et al., 2002). This study illustrates how seriously and profoundly a stereotype may guide an individual's behaviour.

An investigation of the police tactic of "stop and search" in England and Wales based on data from the British crime survey in 1996 suggested that African Caribbeans' were more likely than Whites to be stopped and to experience multiple stops and be searched (Miller, Bland & Quinton, 2001). Asians were likely to be stopped at the same rate as Whites, but more likely to be searched. This kind of discrimination towards ethnic groups has also been noted in the Netherlands. A review conducted on crime among ethnic minorities came up with two conclusions; 1. Foreign suspects are more likely to be remained in custody than Dutch suspects and 2. Criminal charges are more likely to be dismissed against Dutch suspects than against minority suspects (Junger-Tas, 1997).

The reviewed investigations illustrate how an individual's cognition influences his or her behaviour. This indicates that Norwegians may discriminate asylum seekers because of their dark skin without being aware of it. Their stereotypes may automatically guide their behaviour towards asylum seekers. The next section will look at how stereotypes can influence a minority group, such as asylum seekers, and its members.

Discrimination based on ethnic group membership cause problems and conflicts for ethnic minority groups around the world. Several studies have reported discrimination towards minority groups. A study on 684 African American families suggested that perceptions of race-based discrimination are quite common, very few of the participants indicated that they had never experienced discrimination (Gibbons, Gerrard, Cleveland, Wills & Brody, 2004). An investigation of the relationship between perceived racism and externalising and internalising behavioural problems among African American boys suggested that discrimination lead to behavioural problems, lower self-concept and higher levels of hopelessness (Nyborg & Curry, 2003). Discrimination threatens the core social motives. An individual or a group is negatively judged based on their appearance. They are placed in an inferior situation they cannot control. Discrimination is likely to threaten core social motives, especially control and belonging. Reactions to not having fulfilled core social motives may be behavioural problems, low self-concept and high levels of hopelessness.

Perceived discrimination has also been suggested to increase psychological stress and a lack of trust in the government (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lathi, 2000). The researchers aimed to compare personal experience of discrimination and possible outcomes among the seven largest immigrant groups in Finland. They also investigated how personal experiences of discrimination were related to trust in authorities and psychological well-being. They found that the more experienced discrimination, the less trust in the Finnish authorities and increased level of psychological stress. This indicates that an unfulfilled CSM motive of trust may result in psychological stress and less trust in authorities.

Public regard is an important part in the way members identify with their own ethnic group. Public regard has been defined as the extent to which individuals feel that others view their ethnic group positively or negatively (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley & Chavous, 1998). Social stigma results from having an attribute that is associated with a negatively valued social identity (Crocker, Major & Steele, 1998). Crocker et al. (1998) argue: *” A person who is stigmatized is a person whose social identity, or membership in some social category, calls into question his or her full humanity- the person is devaluated, spoiled or flawed in the eyes of others ”* (p.504).

The reality that shapes and defines the experience of stigma is the ever-present possibility that one will be the target of prejudice and discrimination. A stigmatised group is likely to be aware of the specific stereotype that other hold of their social group. Knowing that others devalue one's identity raises the possibility to think that they might be right. This

may influence one's sense of self-worth (Crocker et al. 1998). A recent study investigated whether a stigmatised individual's need to belong influenced perception of personal and group discrimination (Carvallo & Pelham, 2006). Carvallo and Pelham (2006) argue that acknowledging discrimination is a threat to an individual's need to belong. Consequently, members of a stigmatised group should strive to convince themselves that they rarely experience the kind of discrimination frequently experienced by their fellow in-group members. This was supported by their findings, which indicated that individuals who scored higher than average in the need to belong reported experiencing lower than average levels of personal discrimination and higher than average levels of group discrimination. This might suggest that the need to belong may motivate individuals to avoid reporting instances of personal discrimination.

It is likely that asylum seekers in Norway experience both discrimination and socially stigmatisation. Both social cognitive processes are likely to threaten core social motives and result in certain reactions.

The studies that have been evaluated in this section have all relied on quantitative research methods. Durrheim & Dixon (2004) criticise this traditional approach to research focusing on race attitudes. They argue that there are several problems with using a quantitative method since these methods require the researcher to define, beforehand, the objects whose positive or negative evaluation suggests racism. This can be a problem because the researcher's understanding of the attitude object can be different from that of the participant. They further argue that there is not a way of telling which expressions that is truly racist. Durrheim & Dixon (2004) suggest a qualitative approach to studying attitudes. They further argue that this method allows studying the nature, function and social organisation of practices of evaluation, attitudinal variations and contradictions. This criticism has to be taken into evaluation when considering the reliability of research on race attitudes.

The next section will look at how individuals may deal with stressful situations where their core social motives are threatened. This is based on the assumption that being an asylum seeker and living in an asylum centre is perceived as a stressful situation.

Coping mechanisms

Research has suggested that engaging in appropriate coping strategies can improve mental and physical health (Mantler, Matejcek, Matheson & Anisman, 2005). A recent study that investigated how employed and unemployed face uncertainty regarding future employment suggested that both employed and unemployed obtained benefits from engaging in proactive coping strategies. Lower stress was associated with engaging in more proactive strategies; problem solving, seeking social support, cognitive restructuring, active distraction and humor, and fewer emotionally expressive strategies; rumination, emotional expression, self- and other-blame. When emotional avoidance coping strategies; cognitive distraction, passive resignation and emotional restriction, predominated individuals reported high levels of stress independent of how secure or insecure they felt about their employment prospects. A limitation with this study was that it was only conducted on workers from a single industry. The researchers recruited participants via the Internet or media advertising and it is likely that individuals that were highly stressed or depressed would not respond (Mantler et al., 2005).

Most of the coping literature has been conducted on white American college students and based on Western culture. Thus, a group of researchers recently conducted a study assessing how college students in Taiwan cope with stressful and traumatic events (Heppner et al., 2006). Their aim was to develop and test a coping inventory based on collectivistic Asian values and philosophies. Before collecting the data the researchers analyzed literature, conducted a survey and held a focus group with Asian American participants. This resulted in the identification of a number of Asian values. The values were; ability to resolve psychological problems, avoidance of family shame, collectivism, conformity to family norms, respect of authority figures, educational and occupational achievement, strong respect for the elderly, importance of family, maintenance of interpersonal harmony, placing other's needs ahead of one's own, reciprocity, self-control and self-effacement. They further collected data from 3 000 Taiwanese college students. The results suggested a stable 5-factor collectivistic coping style (CCS) inventory indicating the existence of collectivistic coping factors. The five factors were: a) Acceptance, reframing and striving, b) family support, c) religion-spirituality, d) avoidance and detachment, and e) private emotional outlets. The items are different from constellations of items typically found on coping inventories in Western countries. The findings further suggested that high ratings on acceptance, reframing and striving and family support were associated with overall problem resolution and positive coping outcomes. High ratings on avoidance and detachment, private emotional outlets and to some extent religion-spirituality, on the other hand, were related to higher posttraumatic

scores and higher score on psychological distress in general. It is unclear, however, whether results from Taiwanese college students can be generalized to adults in Taiwan and other Asian countries (Heppner et al., 2006). Clearly, more research needs to be done in this area.

It has to be kept in mind that both Asian Americans and Taiwanese college student are in a very different situation than refugees applying for asylum. This study might, however, give an indication of collectivistic values and how individuals from a collectivistic culture cope with stressful and traumatic life events.

Research overview

The main aim of this study was to investigate how it is to live in a Norwegian asylum centre. A qualitative research method was applied in order to explore how it is to live in exile in its natural context. Research indicates that asylum seekers have to deal with acculturative stress, psychological stress, social exclusion, humiliation, discrimination and social stigma on a day-to-day basis. One of the aims of this study was to investigate how a core social motive approach can contribute to explain the observed reaction to being an asylum seeker. This project also wanted to take a closer look at feelings of humiliation among asylum seekers. Do they feel humiliated? How do they describe being humiliated? And can this be explained by a CSM approach? Little research has been conducted on the area of refugees and humiliation. As far as the author knows, no such research has ever been carried out in Norway. Thus, this is an area that is in desperate need of research.

Method

Refugees have traditionally been studied using a quantitative approach developed by Western psychiatry. It has to be kept in mind, however, that the majority of the world's refugees come from non-western countries. Pernice (1994) argues that cross-cultural studies with immigrants have a large number of pitfalls. She questions whether research techniques developed in the United States and Western Europe can be used with equal success with immigrant groups. Six areas of difficulty are defined: 1) contextual differences between for example, a war torn country and a society at peace. A refugee, for example, may never have experienced a non-threatening interview before. 2) Conceptual problems with translations of questionnaires and other instruments. It is thus, important to use an instrument that has been developed for a particular culture and that has been cross validated. 3) Sampling difficulties due to a high rate of mobility among immigrants and their unfamiliarity with social science research. 4) Linguistic problems, the differences inherent in two languages can carry unintended consequences. Thus, the selection of an interpreter is very important, the interpreter should know the customs and have respect for the ethnic community. An interpreter should not know the community too well, however, since this can hinder the anonymity of the data collection. 5) Observation of etiquette, it is important to follow the particular etiquette of the ethnic community in order to get participants for a project. 6) Personality characteristics of the researcher, the researcher should be open-minded, have accurate perceptions of their social context and the social context of the immigrant group, communicate effectively and be aware of own stereotypes (Pernice, 1994). Hence, relying on language and constructs of Western psychiatry may obscure non-western variations and experiences. A qualitative approach may facilitate the examination of refugees' experience of life prior to exile, and how this continues to affect their perceptions and reactions to current life circumstances. This approach will give the refugees an opportunity to express how they perceive, experience and negotiate their life situations (Miller, Muzurovic, Worthington, Tipping, & Goldman, 2002).

Quantitative research involves reducing phenomena to numerical values in order to perform statistical analysis. Qualitative research, on the other hand, involves collecting data in the form of verbal reports, such as interview transcripts, and the analysis conducted is textual (Smith, 2003). In short, qualitative research involves systematic collection, organization and interpretation of textual material obtained from talk or observation (Malterud, 2001).

The qualitative research interview

The research interview is a professional conversation based on conversations of daily life. The interview progress as a normal conversation, but is characterised by a systematic form of questioning (Kvale, 1996). Kvale (1996) emphasises the interdependence of human interaction and knowledge production and defines the semi structured life world interview as “*an interview whose purpose is to obtain descriptions of the life world of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena*” (Kvale, 1996, p. 5-6). Kvale (1996) further uses the metaphor of a traveller when he refers to the conversational approach to social research. The traveller seeks a tale to be told when he returns home. The traveller roams freely around exploring many domains of the country, either as unknown territory or with a map. He may also seek specific sites or topics by following a method. He wanders around asking the local inhabitants questions leading them to tell stories of their lived world. What the traveller observes is described qualitatively and the stories are reconstructed as stories that can be told to the people of his own country. The potential meanings in the original stories are defined and unfolded through the traveller’s interpretations (Kvale, 1996). By applying the qualitative research interview I aimed at exploring the social world of an asylum seeker living in a Norwegian asylum centre. I tried to understand their world by spending time in their social environment and listen to their stories.

