



GLOBAL STUDIES

# ROUTINES AND SOCIAL PRACTICE

A qualitative thesis about the relationship  
between societal actors and Unaccompanied  
Minor Asylum Seekers in Sweden

**Fanny Lundgren**

---

|                        |  |
|------------------------|--|
| Essay/Thesis:          | Master Thesis (30 credits)                       |
| Program and/or course: | Master of Human Rights, University of Gothenburg |
| Semester/year:         | Spring 2017                                      |
| Supervisor:            | Magnus Berg                                      |

# Abstract

The purpose of the thesis was to: (1) Investigate if Sweden fails to fulfil the obligations as stated in article 3, 6, 22, 33 – 37 of the CRC (1989) concerning their treatment of UMAS in Sweden; (2) Investigate the perspective on UMAS as presented in the routines of relevant actors; (3) Investigate if there is an underlying discourse which affects the relevant actors; (4) Investigate how Maslows hierarchy of needs can explain that deviations and poor mental health in UMAS is a consequence of flaws within the system.

Fairclough's three-dimensional model was used to investigate if there was any underlying discourse which affected the societal actors and what perspective the relevant societal actors regarding UMAS. By using Maslows hierarchy of need the thesis aimed to show that possible flaws within the system could account for the poor mental health in UMAS and in deviations. The Convention on the Rights of the Child was used during the analysis of the societal actors to determine if the stated discourse or the hidden discourses worked with the ideas of the convention or not. And it was used to some extent to investigate if Sweden failed/ did not fail to meet the obligations as stated in the CRC (1989)

The result showed that it was hard to say how or if the societal actors fulfilled the obligations as stated in the CRC but contradicting discourses and questionable perspectives on UMAS causes one to question it. The Migration Office and the Social Services portrayed UMAS as one homogenous group. The police make a difference in UMAS and children/ minors by failing to recognise UMAS as possible victims of smuggling/ trafficking and only mentioning them in combination with extremists. This indicated that the police believe that UMAS can only be victims of smuggling/ trafficking when they put themselves in a risky situation. The Social Services, the Migration Office and the police shows traces of being affected by underlying discourses which creates clear contradictions. Because of the flaws within the system UMAS was placed on the first step on Maslows hierarchy of needs. This can negatively affect ones' mental health and may lead to issues such as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, anxiety and depression.

Key-words: UMAS, unaccompanied minors, Convention on the Rights of the Child, Mental Health, Critical Discourse Analysis, Fairclough's three-dimensional model, Social Services, Migration Office, Police

## **Foreword**

A big thank you to the people who contributed to this thesis by sharing their knowledge and expertise on the subject; an especially big thank you to the interviewees.

# Table of content

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Abbreviations .....   | 7  |
| 1.0 Introduction .....  | 8  |
| 1.1 Purpose .....   | 11 |
| 1.1.1 Delimitations.....  | 12 |
| 2.0 Method .....  | 14 |
| 2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis .....   | 14 |
| 2.2 Fairclough’s Three-Dimensional Model .....                                    | 15 |
| 2.2.1 The interviews.....   | 16 |
| 2.3 Implementation in thesis.....   | 17 |
| 2.3.1 Discourse practice.....   | 17 |
| 2.3.2 Text .....  | 17 |
| 2.3.3 Social practice.....  | 18 |
| 2.3.4 Result .....  | 18 |
| 2.4 Critical remarks .....  | 18 |
| 2.4.1 Choice of method.....   | 19 |
| 2.4.2 Research ethic discussion .....   | 19 |
| 2.4.3 Data.....   | 20 |
| 2.4.4 Material and Critique .....   | 24 |
| 2.4.5 Analysis.....   | 25 |
| 2.4.6 Generalisability, Validity and Reliability .....                            | 25 |
| 3.0 Theory .....  | 27 |
| 3.1 Maslows Hierarchy of Needs .....  | 27 |
| 3.1.1 Implementation in thesis .....  | 28 |
| 3.2 Maslows Hierarchy of Needs and the Convention on the Rights of the Child..... | 28 |
| 4.0 Previous research.....  | 30 |
| 4.1 Choice of literature .....  | 39 |
| 5.0 Analyse.....  | 40 |
| 5.1 HVB.....  | 40 |
| 5.1.1 Fairclough’s Three-Dimensional Model.....                                   | 41 |
| 5.1.2 Maslows Hierarchy of Needs.....   | 42 |
| 5.1.3 The Convention on the Rights of the Child .....                             | 42 |
| 5.2 Social Services.....  | 43 |
| 5.2.1 Fairclough’s Three-Dimensional Model.....                                   | 45 |

|   |    |
|---|----|
| 5.2.2 Maslows Hierarchy of Needs.....                 | 45 |
| 5.2.3 The Convention on the Rights of the Child ..... | 46 |
| 5.3 The Police .....                                  | 46 |
| 5.3.1 Fairclough’s Three-Dimensional Model.....       | 47 |
| 5.3.2 Maslows Hierarchy of Needs.....                 | 48 |
| 5.3.3 The Convention on the Rights of the Child ..... | 48 |
| 5.4 The Migration Office.....                         | 49 |
| 5.4.1 Fairclough’s Three-Dimensional Model.....       | 50 |
| 5.4.2 Maslows Hierarchy of Needs.....                 | 51 |
| 5.4.3 The Convention on the Rights of the Child ..... | 51 |
| 6.0 Discussion .....                                  | 52 |
| 7.0 Conclusion.....                                   | 55 |
| 7.1 Future research .....                             | 57 |
| Bibliography.....                                     | 58 |
| Appendix .....  | 60 |

## **Abbreviations**

**CRC:** Convention on the Rights of the Child.

**EU:** European Union.

**GA:** General Anxiety

**UMAS:** Unaccompanied Minor Asylum Seekers.

**UN:** United Nations.

**UNHCR:** The United Nation High Commissioner on Refugees.

**HVB:** Home for care and living (*Hem för Vård och Boende*). Swedish abbreviation.

**PTSD:** Post Traumatic Stress Disorder.

## 1.0 Introduction

In the beginning of 2016 Human Rights Watch stated that there were flaws in the Swedish system and as a consequence UMAS rights were not being fulfilled (Riddell 2016);

- UMAS in some cases were not given the physical/psychological care they were entitled to.
- UMAS waited for an extended period of time before they were given an interview to determine if they were entitled to asylum.
- The accommodations were not satisfactory.
- Guardians were not provided rapidly enough (Riddell 2016).

This critique means that Sweden are not fulfilling some of the obligations as stated in the CRC (1989) and when the Swedish government released a national report the reasons for deviations were stated to be long waits for their interviews at the Migration Offices (Akbar Ali, Gustafsson, Kullander, Löönroos Tönnes, Verständig 2016: 9). Other reasons mentioned were;

- Fear of authorities.
- The child wishes to move to another municipality.
- The child does not wish to seek asylum.
- Suspected 'honour' problems.
- Suspected affiliation with criminal gangs and suspected affiliation with traffickers (Akbar Ali, Gustafsson, Kullander, Löönroos Tönnes, Verständig 2016: 21 - 23).

Some of the reasons as to why UMAS deviate is not because of the child/ minor itself. Some off the reasons mentioned are factors that could have been prevented by the relevant societal actors. By providing information regarding the system that UMAS are placed within they may decrease the fear of authorities. By maintaining a high quality of security then they may prevent any continuing affiliation with criminal gangs or traffickers. The government is furthermore responsible to maintain that UMAS are given the psychological and physical care that they are entitled to. That these issues are stated as reasons as to why UMAS deviate creates questions around what the government are doing to work against poor mental health and to keep UMAS otherwise protected from possible threats. Since Human Rights Watch



stated that there was flaws in the system one can assume that the issues do not lie with one actor in particular but with all the actors (Riddell 2016). With this critique in mind it becomes interesting to look into earlier research regarding the mental health of UMAS, how the Social Services are operating with UMAS and how relevant societal actors in Sweden work individually and how they cooperate with each other to keep UMAS safe from potential threats. That is also interesting considering the fact that Sweden signed and ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989).

Previous research, which will be more discussed, later in the study are limited and narrow. Most of the research which will be presented have been conducted outside of Sweden and thus, the Swedish perspective have not been presented to the same extent. The research which has been chosen for this study have been focused on the unaccompanied minors in terms of who they are, how old they are and where they come from. Studies have been conducted in England and Belgium, for example, about how the societal actors work with these unaccompanied minors and one study in England mentioned poor mental health. There have been studies on how to improve the way certain societal actors approach these individuals but these studies are often focused on one or two actors and thus, do not discuss cooperation between societal actors; nor do they approach the subject of poor mental health in relation to the actions taken by societal actors. With this said, it becomes clear that there are a few knowledge gaps evident in the research concerning the subject mentioned which this thesis will be attempting to contribute knowledge to. Firstly, there is the lack of critique towards the relevant actors both in terms of their respective responsibility and their lack of collaboration. Mental Health of unaccompanied children/ minors is highly relevant and as previously mentioned it has only been touched upon briefly in some of the research above. Poor mental health in unaccompanied children/ minors has never been seen as a negative consequence of flaws within the system. This thesis will attempt to combine some of the knowledge gaps and provide possibly relevant knowledge. The thesis will critically look at the routines of the societal actors, it will look into collaboration between them also critically and connect flaws within the system to poor mental health of unaccompanied children/ minors.