The choice of method

The method applied in this paper was inspired by two qualitative research approaches: Grounded theory (GT) and Interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA). GT emerged from the field of sociology in the 1960s. In the initial statement in 1967 Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss challenged the assumption that qualitative research were unsystematic and could not generate theory. Grounding concepts in data is the main feature of GT (Strauss & Corbin, 1994). This approach can either be used to develop new theories or to elaborate and modify existing theories (Weine et al., 2006). GT includes both positivistic and interpretive components (Charmaz, 2003). The central idea within positivism is that only events that can be observed or tested have claim to truth (Ashworth, 2003). A GT researcher starts out with a certain research interest and a set of general concepts. Then specific concepts are developed through stages of analysis and studying the data. The analysis process start early in the data collection and the emerging analysis shapes the data collection (Charmaz, 2003). This investigation applied a semi structured qualitative interview technique. This kind of

interviewing allows the researcher and informant to engage in a dialogue where the questions can be modified in the light of the informant's responses and the researcher is able to probe interesting areas that arise (Smith & Osborn, 2003). This study was inspired by GT by starting out with a specific research interest and aiming to ground a set of concepts. The data analysis, however, did not shape the data collection and was not conducted until after the data collection was finished. Thus, this study was inspired by GT, but did not follow the traditional way of doing GT research.

Interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) is a phenomenological approach concerned with exploring how a person is making sense of their personal and social world. IPA involves a detailed examination of a person's life world; the method tries to investigate personal experience and perception. IPA studies are performed on small sample sizes. This is due to the fact that the aim is to say something in detail about one group rather than make more general claims. IPA researchers do purposive sampling to find a closely defined group for whom the research question will be important. The logic is that when for example interviewing six informants it is not helpful to think in terms of representative sampling. A semi-structured interview has been considered the best way to collect data for IPA (Smith & Osborn, 2003). Smith and Osborn (2003) emphasise the fact that a sample will in part be defined by who is prepared to be included in it. As will be seen in the next section of this paper, this fact was illustrated in the current study. IPA can be characterised as being exploring and applies open questions when collecting data (Smith & Osborn, 2003). IPA inspired the qualitative method applied in this paper. This study aimed at a detailed examination of a person's life world and the interviews were conducted on a small closely defined group. The questionnaire applied in this study, however, was too hypothesis testing in order to apply this method.

The theoretical aim of this study was to investigate how lack of core social motives can explain reactions among asylum seekers. This resulted in a study that can be characterized as more hypothesis testing than traditional qualitative research. Qualitative approaches generally engage in exploring, describing and interpreting personal and social experiences of the informants (Smith, 2003). Due to this, none of the main qualitative approaches currently used in psychology was perceived as being appropriate for this research. Thus, I had to custom-build a qualitative research method for this project where the aim was to rule out certain variables, relationships and associated data (Huberman & Miles, 1994). A method inspired by grounded theory (GT) and to some extent interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) was applied. The method can be described as a "tight" design (Huberman & Miles,

1994). I had several applicable concepts and tried to take a confirmatory stance involving six comparable cases. The analysis will be described in detail in the Analysis section.

Presentation of informants

The asylum seekers were selected from an asylum centre close to a larger Norwegian city. I aimed at variation according to age, marital status, family at the asylum centre and gender. Due to the cultural aspect I wanted to interview informants from the same area. It turned out, however, that it was not possible to achieve the variation I aimed for. It was more complicated to get informants than I had expected. 14 Afghans received an information letter in Dari (Attachment 1: Information letter in Dari and Norwegian). The letter conveyed information about the project, details about the interview, and a request for their participation. Residents who were interested were told to contact the office at the asylum centre, and write their names on a list within 1 week after receiving the letter. No one showed an interest in participating in the project. It turned out that the fact that it was a psychology project made the residents skeptical. In Afghan culture psychology is a taboo; this came up in an information meeting at the asylum centre. Another reason for their lack of interest was a general skepticism to researchers and journalists. This was due to the fact that they had been disappointed by previous experiences with media and research. A third factor that may have influenced the informants was that the interviews were conducted during the time of the “Muhammad cartoons”. This might have made the informants even more skeptical since Afghanistan and Pakistan are both Muslim countries. Being from a Muslim and male dominated culture may have also have made the informants sceptical to a female researcher.

Three weeks of active recruiting resulted in six interviews with five Afghan and one Pakistani informant. With the help of an employee at the asylum centre the informants were approached either via phone or through private conversation. The employee at the asylum centre emphasized the importance of research and that through participating in research the informants can help improve refugees’ situation in Norway. It would probably have been easier to recruit informants if I had been able to spend more time at the asylum centre, getting to know the informants, before requesting interviews. Due to time pressure, however, this was not possible.

Table 1. Presentation of informants

Informants	K	L	M	N	O	P
Gender	M	M	F	M	M	M
Age	20-25	30-35	30-35	20-25	15-20	25-30
Marital status	-	m	m	n.m	n.m	m
Time spent in Norway	1 yr	2 yrs	1,7 yrs	2 yrs	1,5 yrs	2,2 yrs

m = married

n.m = not married

As Table 1 indicates the informants were mainly male and their age ranged from 15 to 35. Three of the informants were married while two were not married. K chose not to say anything about marital status. K had been in Norway the shortest amount of time; one year, while P had been in Norway the longest amount time; two years and two months, at the time of the interviews. All informants were given the opportunity to go to school and learn Norwegian three days a week.

Procedure

The informants were interviewed for one till two hours. Due to the design of the asylum centre the interviews were conducted in a café or in offices. The informants often lived together with two or three others and I wanted to find somewhere private where the informant felt like he or she could speak freely. Prior to the interview the informant was given a short introduction to the project. They were also reminded that they were free to withdraw from the project or choose not to answer any questions at any time. After the briefing the informant had to affirm informed consent (Attachment 2: letter of informed consent). The interviews were audio recorded and when requested, an interpreter was present. The audio recorder looked small and harmless. Hence, it did not resemble the equipment the police use in their first interview with an asylum seeker. None of the informants seemed to have a problem with the fact that the interviews were audio recorded. They were informed that I was the only person who should listen to the recorded interviews, and that they would be deleted by the end of the project. The audio taped interviews were further transcribed in order to conduct a qualitative data analysis (QDA).

The interview guide

An interview guide contains the themes as well as their sequences in the interview. The guide can either be an overview of the themes that should be covered or it can be detailed with specific questions (Kvale, 2001). When developing the interview guide several aspects were evaluated. Firstly, the structure of the questions, it was attempted to create questions that would encourage the informant to give detailed answers, e.g. to what degree do you wish to be apart of the Norwegian society? I also attempted to avoid academically terms and create questions as easy to understand as possible. Another aspect was the order of the questions. The interview started with a set of biographical questions to open the interview (McCracken, 1988). The first few questions concerned friends and family, questions relatively easy to answer. I aimed at increasing the questions level of sensitivity and difficulty throughout the interview before concluding with “positive” questions focusing on hopes and dreams.

The interview guide was in Norwegian (Attachment 3: Interview guide (Norwegian)) for the interviews where an interpreter was applied and in English (Attachment 4: Interview guide (English)) for the other interviews. It was divided into six themes titled: belonging, understanding, control, trusting, emotional reactions/humiliation and self-enhancement. The interview schedule consisted of 34 questions. There were four or five questions for each proposed core social motive, examples:

Belonging: To what degree do you wish to be apart of the Norwegian society?

Understanding: What do you do in order to understand the situation you are in?

Control: To what degree do you feel like you have control over your life?

Enhance self: To what degree do you feel like you can develop as an individual in the situation that you are in?

Trusting: Do you feel like you can trust the people around you? This question had follow up questions asking about friends other residents and people working at the asylum centre.

There were five questions concerning emotional reactions and humiliation, example:

Can you give an example of a situation you would describe as humiliating?

It has to be kept in mind, however, that the interview schedule only guided the interviews.

This meant that sometimes questions were added, such as confirming questions and questions related to the topic. This happened more frequently when the interviews were conducted in English.

Use of an interpreter

An interpreter was applied in three of the conducted interviews. A question that was raised was the matter of the sex of the interpreter. Did it matter if the interpreter was a man or

a woman? Should the interpreter be a woman when the informant was a woman and a man when the informant was a man? Due to gender differences in the Muslim culture a Muslim woman might not feel comfortable talking about personal matters with a man in the room. I also thought that using the same interpreter or interpreters would secure higher validity of the data. Another benefit would be that I would not have to spend time explaining the aim of the project to the interpreter before every session. These issues appeared to be important in theory, but were out of my control in practice. The interpreters that were used were professionals and worked for an interpreter service. Due to a high demand for interpreters, it was not possible to choose either the interpreter or the gender. Thus, three different male interpreters were used in the three interviews where an interpreter was requested. The informants in all three interviews were male.

The interpreters were informed about the project and the aim of the interview before the informant arrived. By using an interpreter the informants were allowed to speak in their first language, which the researcher perceives as important when talking about own feelings and situations. During the interviews the interpreter was placed next to the researcher allowing eye contact between the informant and the researcher.

When comparing the interviews with an interpreter and the interviews conducted in English, the first were shorter and were dictated more by the interview guide than the latter.

Language barrier

A problem with research on emotions is that the linguistic use of an emotional term is confusing (Ben-Ze'ev, 2000). This problem became apparent while conducting the interviews. The Norwegian word for humiliation is "ydmykelse" thus; this term was used when applying an interpreter. One interpreter, however, claimed that there was no word for humiliation in Dari. Consequently, the word degradation, (nedverdiggelse in Norwegian), was applied in this interview. The other two interpreters, on the other hand, claimed that there was possible to translate the word humiliation into Dari. This word was consequently used in the other two interviews where an interpreter was applied. The term humiliation also caused a problem in one of the interviews conducted in English. The informant did not know the word humiliation and the term degradation had to be used. This confusion may have influenced the informants' replies concerning feelings of humiliation, especially in the incidents where degradation was applied as a replacement for humiliation.

Two of the interpreters mentioned the big difference between people with and without education in Afghanistan. The interpreters meant that people without education might not

understand a word such as humiliation. I did not ask about the informants' education, thus I was not able to investigate whether the uneducated informants had more difficulties understanding the different terms applied in the questionnaire than the educated informants.

Analysis

The analysis consisted of examining six interviews. The interviews were first transcribed and the analysis was preceded manually. The interviews were analysed using a method inspired by IPA (Smith & Osborne, 2003) and Strauss & Corbin (1998). The analysis was conducted in order to highlight the main and minor themes of the interviews.

The interviews were first read a number of times in order to become as familiar as possible with the account. While reading, the left-hand margin was used to note what was interesting or significant about what the respondent said. Some notes were attempts at summarising while other were associations that came to mind or preliminary interpretations (Smith & Osborne, 2003). Example, interview 1:

Int: To what degree do you wish to be apart of the Norwegian society?

<i>Have a wish to belong.</i>	L: I am very interested in becoming a part of the Norwegian society. But, I never dare to tell people outside of
<i>Norwegians</i>	the asylum centre that I live at _ asylum centre because people
<i>perception of</i>	have bad experience with people living at _ asylum centre.
<i>asylum seekers as</i>	This is because the majority population think that we are
<i>criminals</i>	people who are just here to conduct crime.

After going through the whole interview the other margin was used to write emerging theme titles. The aim was to capture the essential quality of what was said in the text. The themes moved the answers to a higher level of abstraction and used more psychological terminology (Smith & Osborne, 2003). Example, interview 1:

Int: To what degree do you wish to be apart of the Norwegian society?

L: I am very interested in becoming a part of the Norwegian *wish to belong* society. But, I never dare to tell people outside of the asylum centre that I live at _ asylum centre because people have bad experience with people living at _ asylum centre.

This is because the majority population think that we are *prejudice* people who are just here to conduct crime.

The themes were listed chronologically on a separate document and investigated for possible connections. The themes that were related in meaning were subsequently sorted into clusters and categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Due to the fact that the interview guide was fairly structured, the categories were strongly related to the structure of the interview guide. Kvale (1996) supports this notion by arguing that the more structured the interview the easier the structuring and analysis of the interview will be. By categorising the themes, however, it was possible to sort all information related to humiliation or the different core social motives throughout the interview. During this process the themes that did not fit well in the emerging structure or were very rich in evidence were dropped. As the clusters of themes emerged the transcript was checked in order to make sure the connections matched the actual words of the participants (Smith & Osborne, 2003). Example, Interview 1:

To belong

- To belong is to be socially accepted (page 1, line 32)
- No family in Norway (page 1, line 4)
- Has a social network (page 1, line 7)
- Wish to belong (page 1, line 10)
- No sense of belonging towards birth country (page 1, line 23)
- No sense of belonging towards the asylum centre (page 1, line 26)
- Difficult to get in touch with Norwegians (page 2, line 8)
- Miss detailed information about Norwegian culture (page 2, line 33)
- Miss social contact with Norwegians (page 2, line 38)
- Is able to talk to the officials at the asylum centre (page 4, line 14)

Once each interview had been analysed, a final table of each super ordinate category was put together. This involved reducing and prioritising the data. The final step contained examining the data for causal networks and translating the categories into a narrative account outlining the same six themes that guided the interviews; belong, understand, control, enhance self, trusting and emotional reactions/humiliation. The narrative accounts of each category are presented in the result section. The quotes from the interviews conducted in Norwegian were

translated into English before applied in this paper. This should hopefully not influence the validity of the replies too much since the quotes were translated from words of the interpreter and not the informant.

Results

Short presentation of each informant

K

K is from Afghanistan. K belongs to a minority group in Afghanistan, which has been discriminated against due to racial and religious reasons. As a result, K has lived a life on the move in Afghanistan, Iran and now in Norway. K arrived in Norway alone, and he did not want to say anything about his marital status. At the time of the interview, K had been in Norway for one year. When K first arrived in Norway, he expressed a wish to see a psychologist and the request has finally been met. K's asylum application has been rejected. K consequently wrote a complaint. The complaint got rejected, however, because it was not written in Norwegian. K has made a request to translate the complaint into Norwegian, but this has not happened. K feels like there are no open doors. He preferred to have an interpreter present during the interview. K was very talkative and engaged during the interview; he started telling me about his frustrations concerning his life situation even before I started asking him questions. He hoped to contribute to improving asylum seekers current situation by participating in this study.

L

L is from Afghanistan. He is married, but arrived in Norway alone and has no family here. L tries to keep busy with friends and activities in order to avoid thinking of his family. He has been in Norway for two years at the time of the interview. L feels like he has lost two years of his life, and that there is no way back. L preferred to have an interpreter present during the interview. It seemed like L found some of the questions difficult to answer and he could sometimes appear irritated. This may have been influenced by the fact that he had to go to school straight after the interview. He kept checking the time to make sure he would not miss his buss.

M

M is from Pakistan. M has worked hard from young age in order to become a MD. She was used to work 12 hours a day in a Pakistani hospital before she had to flee. M converted to a new religion in order to get married. As a result, Muslims attacked her few days after the wedding. M consequently had to leave Pakistan two weeks after getting married. M arrived in

Norway alone and has no family here. At the time of the interview M had been in Norway for 19 months and is still waiting for an answer from UDI. M's highest wish is to be able to work and live a normal life again. M preferred to speak English during the interview. She talked fast and was very talkative during the interview. M talked a lot about the situation in her home country and why she had to leave. She appeared very frustrated and unhappy about her current situation.

N

N is from Afghanistan. N is unmarried and has been in Norway for two years at the time of the interview. N arrived alone and has no family in Norway. N belongs to a religious minority group in Afghanistan and has been discriminated against all his life. N feels stuck and not able to move on with life at the asylum centre. N highest wish is to get stability in life so he can study and achieve other life goals. N preferred to speak English during the interview. He seemed calm and relaxed during the interview, but found especially the questions concerning humiliation difficult to answer. N appeared to be very reflected and aware of his current situation.

O

O is from Afghanistan. O is unmarried and arrived when underage with his brother. O and his brother have family living in Norway and are hoping for a family reunion. At the time of the interview O had been in Norway for one and a half years. O's asylum application has been rejected, but O has handed in a complaint and is waiting for an answer from the UDI. O is trying to stay positive and live a simple but normal life. O dreams of getting Norwegian residency live with his family in Norway and get an education. O preferred to have an interpreter present during the interview. O appeared very certain that he would get to stay in Norway with his family. He gave short and concise answers. This tendency may have been caused by a somewhat stressful interview situation. The interview was conducted in a room where people walked by the window and there were several interruptions by e.g. the phone ringing.

P

P is from Afghanistan. P was married when living in Afghanistan, but is not sure whether he still is. At the time of the interview P had been in Norway for two years and two months. He arrived alone and has no family in Norway. P's asylum application has been

rejected, but he has filed a complaint and is waiting for an answer from the UDI. P feels like he has no rights in his current life situation and that he have given the control of his life to the UDI. P preferred to speak English during the interview. He sat and scribbled on a piece of paper throughout the interview. He made drawings and wrote down the words he was asked to define. He almost started crying two times during the interview, but wanted to continue. P appeared very much influenced by his current life situation and worded his replies more dramatically than the other informants.

Belonging

Fiske (2004) argues that belonging constitutes the idea that people need strong and stable relationships with other people. The belongingness hypothesis claims more precisely that human beings have a drive to form and maintain lasting, positive and significant interpersonal relationships (Baumeister & Leary, 1995).

There were six questions concerning the core motive to belong. The first questions focused on the presence of family and friends. This was based on the assumption that being surrounded by friends and family increases feelings of belonging. The third question focused on whether the informants had a wish to belong, this was in order to test the belongingness hypothesis that claims that all human beings strive to belong. The questions consequently focused on feelings of belonging towards the asylum centre and their home country. This was in order to investigate whether the informants had a sense of belonging at all. The last question asked the informants to define the word to belong; this was in order to “confirm” that we had a similar understanding of the word.

The first question concerned whether the informants had family at the asylum centre. All informants, but one, do not have any family at the asylum centre. O arrived with his brother and has family living in Norway.

The second question concerned whether the informants felt like they had anyone they could talk to at the asylum centre. Four of the informants reported having friends from their birth country at the asylum centre. L represents a typical statement when he explained his relationship with other Afghans:

“I am not especially close friends with them, but we talk about the things that are difficult here”

This may indicate that due to the unstable nature of an asylum centre; people coming, people going, it is not possible to have strong and stable relationships with other people. It also suggests, however, that the residents are able to talk and share their frustration with each other. M, on the other hand, does not feel close to any of the residents at the asylum centre due to religious reasons, but she reports having Norwegian friends:

“The Norwegian people, some of them I can trust and I speak to them. There is one man... with this man I can talk about everything, about my case”.

Having Norwegian friends are not typical for the informants. Several of the informants’ report that they miss contact with Norwegians and the Norwegian society. K expresses a typical statement:

“I would like to talk to people and approach them, but I know that they do not want to do it”.

This statement may indicate that K feels stigmatised. All informants mention that they experience being discriminated against. They are, consequently, ashamed to tell people that they live at the asylum centre and feel like Norwegians perceive asylum seekers as criminals. It is likely that feeling stigmatised reduce a sense of belonging.

The third question concerned whether the informant had a wish to be apart of the Norwegian society. All six informants confirm the belongingness hypothesis by expressing a wish to belong. Three of the informants express a very strong desire to be apart of the Norwegian society. This is how M sees it:

“...I cannot go back to my own country because of the sensitivity of my case. So it is necessary for me to become apart of the Norwegian society”.

M expresses a typical view, she perceives it as necessary to get Norwegian residency. As N confirms in the next statement, the informants do not know what to do if they are not allowed to stay in Norway:

“I don’t know what to do if they decided that I cannot stay in Norway and that I have to go back, because the religion is more upset than before in Afghanistan”.

The fourth question concerned feelings of belonging towards birth country. The typical response involves no general sense of belonging and negative feelings towards birth country. M’s reply offers a typical perception of home country:

“I know I will be killed if I go back to Pakistan. What will I do if my life is finished? What will I do about a country that wants to kill me? Who wants to finish me? What will I do with a country that wants to take my life?”

Due to conflicts and problems, few of the informants feel any sense of belonging towards home country. L gives this explanation:

“If one did not have problems in home country and would have stayed at an asylum centre for two months and being treated this way one would have gone back”.

O, however, reports feelings of belonging towards own birth country. This is how he expresses it:

“I feel Afghan. I cannot claim that I am not Afghan”.

It has to be kept in mind that O is the youngest informant and was under-age when arriving in Norway together with family. The person’s young age might have influenced the informants’ perception of own situation.

The fifth question concerned feelings of belonging towards the asylum centre. The typical view is no feelings of belonging towards the asylum centre. N has this answer:

“No, I can move today and forget about it. I feel so lonely here, if I move today I can forget”.

This quote might indicate that loneliness is negatively associated with feelings of belonging. A person who feels lonely does not have strong and stable relationships with other people. Hence, the person has no sense of belonging. M is the only informant who perceives the asylum centre as a home and expresses a sense of belonging. It has to be mentioned that M can be characterised as a resourceful resident at the asylum centre. She is trusted by other residents and acts as a spokesperson. She also has regular contact and good communication with the officials working at the centre. It is likely that this M's unusual role at the asylum centre increase feelings of belonging. M feels respected and understood at the asylum centre. As she puts it:

*“...Now I feel like this place is like my home. Because I go there,
I speak there...”*

This quote illustrates the importance of having a social role, a sense of being a contributor, in order to have a sense of belonging.