Specific articles were chosen for this study because they talk about the responsibility of the state. To summarise, the articles say that the state are responsible to ensure that every child/ minor is protected and they should take all measures to ensure that (Convention on the Rights

of the Child 1989, article 3, 6, 22, 33 - 37). Since Sweden has ratified the CRC (1989) they are obligated to implement these laws nationally. This affects certain actors in society because they have to ensure that their routines take these laws into consideration. Some of the actors that are affected by this convention is the Social Services, the police, the Migration Offices and HVBs. These societal actors were chosen because they are seen as primary in affecting the lives of UMAS. There are naturally more such as schools, health care and so on but those actors are seen as secondary in affecting the lives of unaccompanied children/ minors. The specific articles in the CRC (1989) speak about the responsibility of states. That does not only imply the state as a whole but the societal actors that are a part of the ruling apparatus implement the articles from the CRC (1989). The societal actors can either have a negative or a positive effect on the lives of UMAS and if they do not implement the obligations as set forth in the CRC (1989) that would mean that Sweden is violating the rights of children.

In the thesis, unaccompanied children/ minors will be referred to as either UMAS (Unaccompanied Minor Asylum Seekers) or unaccompanied children/ minors. They will be referred to as UMAS because this research does not include children/ minors who do not apply for asylum. But they will be referred to as unaccompanied children/ minors in the previous research since the studies mentioned does.

To summarise, Sweden has signed and ratified the CRC (1989). The CRC (1989) is a convention promoting the rights of children/ minors and mentions, among other things, state responsibility in several articles. Human Rights Watch criticised the Swedish system and stated that the consequences of those flaws were that UMAS rights were not fulfilled (Riddell 2016). A national report mentioned that reasons for deviations where they mentioned, among others, fear of authorities and long waits for interviews at the Migration Office (Akbar Ali, Gustafsson, Kullander, Löönroos Tønnes, Verständig 2016: 9). The critique that Sweden – and by definition the societal actors within the state – has been given means that the state does not fulfil the obligations as stated in the CRC (1989). By default, this should mean that the relevant actors fail too. The issues are from what one can gather that the basic rights of UMAS may not be fulfilled, for example mental health needs, that the relevant societal actors fail to fulfil their obligations and that UMAS are at risk of ending up in potentially harmful situations due to deviating. This discourse will look into those issues with the aim to increase the knowledge. It will also look into the underlying discourse to investigate if it contributes to

the behaviour of the state and by default the relevant actors. The thesis will not look into the practical actions per say but will focus on the theoretical stance and how the practical side are affected by that.

## **1.1 Purpose**

The purpose as a whole of the thesis is to investigate the consequences of routines on social practice. This will be done by investigating the perspective on UMAS as presented in the routines of the relevant societal actors (the Social Services, HVBs, the police and the Migration Offices); to investigate if there is an underlying discourse which affects the relevant actors and; to investigate what causes deviations and poor mental health in UMAS; and to investigate how/ if Sweden fulfil the obligations as stated in article 3, 6, 22, 33 – 37 of the CRC (1989) concerning their treatment of UMAS in Sweden. The goal of the thesis is to contribute with more knowledge to the relevant actors about how their routines affect UMAS and about the CRC (1989). The thesis also aims to broaden the discussion about deviations and poor mental health most specifically why UMAS deviate sometimes voluntarily and what may cause poor mental health.

In order to fulfil the purpose, the following research questions has been formulated:

1. How do relevant societal actors (the Social Services, HVBs, the police and the Migration Offices) protect UMAS from potentially threatening situations?
2. How are UMAS portrayed by the relevant societal actors (the Social Services, HVBs, the police and the Migration Offices)?
3. How can poor mental health and deviations among UMAS be explained by the routines of relevant societal actors (the Social Services, HVBs, the police and the Migration Offices)?

To clarify, all questions will be answered using routines, official documents, two interviews and previous studies. By combining this information, the study aims to answer if there may be some kind of connection between routines, social practice, deviations and mental health in UMAS. The author of the study is aware that the conclusions drawn cannot be 100% correct. But the conclusion can draw attention to a subject which needs more research in order to reach the underlying truth behind the phenomena of deviating UMAS.

### **1.1.1 Delimitations**

The following limitations were put on the thesis with regards to purpose, execution and ethical reasons.

The thesis will focus on Sweden. Not all articles from the CRC (1989) will be used and the ones that will be used focus on the responsibility of the state. A total of four actors will be included in the thesis because their routines and the possibly underlying discourse affects them greatly. Two actors will be contacted for phone-interviews and those are one HVB and one of the Migration Offices. The HVB provides information about the day to day life of UMAS and the Migration Office provides with information about the process of asylum applications. Furthermore, those two actors shape the environment of UMAS the most. Routines from three of the actors will be used and those are the police, Social Services and the Migration Office. Two out of them affect UMAS to some extent but not to the same extent as HVBs and the Migration Offices. Overall the information from the actors will be used to investigate if there is an underlying discourse, if Sweden fulfils the obligations as stated in the CRC (1989) and to investigate how Maslows hierarchy of needs can explain that poor mental health and deviations can be consequences due to flaws within the system. The aim of the thesis is not to look at the practical side of the societal actors but how the shape of the routines could possibly affect them. This can be seen as a flaw since it may only lead to revealing potential flaws in theory but not in practice. But it can also be seen as a strength since by focusing on theory it is possible to highlight issues in the way routines are written. This would allow for further research concerning how to change the routines and to look into the practical side of these societal actors.

The time period for the material can be seen as covering 2005 – 2017. It needs to be stressed that the majority of the information is dated between 2013 – 2017 with the occasional scientific article and official document dating further back than that. The time period is extensive due to the scarce number of scientific articles and official documents. Had the delimitation in terms of time period been more harshly applied that would have meant that the thesis lost a substantial amount of material. This would be damaging. Rather than viewing the extensive time period as a flaw one can see it as a sign that there needs to be more research conducted about the subject. The thesis will only use routines from official sources due to

wanting to get the perspective of the societal actors. Articles and so on is not interesting nor does it suit the purposes of the study.

Poor mental health in this thesis refers to issues that may have arisen from some kind of traumatic experience or because of bad circumstances and not issues that the individual in question was born with. For example, such mental health issues include General Anxiety (GA), Panic Attacks, which can turn into Panic Disorder, and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). The author of the thesis is aware that this delimitation excludes a number of mental health issues. The reason for this delimitation is because the thesis does not aim to investigate mental health in its entirety but mental health in relation to how UMAS are affected by the relevant and previously mentioned societal actors which combined forms their daily life. Although mental health issues that individuals were born with can negatively affect their daily life the author of the thesis recognises that including every kind of mental health issues would prove difficult and thus, decided against it. To summarise, when poor mental health is mentioned in the thesis the term refers to issues that the individual was not born with but began experiencing symptoms of due to traumatic experiences or other bad circumstances. This includes for example different kind of anxiety disorders, panic attacks and PTSD.

When the thesis mentions deviations, it refers to children/ minors who have applied for asylum, appointed a municipality where they are staying but have deviated from the HVB or the foster family where they were staying. It needs to be stressed that deviations occur before some children/ minors have been registered or applied for asylum but considering the design of the research these children/ minors are not included. This delimitation was made with execution in mind and the author decided that including those children/ minors would have presented an issue for the thesis as a whole. That does not mean that it is not an important subject to research or discuss. However, the design of this thesis would not be able to take their particular set of circumstances into consideration in a satisfactory way.

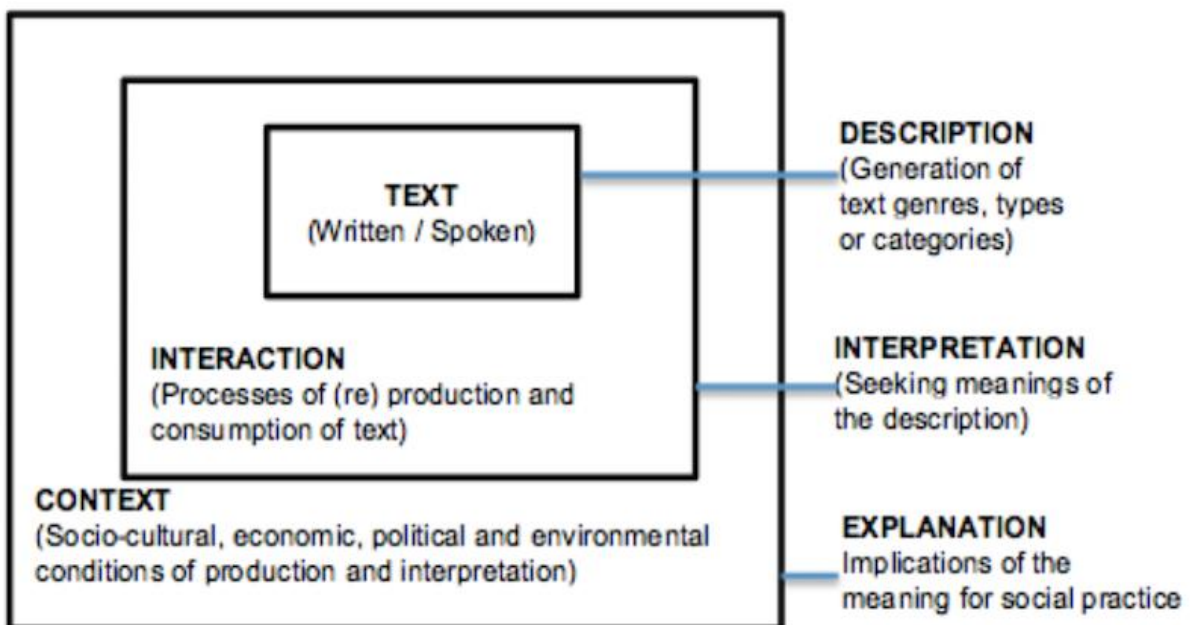
## 2.0 Method

### 2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

There are five common traits within the different versions of the critical discourse analysis. (1) *Social and cultural processes and structures contain a partly linguistic- discursive character.* Discursive practices are formed through the creation and consumption of texts. They are seen as an important form of social practice which contributes to constituting the social world (social identities and relationships included). It is partly through this – the creation and consumption of texts – which leads to social and cultural changes in society. And one purpose of the critical discourse analysis is to highlight the linguistic-discursive dimension within social and cultural phenomena's. (2) *The discourse is both constituted and constituting.* Within the critical discourse analysis, it is important that social practice constitutes the social world and is constituted by other practitioners. The discourse does not only contribute to shaping and/ or reshaping social structures and processes, it also mirrors them. This method takes into consideration that discursive practices are affected by forces in society that does not contain a discursive character. Within the critical discourse analysis language is seen as an act through which humans can affect the world and an act which is socially and historically situated. (3) *The use of language will be analysed empirically in the social context.* The critical discourse analysis performs concrete linguistic analyses of the use of language within social interactions. (4) *The discourse works ideologically.* The critical discourse analysis claims that discursive practices contribute to creating unequal power-relationships between different groups in society. This inequality is seen as ideologically effects. The critical discourse analysis focuses on both the discursive practitioners who constructs social relationships, subjects, power relationships and the role that these discursive constructions plays in the promotion of the interests of certain groups. The critical discourse analysis is critical because it believes its purpose to be to clarify the role of the discursive practice in terms of maintaining the social world; this includes the unequal power relationships. (5) *Critical research.* The critical discourse analysis does not look at itself as politically neutral but as a critical approach that is politically dedicated to social change. This method is on the side of the 'underdogs' of society. The critic is meant to reveal the role of a discursive practice as something which maintains the unequal power relationships (Jørgensen & Phillips 2000: 67 - 70).