The last question in this section asked the informants to define the word to belong. The answers indicated that the word to belong was a positive word involving roots, social acceptance, and freedom to choose, be a part of a group and be dependent on something. The informants' views on belonging appear to include more factors than Fiske's view and the belonging hypothesis. The two latter focus on strong interpersonal relationships, whereas the informants' view also constitute roots and freedom to choose.

Understanding

Fiske (2004) claims that one of the fundamental cognitive motivations is to understand own environment. A person needs to be able to predict what is going to happen in case of uncertainties and make sense of what is actually happening. There were five questions concerning the core social motive to understand. The first question focused on the informants understanding of their own social environment; the asylum centre. The second focused on their current life situation and aimed at investigating whether they are able to make sense of what is actually happening in their lives. The consequent question focused on the informants wish to understand own situation. This was based on the assumption that if an informant does not understand his own situation he has a wish to do so. The fourth question concerned what the informants actively did in order to achieve an understanding of their own situation. This question aimed at discovering whether the informants felt like they had the opportunity to

achieve a better understanding of their current situation. Another aim was to investigate how the informants react if they do not have the core social motive of understanding fulfilled. The last question asked the informants to define to understand, this was for the same reason they were asked to define belonging.

Information meetings are held every other week at the asylum centre. There is also an information room at the where the informants can ask questions, learn about Norwegian culture and use the Internet. I asked one of the informants about the benefits of the meetings and information room and got this answer:

“The only give us general information, like for example that UDI accepts a certain number of people that are allowed to stay in Norway and general information about social and societal relations. These things are not that significant for us to know, there are other things that can be more detailed and more important for us. When I talk about being able to understand I talk about open understanding, one gets the opportunity to learn about things while interacting in the social environment”.

This quote indicates that detailed information and personal guidance may increase asylum seekers understanding of own situation. It also confirms the notion that the informants miss contact with Norwegians and Norwegian culture.

The first question concerned the informants understanding of own social environment: the asylum centre. The answers indicate that this was a difficult worded question; I often had to elaborate and give examples. Four of the informants claim that they understand their own social environment and how practical things work at the asylum centre. K, however, does not feel like he receives enough information in order to understand his own social environment:

“No, the officials at the asylum centre do not give us enough information about what we should think of this and that. We sleep here at night, during the day we go to the city centre and we are just living life”.

The second question concerned the informants understanding of what is actually happening in their lives. Three of the informants claim that they understand their current life situation. L put it like this:

“Yes, I understand it, it is very exhausting. I have given up my hope, I am just trying... I have understood it; one cannot talk about to what degree”.

This quote illustrates the strain associated with living a life dominated by uncertainty. The other three informants, on the other hand, do not understand their current situation and express feelings of frustration and injustice. P uses these words to describe his current life situation:

“ It is like a closed file which is untouchable”

During the interview P appears very influenced by his current life situation and his replies are worded dramatically. This quote, however, illustrates an absolute feeling of lack of control; whatever you do you cannot influence or understand your own life situation.

The third question concerned the informants wish to understand their current situation. Five of the informants express a strong desire to understand own situation K gave a typical answer:

“I am trying, as far as I am able to, to understand my own situation for personal development in the future”

K wants to understand own situation, but feel restrained. P does not wish to understand his own situation. This is his reason:

“I never wish to know about the corruption and bad politics, business in the name of humanity”

As already mentioned, P is very influenced by his current life situation; he shows a lot of anger and frustration throughout the interview.

The fourth question involved what the informants did in order to understand their current life situation. All of the informants mentioned that there was nothing they could do in order to understand their own situation. N gave a typical explanation:

"...Sometimes I think about it, but it is no use. Because there is no lines for the UDI to say if you follow that line you'll stay here or something like that."

N does not feel like he can do anything because of the uncertainty of his situation, there is nothing he can do in order to influence his own case.

The last question concerning the core social motive of understanding focused on defining the word to understand. The informants perceived to understand as a positive word. It was further associated with opportunities, to know how things evolve and how to achieve goals. Fiske (2004) claims that a person need to be able to predict what is going to happen in case of uncertainties and make sense of what is actually happening. The informants' view of understanding and Fiske's view appear to be closely related.

Control

"They are up smoking and drinking tea until 1, 2, 3 in the morning. That is the only thing they do here. The thoughts are there all the time, there is nothing one can do"

In this quote L describes his co-residents at the asylum centre.

Fiske (2004) argues that control involves a relationship between what people do and what they get. The motive of control encourages people to feel effective and competent at dealing with themselves and their social environment. People want to be effective and have some sense of control and competence. The interview guide included six questions concerning the core social motive of control. The first question focused on the informants' role in the social environment at the asylum centre. This was in order to discover whether the informants felt competent in their social environment. The second question concerned whether the informants felt like they have some sense of control of their life. The consequent questions focused on what the informants did in order to achieve control, and whether they experience a relationship between what they do and what they get. The fifth question concerned what kind of options the informants felt like they had in their current life situation. This question aimed at investigating whether the informants felt like they had control of their social environment. The last question asked the informants to define control.

The first question concerned how the informants felt they function in their social environment. K gives a typical reply:

“I try to be friendly to the people around me. I do not want to get into trouble or cause any difficulties”

As this quote indicates the informants aim at having a neutral role in their social environment. M, on the other hand, has a very active role in her social environment. She initiated a women’s group at the asylum centre, a group that has improved the communication among the female residents. As a result, the women and their children have their own space where they can cook, talk and watch films. M also acts as an interpreter for the other residents and offers her help when needed.

The second question concerned perception of control over own life. Three of the informants report no sense of control of their lives. N offers a typical answer:

“... It’s difficult to say that I’ve control over my life because I’ve given that right to the UDI.”

As the quote illustrates, N feels like he has no control of his own life. The other three informants, on the other hand, report having some sense of control in their daily life. L gave a typical answer:

“I try to stay busy with something else. We have been given bus cards from school and I use it to go and see friends. I have many friends who live here. I spend my time this way, if one just stays here at the asylum centre one goes crazy after a while”

L and the other two informants report keeping busy in order to achieve a sense of control in everyday life. This leads to the third question; this question concerned what the informants do in order to achieve a sense of control. The three informants who did not keep busy in order to feel sense of control claim that they could not do anything in order to achieve a sense of control. N, however, mentions that he tries to study mathematics sometimes, but that it is difficult:

“It doesn’t work because when you finish you think about your life again, and it is hopeless because you don’t know the rules that are applied in Norway, and you don’t know if you will be able to stay here”

N finds it difficult to control the thoughts concerning the uncertainty dominating his life situation. K also experiences problems with concentrating:

“... We are not concentrated and when one is thinking about other things that can cause disruption one loses the opportunity to learn”

This might indicate that concentration problems may limit the ability to keep busy in order to achieve a sense of control.

The fourth question concerned whether the informants felt like their actions leads to results. The three informants who keep busy in order to achieve a sense of control claim that they could see that their actions lead to results. M gives a typical answer for these three informants:

“If I stay busy, sometimes I forget about things. I work, work until I am tired, eat food and sleep. So for me it is good if I have no time to think.”

M stays busy in order to avoid own thoughts. The other three informants cannot see a relationship between what they do and what they get. N gives a typical answer representing these three informants:

“My actions? Hum... no, no, it is not the time”.

N does not feel like he is free to perform actions that would lead to results in his current life situation.

The fifth question concerned what kind of opportunities the informants felt like they had in their current life situation. Five of the informants experience that they have few or no opportunities at the asylum centre. L gives a representative answer:

“I have the opportunity to for example go to school. We have a computer room, I can use that, but it has been closed for more than 3 months. That are the only options that I have. I have a small room to live in, nothing else”

L cannot see that he has many options in his current life situation. O, on the other hand, tries to stay positive and gives this reply:

“I feel like I have a free life here. Another important matter is that compared to the other asylum seekers we are allowed to go to school. This is the only camp in Norway that gives asylum seekers the opportunity to go to school”

O compares his own situation to other asylum seekers. He says that he feels free living at the asylum centre, he may be comparing his own situation to asylum seekers living in closed detention centres in eg. Australia. He is also grateful that he has got the opportunity to learn Norwegian.

The last question focused on defining control. The informants associated control with freedom, to be able to regulate own thoughts, feelings and behaviour. Control was also described as having good health and that circumstances result in a desired way. Fiske (2004) argues that control involves a relationship between what people do and what they get. The informants' perception of control also includes having good health.

Trusting

Fiske (2004) argues that trusting involves seeing the world as a benevolent place. To trust others facilitate important human behaviour and daily life, people are quite ineffective socially if they always expect the worst from other people. The section on the core social motive of trusting involved 3 questions and 3 follow-up questions. The first questions focused on whether the informants trust the people surrounding them in their social environment. The consequent questions concerned whether the informants trusted the treatment of asylum applications. This was in order to investigate whether the informants see the world as a benevolent place. The last question asked the informants to define trust.

The first question asked whether the informants trust the people around them. Four of the informants claim that they do not trust the people around them. P gives this reply:

“I don’t trust anybody. I don’t trust you, the only reason I came here is so I will not get a question mark in front of my name”

P’s statement illustrates a clear lack of trust. O and M, however, claim that they can trust some close friends. There were two follow-up questions to this first answer. The first one concerned whether the informants felt like they could trust the staff at the asylum centre. The four informants who said that they did not trust people around them claim that they cannot trust the staff at the asylum centre. O and M indicate that they trust the staff and that they would turn to them for help in certain situations. O explains:

“If there are problems that can be solved here at the asylum centre... for example if it is about contacting my lawyer or Norwegian residency or other problems concerning the asylum centre I go to the office”

The second follow-up question concerned whether the informants could trust other residents. Three of the informants claim that they have friends at the asylum centre that they can trust. L gives a typical answer:

“Maybe one, but not all. I come from North-Afghanistan, not South-Afghanistan. We are from different parts so we are not close relatives”

This quote illustrates again how the nature of an asylum centre may hinder close and stable relationships. The other three informants do not trust the other residents. P claims that he doesn’t trust anybody. N thinks that the friendships at the asylum centre are all on a superficial level because none belongs there. M cannot trust any of the other residents due to religious reasons.

The second question focused on fair treatment of asylum applications in general and the informant’s application in particular. This question aimed at investigating whether the informants perceived the world as a benevolent place. Four of the informants do not think that asylum applications are treated fairly. L gives a typical and descriptive reply:

“If it was treated fairly I would not be rejected, I would not have

had to wait two years here. I have lost two years of my life, two years of being able to study, two years of the plans that I have or the life that I could have lived here. I have lost two years of my life”

This quote signals lack of trust, feelings of frustration and the experience of loss. L feels like he has lost two years of his life.

O, on the other hand, trusted that asylum applications were treated fairly:

“I do not know if it is fair or not, but it should be fair, there is no other way”

This quote indicates a fundamental sense of trust; in this aspect O differed considerably from the other participants.

The last question focused on defining trust. The informants associate trust with keeping a promise, keeping a secret and not judge or betray someone. According to the informants if you trust someone the person will keep promises, secrets, and not judge or betray you. Hence, you see the world as a benevolent place.

Humiliation

“One only dies on time in life, but I experience that I die ten times a day”

K utters how humiliation describes his current life situation. This quote also illustrates the experience of social death mentioned in relation to social exclusion. Linder (2000) argues that to be humiliated is to be placed in a situation that is greatly inferior to what you feel you should expect. She further argues that one of the defining characteristics of humiliation is that the victim is forced into passivity and made helpless. The interview guide included five questions on emotional reactions and humiliation. The first question focused on what kind of emotions that is prominent in the informants' current life situation. The consequent questions focused on humiliation. The informants were asked to define humiliation; this was in order to make sure they knew the term. The informants were then asked to give examples of situations they would describe as humiliating and not humiliating. The aim was to get a better understanding of their perception of humiliation and about humiliation in general. The last

question concerned whether the informants felt like humiliation was a good word to describe their current life situation. This was in order to investigate whether the informants perceived being an asylum seeker as humiliating.

The first question focused on what kind of emotions that could describe the informant's current situation. Two of the informants claim that their emotions are blocked. The two answers are similar in meaning, P says:

“Emotions are totally frozen. Emotions today are like knots.”

This quote may indicate that the informant tries to block his own emotions in order to go on. He might be scared of the consequences of letting himself feel something. N uses these words to describe his situation:

*“...It feels like you have to scream and you can't say anything.
It's a bit upsetting because you don't know what causes will follow.
Are you staying here or not, not knowing is very bad. Not having
control of your life. I cannot put in one emotion”.*

N appears to feel trapped; not having control over own life seems to dominate his existence. L also reported feeling trapped in his answer. M expressed fear of having to go back to birth country. O, on the other hand, expressed more positive feelings in his answer:

*“I live a normal life, a simple life like the others, and I feel
that I am doing alright”*

The second question focused on defining humiliation/degradation. The informants were asked to define the word humiliation (ydmykelse in Norwegian). If the informant did not know the word humiliation/ydmykelse, the word degradation (nedverdiggelse in Norwegian) was applied. Humiliation/ydmykelse was applied in three of the interviews while degradation/nedverdiggelse was used in the other three. The informants associate humiliation/ydmykelse with inequality and gossip. Degradation/nedverdiggelse is associated with being weak, different, perceived as being unworthy, on a lower level and gossip. It appears to be easier for the informants to describe degradation/nedverdiggelse than humiliation/ydmykelse.

The third question asked the informants to give an example of a situation they would describe as humiliating/degrading. All the informants give examples from being an asylum seeker in Norway. This is P's example:

"From the 1st day I came here I was afraid of my identification. I cannot tell people where I live it is humiliating. Not my name, where I am from or where I live."

The quote indicates that P feels like he has to hide the fact that he is an asylum seeker. The examples typically focused on Norwegians view of refugees. N expresses a typical view:

"Norwegians will say things about Afghanistan that you have never heard about in Afghanistan. That we murder people and things like that. So, people think you are like that, that is not a good thing to do. It is very humiliating for us."

All informants feel socially stigmatised and have the impression that Norwegians perceive them as lower social status beings. L describes how he experiences being an asylum seeker in Norway:

"Here in Norway one goes out, one experiences it everyday really, they treat you like a "svarthode". To be treated this way is degrading of the human being"

The informants also focus on their lack of rights. M gives a typical example:

"...If I for example wanted to get a mobile phone. They ask to show them our personal number; I show them this is my refugee card. They say: Oh you are a refugee; you are not allowed to take the mobile phone."

The fourth question asked the informants to describe a situation they would not describe as humiliating/degrading. The typical response focuses on respect, equality, and the right to study and work. K gives this answer:

“If I for example meet a person who finds out that I am Afghan and does not mention it, does not express a negative opinion or demonstrate hate towards me because I am Afghani. That can create happiness”

This quote illustrates to be treated with respect and equality is not humiliating. P, on the other hand, is not able to describe a situation that is not humiliating, his answer is:

“Everything here is humiliating”

The last question focused on to what degree humiliation/degradation can describe the informants' current life situation. All the informants experience that being an asylum seeker is humiliating/degrading. N replies:

“Ok, it is a good word. Yes, because you feel like you are humiliated. They know that you are a refugee here and especially from this camp because this is a big place here in _. Yes, it is a big part of it”.

M confirm the experience of being humiliated as an asylum seeker in her answer:

“Yes, yes, because we are degraded. All the time...”

O describes what he experiences as humiliating in his answer:

“Yes, for example that we have come to Norway, and it was very difficult for me getting here. And considering this they have not given me residency... That we are not allowed or have the right to work or that we have lived here for so long and not received residency. That gives me a humiliating feeling”

This quote indicates that O feels like he has been placed in a situation inferior to what he expected. He experiences it as humiliating that he has not received Norwegian residency, that he has had to live at an asylum centre for so long, and that he is not allowed to work.

Enhance self

Fiske (2004) claims that self-enhancement contains either maintaining self-esteem or be motivated by the possibility of self-improvement. Self-enhancement makes people feel good, and people like to feel that they are good and lovable.

The interview guide contained five questions focusing on self-enhancement. The first three questions focused on the informants need for self-improvement. The fourth question concerned whether the informants felt like they had the opportunity for self-improvement in their current life situation. The last question focused on the informants' dreams for the future. The main aim of this question was to end the interview with a positively valued question.

The first question focused on the wish to work. All informants express a wish to work. P gives a typical answer:

“ Humans always work to live a life, to be apart of others, to get together, to compete, to know who am I. I have a high wish to work, not only for economical reasons.”

The quote also indicates the importance of having a social role, to make a contribution and belong to the larger society. M who has worked hard her whole life to become a MD feels deeply frustrated as a result of not being able to work in her current situation. This is how she expresses it:

“You cannot imagine how frustrating this is, work is my life”

Not all human beings may be as focused on their job as M, the two quotes, however, illustrate the importance of work in an individual's life.

The second question focused on the wish to learn Norwegian. All the informants express a wish to learn Norwegian. Some of the informants who had already received one negative answer from UDI, however, had lost some of the motivation to learn Norwegian. As N expressed it:

“I want to learn, but my situation is, if I say ok I want to learn now and see what happens. But there is a really small part of the world who speaks Norwegian”.

As a follow up question to this reply I asked N whether this changed after he got the negative answer from UDI. His answer confirms my suspicion:

“Yes, yes, before I had some Norwegian books to learn, but now I do not have anything”.

This illustrates how lack of control over own life can influence aspects such as self-enhancement. N may have hoped that he would get Norwegian residency and was motivated to learn Norwegian, but after being rejected he lost his motivation. N cannot see the need to learn Norwegian since he doesn't know whether he will be allowed to stay or not.

The third question focused on the wish to develop as a person. All the informants express a desire to develop as a person. O expresses it in a typical manner:

“It is a natural wish for every human being to have a development in life and achieve a better life”

The fourth question focused on what degree the informants feel like they can develop as a person in their current situation. All informants, but one, feel like they have few or no options to develop as a person in their current life situation. O gave a typical answer:

“The only development that I can see in my self, as a person, is the language”

As the quote illustrates living in asylum may not be the most suited environment for personal development. K, however, is more positive in his reply to the question of whether he feels like he can develop as a person in his current life situation:

“I try as best as I can based on my skills”

K is trying as best as he can to develop as a person, he does not want to give up.

The last question focused on the informants' future dreams. The typical answer involve getting Norwegian residency, be with family and work. M gives a typical reply:

“I am dreaming that, or I hope that UDI gives me a good answer. And

if they give me a good answer then I will start my life again.”

P, however, has a different view:

“For me, dream and future is something strange. Ask UDI about my future.”

This quote may indicate that P has given up all hope; he does not even allow himself to have dreams and hopes for the future.

Discussion

The main aim of this study was to investigate how the CSM approach can help us understand and explain reactions among asylum seekers living in a Norwegian asylum centre. This project also wanted to take a closer look at feelings of humiliation among asylum seekers. Do they feel humiliated? And can this be explained by a CSM approach?

The findings suggested that fulfilment of core social motives varied among the asylum seekers. None of the informants, however, had all five core social motives fulfilled. All the informants further experienced that it is humiliating to be an asylum seeker. They all gave examples of humiliation from their current life situation and claimed that humiliation was an essential part of being an asylum seeker.

Fiske (2004) argues that motives are the motor for behaviour. Thus, if a motive is not fulfilled there should be a strong need to fulfil this motive. All the informants expressed a wish to belong to the Norwegian society. The results indicated that one informant had a sense of belonging towards the asylum centre, and one informant felt belonging towards birth country. This indicates that two of the informants had some sense of belonging. It cannot be argued, however, that any of the informants had the underlying need of belonging fulfilled. The informants' view on belonging further appeared to include more factors than Fiske's view and the belonging hypothesis. Fiske and the belonging hypothesis focus on strong interpersonal relationships; whereas the informants view also constitutes roots and freedom to choose. This might suggest an interrelation between the social core motives; freedom to choose is also likely to be related to the motive of control. This supports Fiske's (2004) notion that belonging underlies the CSM of control.

The results further indicated variation within understanding own social environment. Independent of this, the informants expressed a wish to understand their current situation. This wish to understand may indicate that the informants do not have the cognitive need of understanding fulfilled. They further felt like there was nothing they could do in order to understand their current situation. This may also be related to the motive of control. The informants cannot control their own situation, thus there is nothing they can do in order to understand it. The findings further suggested variation within the motive of control; half of the informants had some sense of control while the other half reported no control. Two of the informants who did not have a sense of control reported concentration problems. The informants who reported having control stayed busy in order to achieve a sense of control. These informants could also see that their actions lead to results. Independent of the variation

within level of experienced control, the informants felt like they had few or no opportunities at the asylum centre.

The informants further expressed a wish to work and learn Norwegian and few or no opportunities to develop as a person in their current situation. This indicates that no one of the informants had their self-directed affective motive of self-enhancement fulfilled. The replies indicated that being able to work, and have a social role, was a very important aspect of life. As already mentioned having a social role was also important in having a sense of belonging. In this case, having clearly defined social roles might fulfil both the need to belong and the need for self-enhancement. This may suggest that belonging is an underlying motive for self-enhancement. There was also variation within the motive of trusting. The results roughly indicated that four of the informants were not able to trust anyone, while two did.

It was possible to divide the informants into two groups in three of the five motives. The informants with a sense of control also had someone they could trust and had a better understanding of own situation. The other three informants did not have a sense of belonging, did not understand own situation nor had a sense of control or were not able to trust anyone. Two of these informants reported concentration problems; they were not able to control their own thoughts. It is likely that concentration problems limit both sense of control and understanding of own environment. This may indicate that concentration problems are a consequence of not having fulfilled core social motives. The results further indicated how important it is to have a clearly defined social role in order to have fulfilled core social motives.