## 2.2 Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model

The most important concept in Fairclough's three-dimensional model is discourse. He defines discourse in two ways. One version is more abstract and defines discourse as the use of language and social practice. The second definition of discourse is more practical. That definition says that discourse is communicating in a way that provides meaning for experiences based upon perspectives. Discourses subsides to the building of social identities, relationships and knowledge systems. Three other functions are: identity function, interpersonal function and ideational function. When you analyse a discourse, focus is put on two dimensions; (1) *The communicative event* – anything when language is used; (2) *The discourse order* – all types of existing discourses that are used within a social institution or domain. Genres can be found in different types of discourses. Genres is the specific way that language is used in that particular institution and is called an order of discourse. This is evident for example at hospitals. Within hospitals there are different practitioners and because of that the genres will differ. All discursive practices – production and consumption of communicative events – contain discourses and genres that are used in a certain way. Every communicative event contains three dimensions: (1) *The text*; (2) *The discursive practice*; (3) *The social practice* (Jørgensen & Phillips 2000: 72 - 74).



The image above is a Fairclough's three-dimensional model. All three dimensions are used when a communicative event is analysed. The researcher looks into (1) *the traits of the text*;

*(2) the connected production and consumption processes; (3) the broader social practice that the text is connected to.* Analytically, text and discourse practice, should be kept separated because they are two dimensions of the model. The focus when analysing the discourse practice is how the writer bases the text on pre-existing discourses and genres and how the recipient uses the same factors to interpret it. The focus when analysing a text is on the formal parts that creates discourses and linguistic genres. Following parts of a communicative event is analysed: *(1) articulated discourses and genres; (2) the linguistic structure; (3) the effect of the discursive practice and how broader social practices are affected.* The critical discourse analysis aims to show connections between the usage of language and social practice. For example, communicative events affect and are affected by social practice because of its relationship to the discourse. Discursive practitioners are given attention for their involvement in maintaining the status quo (Jørgensen & Phillips 2000: 74 – 76).

### **2.2.1 The interviews**

Two interviews will be conducted; with a member of staff from an HVB and a member of staff from one of the Migration Offices. The interviews will be semi-structured because this method is deemed to best suit the thesis. Semi-structured interviews allow for the researcher to have a certain structure in the interview while maintaining the possibility to ask questions he or she wants answered. But semi-structured interviews also come with a certain freedom and that allows the researcher to ask unplanned questions. This can lead to information that the researcher did not know was interesting beforehand. The interviews will be analysed by using the Fairclough's three-dimensional model as described below (Bergström & Boréus 2012: 382 & Jørgensen & Phillips 2000: 118)

The author decided to interview individuals from the specific societal actors because they were seen as the actors that most affect UMAS. The Migration Office is responsible for their asylum applications, deciding their age and so forth and thus, UMAS are directly affected by any choice they make. Since the Migration Offices can affect UMAS to the degree that they do, they were seen as interesting for an interview. The HVBs has a direct effect on the UMAS since they see them on a daily basis and have the possibility to directly affect their lives in a way that the Social Services, the police and the Migration Offices cannot. If the Migration Offices is a source of uncertainty and instability then the HVB can be viewed as a source of



the opposite, stability and certainty. This makes it more interesting to interview these particular societal actors.

## **2.3 Implementation in thesis**

The three dimensions are separated into three levels and are analysed separated from each other (Jørgensen & Phillips 2000: 85). The sources within this thesis will be analysed using the same approach in the order as the focus of each dimension to get to the result. The focus of each dimension and the result is approached below. The material that this thesis has used consist of governmental documents with routines, guidelines and other kinds of plans to change/ improve the way that the relevant societal actors deal with the issues at hand. This thesis did not use articles as it was not seen as relevant with the purpose in mind. The thesis also used scientific articles.

### **2.3.1 Discourse practice**

This is the first box in the three-dimensional model. The main focus when discourse practices are analysed is how the text is produced and consumed (Jørgensen & Phillips 2000: 86). This is done by investigating where the text came from and by investigating that, the author will be able to make an estimation of who is meant to consume it. For example, an article is produced by a newspaper and is affected by their political stance. The population is meant to consume it. Whether or not the public consume the text depends on the political stance and the possibilities for the newspaper to spread the article. This will be investigated when every text is analysed as it affects who consumes the text and how they consume it. It also affects the practice of the relevant societal actors which in turn affects the daily life of UMAS.

### **2.3.2 Text**

This is the second box of the three-dimensional model. The main focus is to analyse the text to investigate which discourse it supports. This is possible by thoroughly analysing the characteristics of the specific text. Fairclough presents some analytical tools: (1) *interaction*: relationship between speakers; (2) *ethos*: the construction of identity through language; (3) *metaphors* and (4) *grammar*. This allows the researcher to interpret the text and support that interpretation (Jørgensen & Phillips 2000: 87). This is done by reading the text and highlighting words/ sentences/ terms which leans towards a certain discourse. By doing this

the author will be able to showcase the discourse that the societal actor promotes and if there is a contradicting discourse within the same material.

### **2.3.3 Social practice**

This is the third box of the three-dimensional model. The main focus is to reach conclusions by investigate the relationship between the discursive practice and the broader social practice. This is done by investigating the findings from the previous analyses and place them in relation to the broader social practice that they are entwined in. This analyse should approach two aspects: (1) the relationship between the discursive practice and the order of discourse and (2) the partly non-discursive social and cultural connections and constructions which created the framework for the discursive practice (Jørgensen & Phillips 2000: 90). This is done by looking into the previous analysis (which was explained above) and look into how they may practically affect the actions of the relevant societal actors.

### **2.3.4 Result**

Fairclough promotes using the result to increase consciousness about discourse as something that mirrors and can empower inequality in society. The technic used to do this is called critical language awareness. The purpose is to provide the population with insight about the discourse that they partake in on a daily basis. The goal is that the population becomes conscious about the discourse that prohibits them and about the possibility to resist (Jørgensen & Phillips 2000: 92). For the thesis, this means providing information regarding the discourses within the routines and the guidelines of the societal actors that the thesis focused on. This may mean, for this specific thesis, that one highlights discourses that contradict each other or that one reveals that the discourse which the actors follow differs with the one that is visible in society. Regardless of the result the idea is that the result should create a consciousness of the discourses that are flowing in society.

## **2.4 Critical remarks**

The main critique is directed at Fairclough's semi-unclear approach in terms of what separates the discourse from the non-discursive. The separation between the discourse analysis and the analysation of the social practice is vague. Fairclough does not mention any amount of social practice that is needed nor does he mention any specific useable sociological or cultural theory. His own research was built upon a variety of theorists but that does not have to mean

that any theory is applicable. A more practical issue arises when the researcher attempts to show the dialectic between the discourse and the non-discourse. It does not say how this is done, Fairclough does not specify when two things are in a dialectical interplay nor does he explain how or where the researcher should show that the non-discursive affects the discursive and vice versa. Fairclough shares the last issue with all versions of critical discourse analysis. The method shows a weak understanding regarding processes where groups are created, subjectivity and the degree of control that human beings have concerning their use of language. This is the weakest aspect of his method but it is not completely neglected since Fairclough takes social identities and relationships into consideration (Jørgensen & Phillips 2000: 93 - 94).

#### **2.4.1 Choice of method**

Unlike the discourse method and the discourse psychology this method believes that a discourse constitutionalises and to a certain degree it believes that the discourse is constitutionalised. The discourse psychology focuses on the everyday discourses of individuals. Although the discourse method is more interested in the depersonalized discourse it still implies that the discourses are preserved by individuals in their everyday lives. The critical discourse analysis takes into consideration both these things and believes that even non-discursive matters can affect the discourse. Hence one can claim that this method is more inclusive than the other two. But the reason that this method was chosen in spite of the critique as stated above was because of the purpose of the thesis. One can claim that this method is very much affected by the author and how the author interprets certain information but the same can be said about the previous methods. It does not mean that the result is wrong nor right, it means that the result needs to be verified by other kinds of research to possibly find that other methods are better equipped or to find out that highlighting other perspectives leads to different discussions or results (Jørgensen & Phillips 2000: 25 – 28).

#### **2.4.2 Research ethic discussion**

The interviewees were informed that their participation was voluntarily and that they had the ability to withdraw without negative consequences. They were told that they would be anonymised and that their participation would not lead to negative consequences. They were offered to read the thesis after its completion (Vetenskapsrådet 2002: 7, 9 – 10, 12 & 14 – 15).

### **2.4.3 Data**

This section will discuss the data that was used to analyse the societal actors and the case selection. The data will be discussed separated from each other and one actor at the time. The information that the data presents will be summarised and then the usage will be motivated with the purpose of the thesis in mind.

The Border Police released a joint plan for action regarding how to deal with children/ minors who arrive in Stockholm by plane and who may deviate in a later stage. They write about the background and state that deviating UMAS is an issue that many countries, not only Sweden, struggle with. They continue by saying that individuals or in most cases organisations who smuggle people profit immensely from it. Furthermore, it is stated that the Nordic countries has seen an increase in deviating UMAS (Polismyndigheten Stockholm 2008: 3). It is said that the majority of the UMAS who deviate are boys between the ages of 16 – 17 and geographically the majority of those who deviate are living in Stockholm or around Stockholm (Polismyndigheten Stockholm 2008: 4). The plan of action was designed with the purpose to improve the processes surrounding, particularly the role of the police, in relation to discovering human smuggler. It also aims to improve the cooperation between the police, the Social Services and the Migration Office in the Stockholm area. The plan states that the first to take action is the Border Police. They are meant to observe the children/ minors at the airport and take contact with them if there is suspicion that they are victims of smuggling. The Border Police should take contact with the children/ minors if they are suspected witnesses of smuggling. The plan states that the Border Police should write a report where it should be clear if there is suspicion that the child/ minor will deviate in the future. The Border Police is responsible for guaranteeing that the Migration Offices get the information. When the child/ minor is moved to the municipality his or her cell phone may be taken if that is determined to be necessary. The appointed guardian, if one exists at this point, needs to be informed of the reason behind this action. The plan of action highlights the importance of maintaining a sturdy collaboration between the societal actors they mention in the report (Polismyndigheten Stockholm 2008: 5 – 6).

This document was used because it goes into what two of the societal actors that this thesis investigated does when they face suspected cases of smuggling/ trafficking. It is the latest document that the author was able to find where there were concrete routines and actions

mentioned with the purpose to discover individuals/ organisation who are involved in smuggling/ trafficking children/ minors. This plan of action focused mostly on the role of the police hence it was mostly used when looking at the actions taken by the police. But it was also used because it mentioned collaboration with other societal actors which this thesis had planned on mentioning. The fact that the plan of action highlights the importance of collaboration, and to a certain degree brings it up, between societal actors is seen as an advantage as it has been mentioned as a knowledge gap in the current research.

The second document that was used for looking into the police was a report about smuggling/ trafficking for sexual or other purposes. The report gives attention to different cases to highlight the vulnerability of certain groups of children, for example children with some kind of intellectual impairment. UMAS are not one of those groups and the report merely mentions UMAS in combination with extremists. It was said that UMAS are often at risk of becoming victims when they leave Sweden to go fight for extremist groups in some countries in the Middle East. The report does not mention if they are at risk of becoming victims when they are entering Sweden nor if they are at risk of being approached by smugglers/ traffickers when they enter the country. The report talks about the stereotypical victim and the stereotypical offender. The report says that the typical victim are females between the ages of 17 – 45 but there is no further information regarding for example ethnicity or nationality. The stereotypical offender is more explicitly described as male from countries such as Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria. They are said to have knowledge about Sweden and most likely speak Swedish and English. The report talks about what needs to be done in order to improve the situation. They talk about increasing the knowledge, attacking the criminal organisations at all levels and increasing the collaboration both globally and nationally (Rikspolisstyrelsen 2014: 8, 10, 15, 17, 25 – 28, 37 & 43).

This report was used because it deals with smuggling/ trafficking which UMAS are especially vulnerable for due to being in the country without any type of guardian. The report not only talks about what needs to be done in order to improve the situation but talks about the stereotypical victim of trafficking. This report can be criticised for its excluding description as it fails to bring up other types of victims. This can negatively affect the victims who do not fit the stereotype and thus it would also negatively affect the police's ability to spot victims. The same goes for offenders. But even with that in mind the report provides information regarding

how the police views UMAS and how they planned on dealing with issues as mentioned in the report.

Another report released in May 2017 by Socialstyrelsen talked about the different roles that the societal actors have in relation to the UMAS that arrive in Sweden. It mentions that there was a change in the law in 2011 which means that the Migration Offices can transfer UMAS to any of the municipalities regardless if there is a contract between the two parties or not. It is said that for the best interest of the UMAS that they should be transferred directly in relation to having applied for asylum (Socialstyrelsen 2017: 3). UMAS is defined as children/minors below the age of 18 and are, at the time of entry into Sweden, separated from their parents or other types of guardians. The report then goes into the responsibilities of the municipalities. They are stated to be responsible for guaranteeing that the child/minor has somewhere to live and that their needs are met by providing the proper support. The approximated time that they will stay, no matter how long or short of a time period, should affect this in any way. The municipality which was given the responsibility for the child/minor are responsible for: (1) providing him/her with an appointed guardian; (2) investigate his/hers needs and meet those to the extent that is possible; (3) work to ensure that the child/minor is given the proper care, a proper education; (4) and that he/she is taken care of and that he/she is given support to establish themselves in society (Socialstyrelsen 2017: 4 - 5). The Migration Offices are said to be responsible for: (1) handling their asylum applications; (2) judge their age; (3) make research regarding the whereabouts of their parents; (4) transfer them to a municipality; (5) and provide information about UMAS that has been transferred so that the child/minor is called to a health control and handle their economy (Socialstyrelsen 2017: 12).

This report was used because it focused on the collaboration between different societal actors in society and among them was two of the actors that this thesis opted for focusing on. The report provided with information on the role of these two actors and what their responsibilities are both individually and in combination to each other. It is seen as valuable because the information it provides would help in answering several of the research questions and it is valid with the purpose of the thesis in mind.

A guidebook was published that was mostly directed at social workers or other kinds of employees whom are responsible for the handling of UMAS. The purpose of the guidebook

was to simplify the implementation rules to guarantee that every UMAS is treated the same in spite of being transferred to different parts of the country. The guidebook is in other words meant to establish and guarantee that everyone is treated equally and that different interpretations does not lead to difference in treatment. The guidebook talks about different responsibilities that the different societal actors have. Some of the actors mentioned are those that the thesis is looking into as well, for example the Migration Offices, Social Services and HVB. UMAS are defined as children/ minors below the age of 18 who was without the company of a parent or a guardian when they entered Sweden. The guidebooks go into the rights of UMAS and in that part of the book both Swedish laws and international laws, such as the CRC (1989) are mentioned (Socialstyrelsen 2016: 3 & 9 – 10). They talk about the Migration Offices and says that their responsibilities are to handle the asylum applications of UMAS, judge their age, deal with their economy, transfer them to a municipality and research the whereabouts of their parents. If it is decided that UMAS are not granted asylum then the Migration Offices are responsible to guarantee that they are transferred back as soon as possible. The municipalities are responsible for the more practical things for example the daily care, education, support and healthcare (Socialstyrelsen 2016: 12 – 14 & 21 - 24). When they talk about HVBs the guidebook mentions that it is generally not appropriate for individuals with different needs to be treated at the same place. The guidebook talks about what UMAS require, for example a safe environment, they mention rules and some of the rights that the staff have (Socialstyrelsen 2016: 30 – 31). The guideline talks about the responsibilities of the appointed social worker and states that a child/ minor should have a meeting with their social worker at least four times a year and they are responsible to follow up on the plan of treatment which has been formulated (Socialstyrelsen 2016: 44 – 45). When UMAS are granted asylum, their appointed guardian is replaced with another type of guardian. In Swedish those two people are referred to with different terms to establish the differences. Legally, the other guardian that is appointed after UMAS are granted asylum are held more accountable in comparison to the first type of guardian. When the thesis refers to appointed guardian, it is referring to the first version and when merely guardian is used then the thesis is referring to the guardian that is appointed after asylum is granted. The Social Services is responsible for this change to take place (Socialstyrelsen 2016: 51 – 54). If UMAS are not granted asylum then the responsibility for returning them to their country of origin is on the Migration Offices but if needed the Migration Offices can submit the assignment to the

police. If a person under the age of 18 is being extradited then it must be guaranteed that said individual has family in their country of origin. It is said that the risk for deviation are especially high for this group (Socialstyrelsen 2016: 56 - 58).

These guidelines were used because it discusses the responsibilities of several actors which the thesis have opted to focus on. For example, the Migration Offices, the Social Services and HVBs. Furthermore, the guidelines discussed what happens if asylum applications are denied or granted which none of the others have to this extent so far.

#### **2.4.4 Material and Critique**

The sources used in this thesis is a mixture of books, scientific articles and official reports. Information is also gathered by interviewing one former employee from an HVB and one employee from the Migration Office. Articles from newspapers and so on have been avoided due to the fact that this thesis aims to show the perspectives from agencies and opts for information they have released. It is, based on the purpose of the thesis, not relevant to use articles. The material cannot be divided into primary and secondary because all information is important to portray as much as reality that UMAS face as possible. This will work for the benefit of the thesis as it will improve the odds of reaching the right conclusions. The material will be analysed by using Fairclough's three-dimensional model: (1) the discourses will be identified; (2) compared to the stated discourse as well as the CRC (1989) to investigate if the discourses contradict each other; (3) identify possible consequences that this may cause. By analysing the material, it will be possible to investigate how the system affects where UMAS are placed on the hierarchy of needs and this in turn may explain poor mental health and why some deviates. This will also allow for the thesis to investigate if Sweden fulfils the obligations as set forth in the CRC (1989).

The stance of the author on some level always affects the thesis. In this case this means that the writer may view the CRC (1989) as more important than some of the societal actors does. The perspectives of the societal actors and the author differs in terms of focus when societal actors are affected by economy and taking all municipalities into consideration when writing their routines. The author can see that there is a point in being vague. For example, the UN are vague to a certain degree because being too concrete could possibly lead to some nations not signing and ratifying the conventions. The vagueness exists with a purpose and that is to ensure that cultural differences does not stand in the way of signing and ratifying the



conventions. However, the author stands critical towards the idea that vagueness would exist in routines that affect only Swedish institutions because of that reason.