Feeling humiliated is likely to threaten all the core social motives. It also appears that lack of fulfilled social core motives is one of the things that can make a person feel humiliated. The informants said they were ashamed of their identity. This may confirm the notion that humiliation is related to shame (Scheff, 1994). No one of the informants, however, mentioned the core social motives when talking about humiliation. There was no observed variation in whether the informants felt humiliated; a larger sample may be able to show variation in feelings of humiliation.

It is not possible to statistically generalise the findings in this study because it applied a qualitative research method. The focus is on explanatory power rather than generalizability, which is the ability to explain what might happen in a given situation (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The next section will relate the findings to current research.

How can reactions and coping strategies be explained by a CSM approach?

Social exclusion is described as social death; it can thus be argued that it threatens all core social motives, especially belonging, control and understand. The results indicated that the informants appeared hurt, sad and angry because they did not have any rights to e.g. work and get a mobile phone; they felt like lower level beings. This supports the notion that social rejection may elicit anger, sadness and hurt feelings (Buckley et al., 2004). Research has further suggested that reactions to social exclusion may include distorted time perception, less orientation towards the future and flattened affect (Twenge et al., 2003). The results of this study indicated that at least two of the informants had flattened affect, they expressed that their emotions were frozen and like knots. These two informants also found it difficult to express their dreams for the future. This might indicate less orientation towards the future.

All the informants reported being discriminated against. Perceived discrimination has been suggested to increase psychological stress and a lack of trust in the government (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lathi, 2000). This was supported by the informants' typical lack of trust in fair treatment of asylum application. This may be a reaction to an unfulfilled motive of trust. Perceived racism has also been suggested to lead to behavioural problems, lower self-concept and high levels of hopelessness (Gibbons et al., 2004). The informants reported high level of hopelessness about their current situation. They also report missing contact with Norwegians and that they are ashamed of their identity as asylum seekers. This indicates that the informants feel socially stigmatised and that it influences their sense of self-worth in a negative way. Carvalho and Pelham (2006) argue that acknowledging discrimination is a threat to an individual's need to belong. They claimed that members of a stigmatised group should strive to convince themselves that they rarely experience the kind of discrimination frequently experienced by their fellow in-group members. Four of the informants in this study reported no sense of belonging and should consequently have a very strong need to belong. They did, however, report personal experience with discrimination. The two informants who had some sense of belonging, on the other hand, focused more on their lack of rights as a group to e.g. work, have a mobile phone as being discriminating. This indicates an opposite effect to what Carvalho and Pelham (2006) found; the informants who had a strong wish to belong were more likely to report personal experience with discrimination. It has to be kept in mind, however, that this study was conducted on asylum seekers, individuals who are in a very different situation than American college students who Carvalho and Pelham (2006)

tested. A study looking at degree of personal experience with discrimination and sense of belonging among asylum seekers may be able to investigate in more detail how sense of belonging influence perceived discrimination among asylum seekers.

Findings from this study suggest that social exclusion results in feeling hurt, sad and angry, flattened affect and less orientation towards the future. Social exclusion threatens the underlying motive to belong. Consequently, a CSM approach indicates that these reactions can be results of having an unfulfilled core motive to belong. The results further indicated that perceived discrimination resulted in lack of trust in the government and high levels of hopelessness. Discrimination threatens the core social motive of trust; hence a CSM approach indicates that the informants' reactions to discrimination are due to an unfulfilled motive of trust. A sense of belonging further seemed to influence what kind of discrimination the informants reported. This indicates that the motive to belong influenced the informants' perception of discrimination.

The results may further suggest that the informants' fulfilment of core social motives influenced their way of dealing with current life. The three informants who had some sense of understanding, control and trust dealt with their situation in an active manner, they tried to stay busy in order to forget. These informants could also see that their actions lead to results. By staying busy they were able to avoid thinking of their situation most of the time. The informants who did not have a sense of understanding, control and trust were passive. They did not feel like their actions lead to results and they suffered from concentration problems. This indicates that the informants who stayed busy applied active coping strategies, such as acceptance, reframing and striving (Heppner et al. 2006), problem solving, seeking social support, cognitive restructuring, active distraction and humor (Mantler et al., 2005). These Strategies have been suggested to result in lower levels of psychological stress (Mantler et al., 2005), overall problem resolution and positive coping outcomes (Heppner et al., 2006). The findings indicate that the "passive" informants applied the emotional avoidance coping strategies such as passive resignation and emotional restriction (Mantler et al., 2005), avoidance, detachment and private emotional outlets (Heppner et al., 2006). These strategies, on the other hand, have been suggested to result in higher PTSD scores and higher score on psychological distress in general (Heppner et al. 2006), and high levels of stress (Mantler et al., 2005). This study did not measure PTSD or psychological stress, the results indicates, however, that the "passive" informants were more influenced by their current life situation than the "active" informants.

This suggests that the informants who had a higher level of fulfilled core social motives were able to apply active coping strategies and hence experience lower levels of psychological stress. The informants who had a few or no fulfilled core social motives were not able to apply active coping strategies, which resulted in concentration problems and higher levels of psychological stress. This may also indicate that the informants apply similar coping strategies in a stressful situation as individuals not living in exile.

Acculturation among asylum seekers living in a Norwegian asylum centre

Williams and Berry (1991) argue that several variables play a role in how a refugee experiences acculturation. These may include prior knowledge of language and culture, prior intercultural encounters, motives for the contact, positive or negative attitudes toward acculturation, positive or negative contact experiences with the larger society, sense of cognitive control, one's level of education and values and self-esteem. Two of the informants had friends and family who had been granted asylum and it is likely that these two informants had more prior knowledge of the Norwegian society than the other informants. Both of these informants were applying active coping strategies. All three informants who applied active coping strategies had friends outside of the asylum centre. Contact with the larger society may have positively influenced their coping strategies. Having friends outside the asylum centre may also have a positive effect on the informants' sense of control and understanding.

William and Berry (1991) further highlight the fact that some groups are more accepted than others depending on ethnicity, race or religion. Even in societies that are generally tolerant of differences, there are still degrees of social acceptability of various ethnic groups. The less accepted groups are more likely to meet barriers such as prejudice, discrimination and exclusion. All the informants in this study reported being discriminated against. It has to be kept in mind that being from Afghanistan and Pakistan all the informants had dark hair, brown eyes and darker skin than the typical Norwegian. It may be that these informants were more prone to discrimination than for example asylum seekers from Eastern Europe who may look more similar to Norwegians in general.

Humiliation among asylum seekers living in a Norwegian asylum centre

One of the aims of this study was to investigate humiliation among asylum seekers. This was done by looking at past research on humiliation and by investigating the informants' perception of humiliation. As already mentioned, all the informants experienced being an asylum seeker as humiliating.

Prior to talking about humiliation the informants were asked what kind of emotions they would use to describe their current life situation. The replies suggested blocked feelings, feeling trapped and fear. The informants reacted emotionally differently to the same situation. This may be explained by variation in feelings of humiliation. There was no apparent variation in the degree of humiliation among the informants in this study. This, however, may be explained by the small sample. A larger sample may have been able to detect differences. This is an area for future research. All the informants, however, gave examples from being an asylum seeker as an example of a humiliating situation. The situations focused on social stigma, gossip, lack of basic rights, being lower status beings, and discrimination. This indicates that humiliation is associated with lack of belonging and that the reactions associated with stigma and discrimination can also be viewed as reactions to humiliation. Examples of a situation that is not humiliating focused on respect, equality, and the right to work and study.

Lack of equality appears to be one of the central aspects of asylum seekers lives. It is likely that the perception of lack of equality might be a result of not having the CSM of understanding and control fulfilled. This suggests that lack of the CSM of belonging, understanding and control is one of the things that can make a person feel humiliated. Feeling humiliated appears to include more than just lack of social core motives, however. This supports Lindner (2002)'s notion that humiliation connects several aspects of the human condition: a societal process, process between people and an emotional state. To sum up, the results suggested this explanation of humiliation:

Humiliation is related to a situation characterised by lack of respect, basic rights and equality. Being humiliated threatens core social motives and lack of core social motives, especially the motives to belong, understand and control, can result in feeling humiliated. Feeling humiliated can trigger negative emotions resulting in low self-concept, high levels of hopelessness, lack of trust and increased psychological stress.

Lindner (in press) argues that when feelings of humiliation are not constructively resolved it may result in violence. This study indicates that to be an asylum seeker evokes feelings of humiliation. There have been focused on several violent acts conducted by asylum seekers in the Norwegian media over the last few years. Based on the findings of this study and theory of humiliation, reported feelings of humiliation among asylum seekers may contribute to the understanding of why these violent incidents occurred. It has to be kept in

mind, however, that feelings of humiliation do not automatically trigger violence (Linder, in press).

CSM and mental health

Research has indicated that asylum seekers score far greater than the general population on emotional stress (Lavik et al., 1999). This study did not measure emotional stress but the informants' behaviour during the interview and the results indicated that the informants perceived their current life situation as emotionally stressful. It has further been suggested that social isolation is related to PTSD symptomatology (Miller et al., 2002) such as nightmares, flashbacks, emotional detachment and difficulties trusting other people (Nieves-Grafals, 2001). Several of the informants reported difficulties sleeping, emotional detachment and difficulties trusting other people. This study did not focus on PTSD, the results, however, may indicate that some of the informants struggled with some of the PTSD symptoms.

Can lack of core social motives contribute to explaining the high frequency of mental health problems among asylum seekers? The results indicate that an asylum seekers everyday life consists of not having their underlying core social motives fulfilled. They are living in legal limbo dominated by uncertainty and little lack of social support. They are further being socially excluded, stigmatised and feel humiliated. The findings further suggest that not having fulfilled CSM can have seriously consequences. Lack of belonging might result in hurt feelings, sadness and anger, flattened affect and less orientation towards the future. Lack of trust has further been indicated to result in lack of trust in the government and high levels of hopelessness. Lack of belong, understand and control were related to feeling humiliated. Level of fulfilled CSM has also been suggested to influence coping strategies and consequently well-being. The informants who had higher level of fulfilled core social motives were able to apply active coping strategies, and consequently more likely to experience lower levels of psychological stress. Lack of core social motives and feelings of humiliation, however, may contribute to concentration problems and increased psychological stress. This indicates that lack of fulfilled core social motives may have a large impact on mental health.

Methodological considerations

This study was conducted on a small and exclusive group of informants. As noted, not much research has been conducted on this group. One of the reasons for this may be the

complexity of the group as a minority. They live in a stressful situation and their health situation is often worse than the general population.

As mentioned in the method section Pernice (1994) defines six areas of difficulties when conducting studies with immigrants. Several of these factors were evident in this study. The most prominent were sampling difficulties and linguistic problems.