#### **2.4.5 Analysis**

The analysis chapter will be separated into four parts: HVB, The Social Services, the police and the Migration Office. Every part will be separated into four major sections: (1) The material that will be analysed is presented (2) Fairclough's three-dimensional model will be used to analyse the material as stated in the method part of the thesis. By doing this the researcher aims to answer research question one and two; (3) Maslows hierarchy of needs will be used to investigate if flaws in the system could explain mental health issues and possible deviations. This will be done by placing UMAS in the hierarchy based on information from each societal actor. By doing this the researcher aims to answer research question three; (4) The CRC (1989) will be used to investigate if respective societal actor fails or succeeds in fulfilling the obligations as stated in the CRC (1989). By doing this the researcher aims to answer research question one and two.

Rather than quoting the interviewees the author of the study retold the information they provided in a more coherent format. This is deemed more efficient based upon the basic idea behind the interviews. This study interviewed two individuals due to the information they were able to provide about the practice of their respective workplace. Their opinions were not interesting and would not affect the result; thus, this method was better suited for the purpose. In order to enhance the "key-terms" and highlight the most important things the interviews have gone through a "cleaning" of sorts. The references for the interviews are written at the bottom of each instead of after every question due to the fact that only two individuals have been interviewed.

#### **2.4.6 Generalisability, Validity and Reliability**

The consequences of the methodological choices in terms of data collection and analysis have already been discussed above. However, the question of generalisability, validity and reliability have not and will be discussed here. Construct validity refers to the risk of the researcher being subjective in a way which affects the result. Hence, the author has forewarned about any way that she may be subjective earlier in the study under *2.4.4 Material and Critique*. It needs to be acknowledged that subjectivity is impossible to remove completely thus, being transparent is one of the ways one may work against the negative

effects. Internal validity discusses the risk of there being false connections and effects; meaning that the researcher may come to the conclusion that x leads to y but in reality, z is the affects the relationship and is the real reason. It is questionable if this needs to be approached in the study due to the method. Cause and effect are normally used in quantitative studies and not qualitative. However, it can be argued that the study is attempting to find a connection and effect between routines of social actors and deviating UMAS. Thus, it cannot be stressed enough that there may be other explanations behind why UMAS deviate instead of the one presented. External validity refers to whether or not the result can be generalised. By using a theory, the chance of being able to generalise increases. This study uses Maslow which speaks for the ability of the study to be generalised. The core of the study is investigating if routines has any impact on social practice. It is an idea which can be used in multiple companies and so son. Thus, there is a chance of it being generalisable even if that cannot be said at this point of writing. Reliability refers to the ability for other researchers to replicate it and reach the same conclusions. In order for that to be possible the author has made a conscious effort to be as transparent as possible about the method, the documents used so that there will be no question marks in terms of how this study was conducted (Yin 2013: 54 - 59).

One may argue that it is difficult to make any claims regarding generalisability due to the limited amount of data in relation to the research questions. That is a valid argument but, with that being said, by looking into the major documents the study is able to look at what effects social practice nationally rather than on a local level. If one had looked at documents written on a local level then one would have come across a material based upon the same rules and regulations. But they would have most likely been written in a way which shows that they have interpreted the information differently; thus, it would be impossible to compare with the goal of drawing any type of conclusion. By using the national documents, one manages to capture what affects all other local instances and it becomes easier to draw a conclusion. With that being said, a conclusion cannot be completely drawn after one study but it can show that this is something that may need to be further investigated.

## 3.0 Theory

### 3.1 Maslows Hierarchy of Needs

Maslows hierarchy of needs is a psychodynamic theory about human needs. The premise of the theory is that human needs can be put in a hierarchy and that every human is thriving towards reaching the highest level, self-actualisation. Abraham Maslow formulated the theory/ model based upon the idea that human beings will move upwards in the hierarchy once they have secured the lower levels. The position on the hierarchy depends on the fulfilment of the levels below and if the requirements for the lower levels are no longer fulfilled then the individual will move downwards in order to fulfil those. The hierarchy consists of seven levels: (1) *Physiological needs*; (2) *Security needs*; (3) *Belongingness and love needs*; (4) *Esteem needs*; (5) *Cognitive needs*; (6) *Aesthetic needs* and (7) *Self-actualisation* (Holt, Bremner, Sutherland, Vliek, Passer & Smith 2012: 403 – 404).

The first step, Physiological needs, contain the most basic. They are required to ensure survival. Specific needs that are included are food, water, acceptable clothing, shelter, clean air etcetera. All other needs are secondary when compared to this. The second step is Security needs. Specific needs that are included are healthcare, safe neighbourhoods' etcetera. The needs are not as universal as the ones in the previous step and differ depending on the individual. Overall this step is about being safe from possible threats in the environment. The third step is belongingness and love needs. Specific needs within this step is companionship and acceptance. This can be fulfilled through experiencing meaningful relationships whether it be through friendship and romantic relationship or within a religious community. The fourth step is esteem needs. Specific needs are to be respected and appreciated by others. This can be fulfilled by engaging in activities of choice that the individual can excel at. If this need is fulfilled the individual experience a confidence in him or herself. But if the step is not fulfilled the individual may experience feelings of inferiority. Maslow added the fifth step, cognitive needs, and the sixth step (aesthetic needs) later. They refer to what he considered to be the respective needs of artists and academics. The last step is self-actualisation. When an individual reaches this step they no longer care about the opinions of others. They are more interested in their personal growth and reaching their full potential. Viktor Frankl later added

an eight step to the hierarchy called self-transcendence which was reached when an individual relates to things that are bigger than themselves (Cherry 2016 & Good Therapy 2015).

Maslow argued that failing to meet the needs as stated in the hierarchy could lead to different mental health issues and physical issues. Failing to meet one's physiological needs can lead to sickness and possibly death. Failing to meet one's security needs can lead to PTSD. Failing to meet one's belongingness and love needs can lead to depression and anxiety; the latter may also be caused by failing to fulfil one's esteem needs or possibly an inability to self-actualise (Good Therapy 2014).

### **3.1.1 Implementation in thesis**

Maslows hierarchy of needs will be used for two purposes in this thesis: (1) It will be used to frame the problem and; (2) it will be used to show that poor mental health in unaccompanied children/ minors and possible deviations may be explained by flaws within the system.

## **3.2 Maslows Hierarchy of Needs and the Convention on the Rights of the Child**

Maslow and the CRC (1989) both mention needs. Maslow in a physiological and psychological manner and the CRC (1989) in terms of rights as presented by the UN. These two have in common that they have highly individualistic approaches and their biggest difference is that Maslow believes that needs can be put in a hierarchy. The CRC (1989) does not believe that any rights is worth more or less than the other. It needs to be stressed that Maslows belief that rights can be put in a hierarchy does not mean that the theory believes that some rights are worth more than others. Maslow simply believes that in order to improve and eventually reach self-actualisation you need to have fulfilled the more basic needs. It can be likened to the idea that in order to improve the situation of a child you need for the state to implement the CRC (1989) in their society. That would be step one towards fulfilling all the natural rights of children in the same way that Maslow believes that fulfilling one's physiological needs is the first step towards self-actualisation.

Although Maslows hierarchy of needs to a certain extent mention needs that are stated in the CRC (1989) most of them are unaccounted for. Maslow fails consider the fact that individuals may not reach the seventh step of the hierarchy because there is a structure in place which stops them. Article 3, 6, 22, 33 – 37 in the CRC (1989) says that the state carries a responsible

to keep UMAS protected and ensure their well-being and development. By combining these two the thesis will be able to look at UMAS from different levels and perspectives: (1) what they individually need to rise on the hierarchy and if (2) the state to the best of their abilities are protecting UMAS and how this affects their place on the hierarchy.

## 4.0 Previous research

In *Agency and Silence: Young People Seeking Asylum in the UK* (2010) Elaine Chase investigated the emotional well-being of children/ minors applying for asylum in the UK. She writes that thousands of unaccompanied children/ minors arrive in the UK every year to come under the care of local authority. The majority will not be granted asylum because they do not meet the criteria as stated in the Refugee Convention (1963). Until recently unaccompanied minors/ children have enjoyed certain privileges and have been allowed to stay in the UK until they turn eighteen. But in recent years the rights of unaccompanied minors/ children have been put under scrutiny and the current policies indicate that these privileges will be removed. Research indicates that unaccompanied minors/ children suffers from PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder) and other mental health problems. It is said that these mental health issues appear due to the stresses unaccompanied children/ minors experience when they apply for asylum and the wait that follows. The issues may have arisen from traumatic events but they remained latent until further stresses were put on the unaccompanied children/ minors. Studies show that unaccompanied children/ minors are unable to openly talk to social care professionals at first. This silence can be due to language, cultural barriers or they may attempt to protect themselves. It has also been proven that some unaccompanied children/ minors are told by other adults to tell social care professionals a certain story. That unaccompanied children/ minors withhold information affects both the social worker and the children/ minors (Chase 2010: 2051 - 2052).