The experienced difficulties with sampling are described in detail in the method section under presentation of the informants. The main reasons for the difficulties were past negative experiences with media and research, and a general scepticism to psychology among the asylum seekers. Pernice (1994) supports this observation in her paper where she argues that one can experience sampling difficulties due to unfamiliarity with social science research. This may indicate sampling difficulties is a general problem when conducting research on immigrants and especially asylum seekers. An area for future research on asylum seekers is to aim at reducing the factors that can cause sampling difficulties. One option, which has already been mentioned, would be to spend a considerable amount of time at the asylum centre prior to the interviews. The informants would be able to have conversations with the researcher and ask questions. If the informants trust and get the chance to get familiar with the researcher they might be more willing to participate in the planned study.

The second prominent difficulty in this study was linguistic problems. This was especially related to having to apply an interpreter. When comparing the interviews applying an interpreter and the interviews conducted in English, the first were shorter and dictated more by the interview guide than the latter. The interviews were longer and similar to a guided conversation when conducted in English. This can be explained by several reasons; the presence of an interpreter may have made the interview situation more formal. The fact that a person from their own culture was present may have made the informant more conscious about how he or she represented him or herself. Another explanation may be that the interpreter only presented a summary of what the informant had said. I was left with this impression quite often, even if I did not understand the language. A second linguistic problem was confusion concerning the term humiliation. This is explained in detail in the section on language barrier. What can we do to improve this problem? Pernice (1994) highlights the importance of selecting an interpreter. The interpreter should know the customs and respect the ethnic community. The interpreter should not know the community too well; this would hinder the anonymity of the data collection. Due to high demand I was not able to choose the interpreter. Luckily, the informants did not know the interpreters applied in this study. A longitudinal study, however, may be able to book the interpreter weeks before the interview

and consequently choose the interpreter. Another, and probably the best solution to the linguistic problems would be if the researcher knew the informants native language.

The traditional interpretive phenomenological analysis researcher may argue that this study put the word humiliation in the informants' mouth instead of letting it come naturally. Only one informant mentioned humiliation as a descriptive term of their situation before we started talking about it. An argument pro asking about humiliation is that this way one is certain that one is talking about humiliation and not just interpreting something the informant said as humiliation.

An external factor that may have influenced the reliability of the results concerning humiliation may have been the order of the questions. Humiliation was one of the last topics in the interview guide. It is possible that the order of the questions may have influenced the results. The informant may have been influenced by the context of the prior questions, which focused on the core motive of trusting. In order to avoid this, however, I did my best to signalise a change of topic by saying: we have talked about trust and we are now going to talk about a different topic. An idea for future research may be to start with questions concerning humiliation. The only concern is that questions concerning humiliation may be difficult to answer and hence, not the best way to start an interview. This is supported by the notion that it is important to make the opening questions simple and informal (McCracken, 1988). This is in order to reassure the informant because it is in the opening stages that he or she sets his or her defences.

Another area for future research is to conduct a study using the CSM approach focusing on humiliation among a larger sample size. I originally aimed at interviewing male asylum seekers from Afghanistan in order to conduct the interviews on a small closely defined group. Due to different circumstances (explained in detail in the method section: presentation of informants) I ended up with five men from Afghanistan and one female from Pakistan. It would have been ideal to have either just men or just women or 50% men and 50% women. I was unsure whether to include the interview conducted on the female from Pakistan. During the analysis, however, I observed many similarities between the interviews and it didn't appear to matter whether the informant was male or female or whether the birth country was Afghanistan or Pakistan. This may have been influenced by the fact that the female from Pakistan was not a "traditional" Pakistani or Afghani woman. As a MD she appeared relatively independent, highly educated and most likely used to work in a male

dominated environment. Her “untraditional” social role may have enhanced the similarities between her and the Afghani men’s replies.

As mentioned in the introduction, the Norwegian government decided to remove Norwegian classes for asylum seekers in 2003. The informants in this study, however, were still offered to go to school three days a week. The opportunity to learn Norwegian was unique for asylum seekers in this part of Norway. It is likely that the informants in this study have more core social motives fulfilled than the average asylum seeker in Norway. Not only are they given the chance to learn Norwegian, they are also given a bus card in order to get back and forth to school. The bus card makes them more mobile than the average asylum seeker living in Norway. It would be interesting to conduct a study applying a CSM approach on asylum seekers that do not get a bus card or have the opportunity to study Norwegian.

This study is as far as the author knows the first study conducted on asylum seekers applying a CSM approach. As already mentioned, studies on the experience of living in exile are sparse. Thus, this is an area in desperate need of future research. A qualitative approach gives the informants the opportunity to express how the informants make sense of their personal and social world. This study may have contributed to the understanding of which methodological issues that need to be taken into consideration when conducting a study on asylum seekers. It has also illustrated how a CSM approach can be applied as a framework to explore the life world of a closely defined group.

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Attachments

Attachment 1: Information letter in Dari and Norwegian

Attachment 2: Letter of informed consent (Norwegian)

Attachment 3: Interview guide (Norwegian)

Attachment 4: Interview guide (English)

Attachment 5: Approval from Norwegian Social Science Data Service (Norwegian)

Attachment 1: Information letter in Dari and Norwegian



تقاضا برای شرکت در مصاحبه

من محصل درجه ماستری در رشته روانشناسی در ان.تی.ان.یو هستم و فعلاً مصروف نوشتن آخرین مونوگراف خود هستم. ما میدانیم که زندگی در کمپ یک حالت خاص است. ولی درک این نکته که واقعاً در آنجا چه میگذرد، مشکل است. درست همین نکته است که میخواهم طی این مونوگراف خود دریابم، یعنی تجارب، افکار، و احساسات در زمان زندگی در کمپ.

برای درک این مسئله میخواهم با ده نفر مهاجرین افغانی مصاحبه کنم. سئوالاتی که طرح میشود از جمله در مورد ارتباط با ناروی و منطقه ای که شما زندگی میکنید، احساس داشتن کنترول در زندگی روزمره، اعتماد به انسانهای دور و پیش تان، و تفاهم اوضاعی که شما در آن قرار دارید.

شرکت تان درین پروژه کمک خواهد نمود که وضعیت مهاجرین در ناروی مورد توجه قرار گیرد زیرا اکثریت مردم درین مورد معلومات کافی ندارند.

من جریان مصاحبه را هم ضبط کست نموده و هم یاد داشت میکنم. برای هر مصاحبه دو ساعت وقت تخصیص داده شده است، البته با حضور ترجمان. در مورد تعیین زمان و مکان باید هر دو طرف موافق باشیم.

معلومات جمع آوری شده در یک مونوگراف (نشریه) درجه ماستری پخش میشود. موضوعات مورد بحث این مصاحبه، بالای رسیدگی درخواست پناهندگی تان بی اثر خواهد بود.

پروژه مذکور در جون 2006 ختم خواهد شد و دران وقت تمام مواد خام، مانند مصاحبه، تحلیل و تجزیه و کست ها پاک خواهد شد. محقق، ترجمان و رهنما موظف به راز داری اند و تمام اطلاعات، محرمانه حفظ خواهد شد. هویت معلومات دهندگان با تعیین شفر مخفی خواهد ماند. هیچکسی نمیتواند شما را از طریق این نشریه (مونوگراف) تشخیص دهد/ بشناسد.

شرکت درین پروژه خوش برضا است. شما میتوانید هر زمانیکه خواسته باشید، خود را بدون ارائه دلیل ازان بکشید. شما همچنان میتوانید به بعضی سئوالات جواب ندهید بدون آنکه دلیل بگوئید. برآمدن از پروژه و یا جواب ندادن به بعضی سئوالات، بالای وضعیت تان در کمپ کدام تاثیری نخواهد گذاشت.

اگر کدام سوالی داشته باشید، میتوانید به این شماره به من زنگ بزنید: 95220742 و یا میتوانید به این آدرس انترنت پیام ارسال کنید:
maribl@stud.ntnu.no

امش میتوانید با رهنمای من، پوهنمل مونس بندیکسن در انستیتوت روانشناسی به شماره 73597473 تماس بگیرید.
پروژه مذکور قبلاً به اطلاع "کمیته حمایه فردی برای تحقیق، خدمات اطلاعاتی ناروی در مورد علوم اجتماعی" رسانیده شده است.

با احترام

ماری بلیکوم

Forespørsel om å delta i intervju

Jeg er master student i psykologi ved NTNU, og holder på med min avsluttende oppgave. Vi er klar over at å bo på et asylmottak er en spesiell situasjon. Men det er vanskelig å tenke seg hvordan det faktisk er. Det er dette jeg har lyst til å finne ut av i oppgaven min; opplevelsen, tanker og følelser rundt det å bo på et asylmottak. For å finne ut av dette ønsker jeg å intervju 10 flyktninger fra Afghanistan. Spørsmålene kommer bl. annet til å dreie seg om tilknytning til Norge og det stedet du bor på, følelsen av å ha kontroll i hverdagen, tillit til menneskene rundt deg, og forståelse av situasjonen du er i.

Ved å delta i dette prosjektet vil du hjelpe med å sette fokus på flyktnings situasjon i Norge, noe folk flest vet veldig lite om.

Jeg vil bruke båndopptaker og ta notater mens vi snakker sammen. Det er satt av 2 timer til hvert intervju og en tolk vil være til stede. Vi blir sammen enige om tid og sted.

Informasjonen som blir samlet skal publiseres som en master oppgave. Det som blir snakket om i dette intervjuet vil ikke påvirke behandlingen av din asylsøknad.

Prosjektet vil bli avsluttet i juni 2006, da vil råmateriale, som intervju og analyse, og lydbåndopptak bli slettet. Både forsker, tolk og veileder er underlagt taushetsplikt og data vil bli behandlet konfidensielt. Informant vil bli avidentifisert ved hjelp av kodenummer. Ingen enkeltpersoner vil kunne kjenne seg igjen i den ferdige publikasjonen.

Deltagelsen i dette prosjektet er frivillig, du kan trekke deg på når som helst tidspunkt uten å oppgi grunn. Du kan også velge å ikke svare på enkelt spørsmål uten begrunnelse. Hvis du velger å trekke deg eller ikke svare på enkelt spørsmål vil ikke dette ha noen innvirkning på din situasjon på asylmottaket.

Hvis det er noe du lurer på kan du ringe meg på 95220742, eller sende en e-post til maribl@stud.ntnu.no. Du kan også kontakte min veileder 1. amanuensis Mons Bendixen ved institutt for psykologi, NTNU, på telefonnummer 73597473.

Prosjektet er meldt til personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste A/S.

Med vennlig hilsen

Mari Blikom

Attachment 2: Letter of informed consent (Norwegian)

Prosjekt rettet mot asylsøkere fra Afghanistan.
Masteroppgave i sosial- og samfunns-psykologi, NTNU, Vår 2006
Mari Blikom

Jeg gir herved mitt samtykke til å delta i dette prosjektet. Jeg har blitt gjort kjent med formålet for intervjuet, at informasjonen blir anonymisert og at lydbåndopptakene blir slettet etter at undersøkelsen er publisert.