54 unaccompanied children/ minors participated in the study. Their ages varied from 11 to 23. To understand the experiences of the unaccompanied children/ minors they used Foucault's panoptic mechanism. It is a theory about surveillance and illustrates how systems and structures are shaped to enable the few to have power over the many. The strength of the panoptic mechanism was that it was possible to maintain the feeling of being watched even if the person in question was not being watched at the time. This is used to establish a disciplined society and it remains as such due to three key processes: *hierarchical surveillance*, *normalising judgement* and *examination*. *Hierarchical surveillance* is when the few in power acquire knowledge about individuals under an extended period of time. *Normalising judgement* is when the conduct of the individual is controlled and has consequences in the form of gaining or losing privileges. *Examination* combines the previous

two and makes a difference between individuals and judges them. Elements of Foucault's panoptic mechanism was found in interviews with the unaccompanied children/ minors and greatly affected how they interacted with professionals within the Social Services. *Hierarchical surveillance* was found when they come in contact with immigration services in the UK because they are thrown into a system they do not understand. They are labelled as asylum seekers based upon others' perception of what an asylum seeker is. One of the unaccompanied children/ minors said that he did not know what answers to give when he was asked questions and decided to stay quiet. Another said that he made the same decision because he had heard that staying silent was better and he wanted to control something. *Normalising judgement* was found when the unaccompanied children/ minors came in contact with the people overseeing the immigration process and society as a whole. The unaccompanied children/ minors say that being labelled as an asylum seeker negatively affects them in terms of how other people look at and treat them. Some commented that they did not like how asylum seekers are portrayed and most do not speak of their status unless they have to. The unaccompanied children/ minors describe their relationship with social care professionals differently. Some are described as open while others are more negatively portrayed. The younger children/ minors were to a greater extent grateful for what they had been given even if they to a certain extent felt controlled by the Social Services and immigration systems. The older children/ minors expressed a greater mistrust for the Social Services and immigration systems. The younger children/ minors said that they disliked the scrutiny and the intrusion that came in the form of repeatedly being asked questions about things that they did not want to speak about. The immigration system was seen to exist only to control the future of the unaccompanied children/ minors and their daily lives (Chase 2010: 2055 - 2062).

The study came to the conclusion that the silence of unaccompanied children/ minors partially can be explained because it is a rational response to the situation they found themselves in. They are aware of how the label of asylum seeker affects them amongst people they meet in their everyday lives and decides to not say anything. This silence can be seen as a coping mechanism and a way to maintain a sense of control and move forward from something traumatic. Understanding this may aid social workers and enable them to find the best ways to work with children/ minors in this situation (Chase 2010: 2065).

Although the study by Chase (2010) goes into the relationship between Social Services, the immigration systems and unaccompanied children/ minors, it does not mention other actors in society that may be responsible for their well-being to some degree. The study discusses the reality that unaccompanied children/ minors face by looking at all of society and not solely the Social Services. The study portrays a complicated reality where a great number of factors affect how much information the unaccompanied children/ minors reveal. The study provides social workers with greater knowledge and may contribute to an approach that will lessen the unaccompanied child/ minors' feelings of being scrutinised and controlled. The study does, however, not take into consideration anything other than the Social Services and the immigration systems. There may be a possibility that the unaccompanied children/ minors may still feel controlled and scrutinised by other actors in society and that a change in the approach of the Social Services will not adequately improve the situation. That possibility makes it relevant to include more actors since the Social Services, the immigration system and the public population are not the only actors which contributes to shaping the reality of unaccompanied children/ minors.

In the study *On the Way to a Better Future: Belgium as Transit Country for Trafficking and Smuggling of Unaccompanied Minors* (2009), Derluyn and Broekaert attempts to create insight in the group of unaccompanied minors who travel from Belgium to the UK. It is said that in the last ten years smuggling/ trafficking has increased and that they are major factors in international migration. More people are contacting smugglers/ traffickers since the European Union added restrictions to decrease the flow of migrants. Smuggling has become highly profitable in terms of the money that it draws in and has been successful in transporting human beings over borders. Smuggling and trafficking are often used to describe the same phenomenon and even if they do share elements there are also vital factors differentiating between the two. *Human trafficking* is the act of moving human beings from one place to another in order to gain something from it through coercion or other types of abuse. *Human smuggling* on the other hand is the act of moving human beings across international borders with the help of a third party. In human trafficking, there is a clear element of exploitation and that is not the case in human smuggling and unlike human smuggling, human trafficking does not have to be about crossing international borders. That does not mean that human smugglers do not exploit the people in need of their services and human rights abuse is present regardless if one calls it smuggling or trafficking. Due to the vague definitions of trafficking



and smuggling it is less than shocking that the numbers of potential victims are unconfirmed. That is among other things because it is hard to separate smuggling and trafficking from other types of migration. A third of the human beings that are suspected of being victims of human smuggling/ trafficking are unaccompanied or separated children/ minors. They are seen as more vulnerable than other groups due to not being protected by some kind of older family member. They may accept the help of human traffickers to get into another country and then end up in a circle of debts and exploitation. Belgium, because of its connection to the UK, is seen as a transit country for many of the unaccompanied minors. It is said that the UK has better conditions in comparison to other countries in Europe. The increase in illegal migrants has caused the UK and Belgium to form an agreement which gives the UK control over the undocumented migrants even when they are in Belgium territory. They also have the right to impose fines on individuals who, whether by boat or truck, attempts to get undocumented migrants into the country. Belgium introduced stricter safety measures and staff began controlling transports to UK companies and the government. As a consequence, a higher number of undocumented migrants were found before they could leave Belgium. When the migrants are found they are taken to the local police and there they go through the identification process (name, age, nationality, fingerprints, iris-scan, photographs and seizing of the documents that the person may be carrying). The Belgian Aliens Office is contacted to investigate if the individual is allowed to stay and based on the answer gives the migrant a notification with orders on what to do and if the person should be taken to a closed centre; Examples of orders are (1) leave Belgium instantly, (2) leave Belgium within five days. For unaccompanied minors the same thing happens but they are given a third option and may not be forced to leave Belgium at all. Because Belgium has ratified the CRC (1989) they are obligated to protect the unaccompanied minor and this means that they have to contact the Guardianship Office and they are forced to decide if the unaccompanied minor is allowed to leave alone or if protective measures are needed. In terms of who is responsible for what in the reception of unaccompanied minors, one can say that the responsibility is split. The Belgian Federal Government is responsible for the care and reception of refugees who apply for asylum and the Communities are responsible for the care and reception of the refugees who does not apply for asylum (Derluyn and Broekaert 2009: 32 - 35).

The study was written to create insight into the group that are often victims of smuggling/ trafficking. It is stated that although the amount of research on the subject is growing it is

often descriptive and there is a lack of scientific literature about the subject. The writers of the study cooperated with the shipping police at Zeebrugge, a Belgian port, because they are responsible for the security. They analysed 1, 093 files about unaccompanied minors who had been stopped at Zeebrugge and collected information such as date of interception, age, nationality, was the Guardianship Office contacted and were the child/ minor taken to an institution. The second part involved participatory observation and the researcher was contacted by the shipping police when an unaccompanied minor/ child was found. The researcher went to Zeebrugge to, if granted permission, interview the unaccompanied minor/ child. The researcher stayed until the Aliens Office had made a decision and sometimes until a child protector officer arrived. The number of intercepted unaccompanied minors increase from 2000 and onwards. Out of the 1, 093 files that were analysed the researchers found 899 unique people and 113 had been intercepted more than once. Most of the unaccompanied minors were males between the ages of 15 – 18 and comes from Eastern Europe (Yugoslavia, Albania, Macedonia or Moldavia) or Asia (Afghanistan). Only smaller groups came from Africa or South America. A majority of these unaccompanied children/ minors are given identity papers and are allowed to stay in Belgium. The decision regarding what happens in the future is often determined based upon how many times the unaccompanied children/ minors have been intercepted before. If it has happened more than once the chance of staying increases (Derluyn and Broekaert 2009: 36 - 41).

None of the intercepted unaccompanied children/ minors admitted to having been supported by traffickers to get to Belgium. There is a suspicion towards the police and the unaccompanied children/ minors question why Belgian police wants to know why they want to get to the UK. In spite of this suspicion towards the police they say that most of the times they are being treated fairly even if the police have been negatively portrayed too. They give different reasons for wanting to go to the UK and are adamantly against being put in a centre in Belgium. One claimed that he would rather swim to the UK and another claimed that he would rather die instead of put at a centre. The unaccompanied children/ minors show an indisputable will to get to the UK as can be strengthened by them leaving the centres and making new attempts to leave Belgium. If they reach the UK after leaving the centres is unclear (Derluyn and Broekaert 2009: 42 - 45).

The study had certain implications for future policies concerning unaccompanied children/ minors. The police should be able to guarantee the fulfilment of the unaccompanied children's/ minors rights. They should be treated with respect; their basic needs should be fulfilled and the police needs to have knowledge regarding how to deal with unaccompanied children/ minors. The researchers state that a social worker should be more involved during the interception and that the unaccompanied children/ minors should be given more information about legal procedures. They stress how important it is to have an interpreter at place for this because the lack of such makes everything else impossible to implement. More information should be given to the unaccompanied children/ minor so that he/ she realise that there are options for the future and that they can get help to avoid damaging situations and networks. Furthermore, it is stated that unaccompanied children/ minors are at risk of developing mental health issues. Thus, the police, the social workers and the reception centres should pay great attention to the mental well-being of the unaccompanied children/ minors (Derluyn and Broekaert 2009: 46 - 50).

The study managed to create insight into the group of unaccompanied children/ minors but it is important to state that these characteristics may be typical for Belgium and not be applicable globally. Other than that, this study manages to highlight the need for collaboration between governments and between national actors. The agreement between the UK and Belgium allowed for both governments to gain certain control over undocumented migrants but not all (Derluyn and Broekaert 2009: 32 – 35 & 45). In order to gain more insight and more control and to safeguard the rights of the unaccompanied children/ minors more collaboration than what has already been done could be suggested. It is stated that the unaccompanied children/ minors want to get to the UK and although that may be true that cannot be used as an excuse to why they deviate from the care of governmental institutions. That they deviate speaks volumes about the system that is in place and highlights the importance of looking more into relevant actors (international and national) and what they are doing to safeguard the rights of unaccompanied children/ minors instead of the characteristics of the group.

Jens Mikkelsen and Katia Wagner (2013) criticised society and some of its actors for their lack of action when an unaccompanied child/ minor deviate in the book *De förlorade barnen* (which translates to *The Lost Children*). In the prologue, they write that the disappearance of a

child born in Sweden causes mayhem and havoc in the entire country. People with no connection to the victims will offer support and condemn the guilty if a crime has been conducted. But no such reactions are seen when an unaccompanied child/ minor deviates. The purpose of the book was to highlight the deviating unaccompanied children/ minors and show what happened to a few of them but the book also goes into actors such as the police. 2, 500 people were reported as missing between 2010 and 2011. When a child/ minor from Sweden disappears, the police contacts the people in that individual's social network. Occasionally a description is given to the police working out in the field and sometimes actions are taken. The police do not approach a deviation the same way when it is an unaccompanied child/ minor. Most of the time these children/ minors do not have the same social network. These children often being described by doctors and social workers as depressed and suicidal but most of the time the police make the decision to not take operational measures. Phone calls to the appointed guardian, staff at the HVB or the child/ minor's social worker is extremely rare. An unaccompanied child/ minor is reported as missing for two months and then they do one last check in the registers; if nothing is found then the case is closed. If the missing child had been born in Sweden then he/ she would be reported missing until the child/ minor gets in touch with someone. The child born in Sweden are also reported missing internationally but unaccompanied children/ minors are not. If an unaccompanied child/ minor leaves Sweden to go to another country then they are viewed as not being Sweden's responsibility anymore. The polices that were interviewed repeatedly say that they have never come across a case where there has been suspicions of trafficking. They claim that when unaccompanied children/ minors deviate it is because they chose to do so voluntarily (Mikkelsen & Wagner 2013: 37 - 42).

The book was written by two journalists and cannot be compared to a scientific article. They do not speak about any mechanisms that may have led to this situation nor do they investigate the situation in a scientific way. But they portray reality. The book shows that the police works in different ways depending on where the child/ minor in question were born and that contact with the Social Services, the appointed guardian and staff at the HVBs are sometimes neglected. They do not go into how and when these actors collaborate other than when they talk about unaccompanied children/ minors deviating. And as previously mentioned the little collaboration that was mentioned was criticised.

*Avvisningar och utvisningar av ensamkommande flyktingbarn – Om effektivitet, värdighet och barnens bästa från tjänstemäns och gode mäns perspektiv* written by Ghazinour et. al (2014) talked further about collaboration between actors in society. They write that the Swedish government has stated that unaccompanied children/ minors who are not granted asylum should be extradited in a dignified way but these extraditions should also be carried out in an efficient manner. The study investigates the potential tensions between the two requirements and how certain actors interpret these requirements. They interviewed staff from the police, the Social Services, appointed guardians, staff from HVBs and Migration Offices from three different municipalities in similar sizes. They described, analysed and compared the respective actors' way to interpret efficiency and dignity when talking about extraditions. Based on the research four conclusions were drawn. The first conclusion was that, all actors that this study interviewed had their own way of interpreting efficiency and dignity that affected the way they worked. In some cases, this meant that they collaborated more and in others less. There is no nationally accepted explanation regarding what a dignified extradition is. The second conclusion was that there was a greater difference between the actors than the municipalities. The police and the Migration Offices generally do believe that efficiency and dignified extraditions are possible. They believe that respect and consideration to the unaccompanied children/ minors rights are included in the legal framework. The police further believe that the actual extradition can be carried out in more or less dignified ways and thus the actions make a difference. Social workers, staff at HVBs and appointed guardians on the other hand believe that an extradition against the will of an unaccompanied child/ minor can never be dignified. The latter three actors are more likely to view the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) as superior to the Aliens Act (Ghazinour, Hansson, Lauritz, Padyab, Sundqvist, Wimelius & Ögren 2014: 1 – 2, 11 & 60 - 61).

This study managed to show the differences between the four actors it chose to focus on. Because of the unclarity of what efficiency and dignity means different actors have interpreted them differently. This, assuming that all actors interpret these words differently, explains why these actors do not collaborate as much as they could. The study shows how the different actors look upon extraditions of children but do not go into the actual collaboration. The study only discusses how the actors approach the subject of extraditions but does not go into unaccompanied children/ minors who deviate regardless of reason. The study does not investigate if the differences in interpretation and approach is evident in other parts of the

processes connected to unaccompanied children/ minors. The study presented answers about how the actors interpret efficiency and dignity in combination with extraditions of unaccompanied children/ minors but the answers presented further questions that the study did not account for.

*Det ensamkommande barnet* is a study written by Elin Damberg and Emma Fogelberg. Their thesis looks into responsibility, quality of reception and what has been publicly done to protect the rights of the individual child. Changes were made in 2006 concerning the reception of unaccompanied children/ minors. The responsibility of the unaccompanied children/ minors was transferred from the Migration Offices to the municipalities. The reason was that the municipalities were deemed more capable to protect the unaccompanied children/ minors. They used the Implementation model which is critical towards the ability of central decisionmakers to control the implementation process. The problem is said to arise in the communication between the decision and implementation. A difference is created at that point and different actors interpret the decision differently which creates problems. The result of the study was the following. The responsibility for unaccompanied children/ minors is shared between different actors in Sweden. The responsibility regarding where the unaccompanied children/ minors live belongs to the municipalities and those who deviate mostly do it from there. The change from 2006 has negatively affected the reception of unaccompanied children/ minors but one can see that improvement is nearing. At the time of writing more attention were being given to deviating unaccompanied children/ minors. And a national organisation said that the protection for unaccompanied children/ minors were being strengthened but it still needs more attention, further explanations and it needs to be actualised to a greater extent (Damberg & Fogelberg 2015: 3 – 6 & 11 – 17).

The study succeeds in highlighting which societal actor is responsible for the unaccompanied children/ minors. However, it spoke very little about collaboration. But by talking about how unclarity leads to different interpretations and how this leads to problems in implementation the study portrays one of the reasons why collaboration between actors would be difficult. This is further strengthened by Ghazinour et. al (2014: 60 – 61). The study mentions relevant actors and the safety of the unaccompanied child/ minor. It mentions national laws which the actors are required to follow but does not mention international laws. Nor does the study go

into possible underlying discourses that may have affected the interpretations that were made by the actors and as a consequence affected the implementation.

#### **4.1 Choice of literature**

The literature above were chosen with consideration to the purpose of this study. They discuss societal actors in combination with responsibility, collaborations with each other and the mental health of unaccompanied children/ minors. The mentioned studies are mostly descriptive and very few have focused on being critical towards the routines of the actors mentioned. The actors are mostly discussed as separate from each other with possible explanations as to why collaboration is so hard to implement. That kind of discussion is clear when responsibility is mentioned too and mental health is mentioned as something that affects the relationship that unaccompanied children/ minors has with social workers and immigration systems. Occasionally, it is mentioned that the stresses of seeking for asylum and the immigration process can affect unaccompanied children/ minors' mental health in a negative way. But most of the time when mental health is mentioned it is to highlight that traumatic experiences from the past has resulted in the issues and not the current situation. The CRC (1989) was given very little to no attention in the studies above.

## 5.0 Analyse

### 5.1 HVB

*Describe the routines on your HVB during a normal day?* A normal day consisted of breakfast, provided by an employee, before waking the UMAS at seven o'clock. Lunch was served at noon for the UMAS who were home from school but due to factors such as certain UMAS finishing school early and not preferring the lunch at school meant that most UMAS ate at the HVB. Food was served again at five pm and then a last time eight pm. UMAS had the option to cook meals for themselves during the day; it was in fact encouraged and looked upon as an activity. The kitchen closed at ten pm but the employees made sure that there were lighter forms of food available such as fruit, sandwiches and yoghurt.

*Describe the security routines?* Ovens and stoves were controlled before the closing the kitchen and because of safety they were not allowed to be used from ten pm to seven am. Knives are always kept locked away and if UMAS want to use one there has to be an employee present in the kitchen. Doors were locked at all hours of the day but there was a code that the UMAS knew. In periods when many HVBs with UMAS living there were targeted and set on fire a security company (Securitas) patrolled the area four times a night. There are two employees present every night, one sleeping and one awake. Fire drills took place every third month.

*Describe the relationships UMAS had with staff and other children/ minors living there?* I experienced that every UMAS had someone in the staff that they trusted. UMAS spent a lot of time together; it was, however, noticeable that those with the same nationality tended to stick together, for example Afghans spent most time with other Afghans and Somalis with other Somalis. But when activities were planned by the HVB they all spent time together as a group.

*Did the HVB support hobbies?* Hobbies and other activities were highly valued and offered twice a day; on top of that the HVB economically supported one activity. Other than the individually chosen activity there were possibilities to utilize the gymnasium and play football outside of any official organisation in so called "korpenlag". During weekends the HVB planned bigger activities such as visiting amusement parks, restaurants and museums. The



HVB used material meant to help UMAS to integrate in Sweden. Cooking your own food was encouraged and if the UMAS were religious the employees supported this and if needed could travel with the UMAS to their church/ mosque / and so on the first time and then let them do the journey themselves in the future.

*What does the HVB do in cases of deviating UMAS?* When UMAS deviate the HVB contact the “guardian” of said child as this person is responsible for reporting the person as missing after twenty-four hours. The HVB that I worked for aided in the search by talking to the people the UMAS was in contact with and called the school to make sure that the specific individual had gone to school and so on.

*Do you feel like the HVB is affected by for example the no free-zone policy supported by the police or maybe the Migration Office?* I don’t feel like the “no free spaces”-policy that the police stand for has either helped nor been an issue to the HVB. The long wait from the Migration Office does however create some anxiety amongst the UMAS and does in that sense not help the HVB.

*How would you describe the collaboration between the HVB, the police and Migration Office?* We tried to cooperate with the police as much as we could and also trust the decisions as made by the Migration Offices. With that being said we (employees as the HVB) also reminded the UMAS that they had the right to appeal the Migration Office decision in cases when the decision was looked upon as wrong.