Underskrift:

Attachment 3: Interview guide (Norwegian)

Dette intervjuet vil fokusere på din nåværende situasjon som flyktning i Norge. Det vil ikke bli spurt noen spørsmål om hvorfor du forlot hjemlandet ditt eller om behandlingen av din søknad om asyl her i Norge. Fokus vil være på din erfaring med å bo på et asylmottak. Dette intervjuet vil spesielt se på de sosiale aspektene av å bo i et asylmottak og hvordan dette påvirker dine tanker og følelser.

- *Du skal få god tid til å svare, hvis det er noen spørsmål du ikke vil svare på behøver du ikke det.*
- *Det vil være en tolk til stede under intervjuet. Hvis jeg har formulert spørsmålene litt vanskelig, eller om noe er uklart så si ifra. Det viktigste er at vi forstår hverandre godt.*
- *Jeg vil bruke en lydbåndopptaker slik at jeg senere kan skrive ned svarene dine, det er kun jeg som skal høre på opptakene. Tolken har også taushetsplikt, det er derfor ingen som får vite hva du har sagt til meg under dette intervjuet.*

Bakgrunnsinformasjon

- 1) kjønn
- 2) alder
- 3) sivilstand
- 4) hvor lenge har du vært i Norge?

Tilhørighet

- 5) Har du noe familie her på asylmottaket?
- 6) Har du noen du kan snakke med her på asylmottaket?
- 7) I hvilken grad ønsker du å bli en del av det norske samfunn?
- 8) I hvilken grad føler du tilhørighet til Afghanistan?
- 9) Føler du tilhørighet her ved asyl mottaket?
- 10) Hva legger du i ordet tilhørighet?

Nå har vi snakket om tilhørighet, og nå skal vi gå videre til et nytt tema.

Forståelse

- 11) Føler du at du forstår hvordan ting fungerer her på asyl mottaket?
- 12) Synes du at du forstår den situasjonen du er i?
- 13) I hvilken grad ønsker du å forstå den situasjonen du er i?
- 14) Hva gjør du for å få en forståelse for din situasjon?
- 15) Hva legger du i ordet forståelse?

Nå har vi snakket litt om forståelse, og nå skal vi snakke om et annet tema.

Kontroll

- 16) Hvordan føler du at du fungerer i miljøet her på asylmottaket?
- 17) I hvilken grad føler du at du har kontroll over livet ditt?
- 18) Hva gjør du for å oppnå en følelse av kontroll i din livssituasjon?
- 19) Ser du at handlingene dine fører til resultater?/ ser du at innsatsen din får uttelling?
- 20) Hvilke muligheter føler du at du har her på asylmottaket?
- 21) Hva legger du i ordet kontroll?

Nå har vi snakket om kontroll, nå skal vi gå over til et nytt tema.

Tillit

- 22) Føler du at du kan stole på menneskene rundt deg?
 - Hva med de som jobber her?
 - Hva med de som bor her?
- 23) Tror du asylsøknader blir behandlet rettferdig?
 - Hva med din søknad?
- 24) Hva legger du i ordet tillit?

Nå har vi snakket litt om tillit, nå skal vi snakke om et nytt tema.

Reaksjoner

- 25) Hvilke følelser beskriver best den situasjonen du er i nå?
- 26) Hva legger du i ordet nedverdiggelse?
- 27) Kan du gi noen eksempler på noen situasjoner du vil beskrive som nedverdiggende?
 - Hva var det i den situasjonen som var nedverdiggende, hvorfor?
- 28) Kan du gi noen eksempler på situasjoner du ikke vil beskrive som nedverdiggende?
- 29) I hvilken grad kan ordet nedverdiggelse beskrive den livs situasjonen du befinner deg i nå?

Nå har vi snakket litt om følelser og nedverdiggelse, nå skal vi gå over til siste del av intervjuet.

Styrking av selvet

- 30) Har du et ønske om å jobbe?
- 31) Har du et ønske om å lære norsk?
- 32) Har du et ønske om å utvikle deg?
- 33) I hvilken grad føler du at du kan utvikle deg som menneske i den situasjonen du er i?
- 34) Hva er dine drømmer for fremtiden?

Debriefing, slå av båndopptager, snakke med informanten om opplevelsen av intervjuet.

Attachment 4: Interview guide (English)

This interview will focus on your present situation as a refugee in Norway. There will be no questions about why you left Afghanistan. The focus will be on your experience from living in an asylum centre and how this influences your thoughts and feelings.

You will get enough time to answer, if there are any questions you would not like to answer you can choose to do so.

The interview will be tape-recorded; this is in order for me to write down your answers, I am the only one who will listen to the recordings.

Background information

- 1) Gender
- 2) Age
- 3) Marital status
- 4) How long have you been in Norway?

Belonging

- 5) Do you have any family at the asylum centre?
- 6) Do you have anyone you can talk to at the asylum centre?
- 7) To what degree do you wish to be apart of the Norwegian society?
- 8) To what degree do you feel belonginess to Afghanistan?
- 9) Do you feel like you belong at the asylum centre?
- 10) How would you define the word to belong?

We have talked about belonging and will move on to a new topic

Understanding

- 11) Do you feel like you understand how things work here at the asylum centre?
- 12) Do you think you understand the situation that you are in?
- 13) To what degree do you wish to understand the situation that you are in?
- 14) What do you do to understand the situation you are in?
- 15) How would you define the word to understand?

Now we have talked a little bit about understanding, we will now move on to another topic.

Control

- 16) How do you feel like you function in the social environment at the asylum centre?
- 17) To what degree do you feel like you have control over your life?
- 18) What do you do to achieve a sense of control in your life?
- 19) Can you see that your actions lead to results?
- 20) What kind of opportunities do you feel like you have here at the asylum centre?
- 21) How would you define the word control?

We have talked about control and we will now move on to a new topic.

Trusting

- 22) Do you feel like you can trust the people around you?
 - What about the people working here?
 - What about the people living here?
- 23) Do you think that asylum applications are treated fairly?
 - What about your application?

24) How do you define trusting?

Now we have talked about trust, we will now move on to a different topic

Reactions

25) What kind of emotions can best describe your current situation?

26) How do you define humiliation? Degradation?

27) Can you give any examples of a situation that you would describe as humiliating/degrading?

28) Can you give any examples of a situation that you would not describe as humiliating/degrading?

29) To what degree can humiliation/degradation describe your current life situation?

We have talked about emotions and humiliation/degradation; we will now move on to the last part of the interview

Self-enhancement

30) Do you have a wish to work?

31) Do you want to learn Norwegian?

32) Do you have a wish to develop as a person?

33) To what degree do you feel like you can develop as a person in the situation that you are in?

34) What are your dreams for the future?

Debriefing, turn of the tape recorder, talk to the informant about the interview.

Attachment 5: Approval from Norwegian Social Science Data Service (Norwegian)



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www.nsd.uib.no
Org.nr. 985 321 884

Mons Bendixen
Psykologisk institutt
NTNU
Dragvoll
7491 TRONDHEIM

Vår dato: 18.11.2005

Vår ref: 200501716 SM /RH

Deres dato:

Deres ref:

TILRÅDING AV BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 18.10.2005. Meldingen gjelder prosjekt:

13520 *Social Core Motives and Humiliation Among Refugees from Irak in a Norwegian Asylum Centre*
Behandlingsansvarlig *Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet, ved institusjonens øverste leder*
Daglig ansvarlig *Mons Bendixen*
Student *Mari Blikom*

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet, og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger vil være regulert av § 7-27 i personopplysningsforskriften. Personvernombudet tilrår at prosjektet gjennomføres.

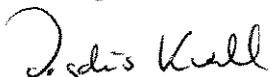
Personvernombudets vurdering forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres slik det er beskrevet i vedlagt prosjektvurdering. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, <http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/register/>

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 30.06.2006, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen


Vigdis Kvalheim


Siv Midthassel

Kontaktperson: Siv Midthassel tlf: 55 58 83 34

Kopi: Mari Blikom
Carl Johansgate 14 leilighet 7
7010 TRONDHEIM

Avdelingskontorer / District Offices:

OSLO: NSD, Universitetet i Oslo, Postboks 1055 Blindern, 0316 Oslo. Tel: +47-22 85 52 11. nsd@uio.no

TRONDHEIM: NSD, Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet, 7491 Trondheim. Tel: +47-73 59 19 07. kyrre.svarva@svt.ntnu.no

TROMSØ: NSD, SVF, Universitetet i Tromsø, 9037 Tromsø. Tel: +47-77 64 43 36. nsdmaa@sv.uit.no

Prosjektvurdering

Daglig ansvarlig/veileder

Mons Bendixen
Psykologisk institutt
NTNU
Dragvoll
7491 TRONDHEIM

Student

Mari Blikom
Carl Johansgate 14 leilighet 7
7010 TRONDHEIM

13520 Social Core Motives and Humiliation Among Refugees from Irak in a Norwegian Asylum Centre

Formålet med prosjektet er å få økt kunnskap om opplevelse, tanker og følelser rundt det å bo på et asylmottak.

Utvalget består av 10 voksne asylsøkere fra Irak. Utvalget rekrutteres gjennom et flyktningemottak i Sør-Trøndelag etter avtale med driftsleder. Prosjektleder eller driftsleder gir en muntlig presentasjon av prosjektet. En liste med mulige intervjuetidspunkter hvor interesserte kan skrive seg opp legges ut. Interesserte informanter får skriftlig informasjon, evt. supplert med muntlig informasjon ved tolk, før intervju. Det innhentes skriftlig samtykke. Personvernombudet legger til grunn at det gjøres følgende endringer i informasjonsskrivet, som avtalt med prosjektleder på telefon 17.11.2005:

- setningen "Navn og annen personlig informasjon vil ikke bli registrert" utgår
- presisering av at datamaterialet anonymiseres ved prosjektslutt ved at opptak og navn slettes

Ombudet ber om at revidert informasjonsskriv ettersendes før det utdeles til utvalget.

Opplysninger samles inn gjennom kvalitativt intervju. Det vil være tolk tilstede under intervju. Tema for intervju er opplevelse av å bo i et asylmottak, tilhørighet, familie, forståelse, kontroll, tillit, reaksjoner, fremtidsplaner. Det registreres bakgrunnsopplysninger som kjønn, nasjonalitet, hvor lenge informanten har vært i Norge og sivilstand. Det samles inn og registreres sensitive personopplysninger, jf. personopplysningsloven § 2 8 a).

Intervjuene vil bli tatt opp på analogt bånd og det vil bli skrevet notater underveis. Opplysninger transkriberes og oppbevares på privat pc tilknyttet Internett og på en pc tilknyttet NTNU-nettet. Ved transkribering vil direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger (navn) erstattes med et referansenummer som viser til en manuell navneliste. Listen oppbevares nedlåst og atskilt fra det øvrige materialet.

Datamaterialet anonymiseres ved prosjektslutt ved at verken direkte eller indirekte personidentifiserbare opplysninger fremgår, navneliste, samtykkeerklæring og opptak slettes.

Prosjektslutt er satt til 30.06.2006.