*How does it feel when one of the UMAS are extradited?* It is hard when one of the UMAS were stated to be eighteen, a few tears were shed, and had to move to another living; lost their social worker and “guardian”. You often felt that the specific individual could come and live with you. However, in spite of all the emotions it is important to maintain the professional role that you have in this situation (Interview HVB 2017).

### **5.1.1 Fairclough’s Three-Dimensional Model**

*Discourse practice:* The text is chosen answers from the interview with H to allow the researcher to look into the discourse that may affect it. It will also be used to put UMAS in the Maslow hierarchy of needs. Those who consume it will be individuals who for some reason find the subject interesting and may share the underlying idea that this thesis is based upon.

The interview was made with one person who has worked at one HVB and because of that the answers does not describe the daily life at every HVB in Sweden.

*Text:* This text shows signs of being affected by several discourses: (1) You can see signs of Sweden's secularisation when religion is mentioned. The staff supported their religion; (2) The trust in authorities. As can be seen when talking about collaboration with the police and the Migration Office. It is a trust which some UMAS may not share with the staff since they to a greater degree has experienced corruption; (3) The professionalism or rather the struggle to not lose it when one of the children/ minors are extradited/ moved; (4) A contradiction in discourse may be visible in the way that UMAS are seen as a group rather than an individual. This is interesting considering that Sweden is a highly individualistic country.

*Social practice:* The discourses that can be find in the interview can affect the social practice in several ways: (1) Although the interview stated that UMAS trust at least one of the members of staff the collaboration with other societal actors may lead to this trust being damaged; (2) Being treated like one in the group may lead to some UMAS not getting the help that they need. What they have in common is that they have fled for some reason but other than that their journeys, though they may share similar experiences, they have little in common. That this is not realised may cause some of the UMAS to fall between the lines.

### **5.1.2 Maslows Hierarchy of Needs**

Based on answers provided by H the HVB has managed to concretises: (1) Physiological needs. UMAS have shelter, food, water and so on; (2) Security needs. They can get in and out but unauthorised cannot. Staff ensures the safety inside the HVB by implementing rules about the kitchen being locked, the stove not being used after a certain time and using knives requires the presence of a member of staff; (3) Belongingness and love needs. According to the interview the UMAS feel comfortable with each other and can trust at least one member from staff; (4) Esteem needs. This is fulfilled since this HVB supports hobbies which allows for UMAS to feel respected and capable.

### **5.1.3 The Convention on the Rights of the Child**

It is hard to say if the CRC (1989) is implemented based on the information above. But the way that UMAS were pushed together in a group shows a discourse that does not go hand in hand with the CRC (1989). All conventions from the UN is built upon the ideas that all

humans are individuals with inarguable natural rights. The discourse as presented in the interview does not present the same opinions. That this particular HVB managed to fulfil four steps of Maslows hierarchy of needs does not mean that they are implementing the CRC (1989). It may mean that they are implementing certain articles but not all and especially not the ones mentioning the responsibility of the state (Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989: article 33 – 37).

## **5.2 Social Services**

In 2016, a guidebook was published with the purpose to aid primarily social workers in their job with UMAS. The guidebook talks about the CRC (1989) and uses their definition of children, as people under the age of eighteen, and mentions the following articles (Socialstyrelsen 2016: 10 – 11);

*“States Parties shall respect and ensure the rights set forth in the present Convention to each child within their jurisdiction without discrimination of any kind, irrespective of the child's or his or her parent's or legal guardian's race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, property, disability, birth or other status. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that the child is protected against all forms of discrimination or punishment on the basis of the status, activities, expressed opinions, or beliefs of the child's parents, legal guardians, or family members.”* (The Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989: article 2)

*“In all actions concerning children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration. States Parties undertake to ensure the child such protection and care as is necessary for his or her well-being, taking into account the rights and duties of his or her parents, legal guardians, or other individuals legally responsible for him or her, and, to this end, shall take all appropriate legislative and administrative measures. States Parties shall ensure that the institutions, services and facilities responsible for the care or protection of children shall conform with the standards established by competent authorities, particularly in the areas of safety, health, in the number and suitability of their staff, as well as competent supervision.”* (The Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989: article 3)

*“States Parties recognize that every child has the inherent right to life. States Parties shall ensure to the maximum extent possible the survival and development of the child.”* (The Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989: article 6)

*“States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.*

*For this purpose, the child shall in particular be provided the opportunity to be heard in any judicial and administrative proceedings affecting the child, either directly, or through a representative or an appropriate body, in a manner consistent with the procedural rules of national law.”* (The Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989: article 12)

*“States Parties shall take appropriate measures to ensure that a child who is seeking refugee status or who is considered a refugee in accordance with applicable international or domestic law and procedures shall, whether unaccompanied or accompanied by his or her parents or by any other person, receive appropriate protection and humanitarian assistance in the enjoyment of applicable rights set forth in the present Convention and in other international human rights or humanitarian instruments to which the said States are Parties. For this purpose, States Parties shall provide, as they consider appropriate, co-operation in any efforts by the United Nations and other competent intergovernmental organizations or non-governmental organizations co-operating with the United Nations to protect and assist such a child and to trace the parents or other members of the family of any refugee child in order to obtain information necessary for reunification with his or her family. In cases where no parents or other members of the family can be found, the child shall be accorded the same protection as any other child permanently or temporarily deprived of his or her family environment for any reason, as set forth in the present Convention.”* (The Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989: article 22)

Every decision, according to the guidebook, should be made with the best interest of the child in mind. Children are said to need: (1) safe environment; (2) healthy relationships with adults; (3) structure in their everyday life; (4) education; (5) meaningful activities and (6) healthcare. It is said that these needs leads to an improved mental and physical health for the UMAS. The guidebook says that children with very different needs should not be placed together. The

guidebook briefly brings up deviations and mentions a network in Stockholm which has come up with a checklist for suspicious behaviour that may indicate a possible deviation. Smuggling/ trafficking is mentioned briefly and the guidebook acknowledges that UMAS is a vulnerable group. It says that the relevant actors should have routines for situations like the last two mentioned (Socialstyrelsen 2016: 11, 24, 29 – 30, 42 & 62 – 63).

### **5.2.1 Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model**

*Discourse practice:* The text was produced by a governmental institution. It was meant to be produced by individuals within the Social Services as it affects their organisations. This greatly affects the discourses that can be found as states and governmental institutions are likely to make themselves look better.

*Text:* In terms of discourses within the text this guidebook can be seen as contradictory and problematic. By mentioning the CRC (1989) the reader is given the belief that the guidebook and the CRC (1989) goes hand in hand. But there is nothing in the guidebook that strengthens this fact. The guidebook uses questionable terms without definitions or concrete ways that they can be implemented. The CRC (1989) is individualistic but the guidebooks does not refer to UMAS as individuals but more as if they are one homogenous group. That indicates a we – them discourse since Sweden is a highly individualistic country. To view UMAS as a group rather than individuals does not go hand in hand with Sweden's individualistic culture or the CRC (1989).

*Social practice:* The lack of explanations or concrete ways to implement the needs of the UMAS to improve their mental and physical health provides a problem. Since the terms are very abstract this allows for people to make different interpretations. A consequence of this is that UMAS are being treated differently depending on where in the country they end up. That they are looked upon as a group instead of individuals indicates the belief that they have similar needs. That kind of thinking may lead to needs (mental health needs, physical needs...) of some individuals to be missed.

### **5.2.2 Maslows Hierarchy of Needs**

Several of the steps from Maslows hierarchy of needs is mentioned in the guidebook: physiological needs, safety needs, belongingness and love needs and cognitive needs. But since they can be interpreted in many different ways it is impossible to say if these needs are

being fulfilled. That UMAS is portrayed as a group rather than individuals portrays a question and a possible problem. Maslows hierarchy of needs has an individualistic approach, is it possible to implement the theory on a group whom is assumed have similar if not the same needs?

### **5.2.3 The Convention on the Rights of the Child**

The guidebook talks about article 2, 3, 6, 12 and 22 from the CRC (1989) and use the term the best interest of the child. By mentioning the articles, they give the impression of following the convention and fulfilling their obligations. The contradictory discourses within the text causes one to doubt if that is really the case. The CRC (1989) like other UN conventions is individualistic and one of the basic believes is that humans have equal worth regardless of any differences. The guidebook insinuates that they view UMAS as one homogenous group and the lack of concrete ways to fulfil their needs may mean that the Social Services fails to oblige the articles set forth in the CRC (1989).

## **5.3 The Police**

In 2008, the police released a plan of action regarding UMAS who arrived at Arlanda in Stockholm that they believe may deviate. Before describing their plan of action the police comments that UMAS have been able to deviate because the societal actors have not collaborated enough. The plan of action consists of the following steps: (1) The Border Police should interview anyone they suspect is a victim of Smuggling/ trafficking and afterwards write a report; (2) This information should then be given to the Migration Office; (3) The social worker is informed; (4) A guardian is appointed; (5) The UMAS is placed on a HVB where staff may take his or her phone away if there is a risk of deviation (Polismyndigheten Stockholm 2008: 5 - 7).

In 2014, the police released a progress report about human smuggling/ trafficking for sexual or other purposes. It looks into possible victims and offenders in terms of what characterises them. In terms of what characterise a victim the report said that they are often girls/ females between the ages of 15 – 45. In terms of what characterises an offender the report stated that they are often from Eastern Europe (Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary), fluent in English and Swedish, has knowledge about Sweden and they are often connected to bigger criminal networks dealing with drugs and/ or guns. When UMAS were mentioned it was in

combination with extremists. Two cases with UMAS are mentioned and they are mentioned as being possible victims of smuggling/ trafficking because they voluntarily left to fight for extreme groups in the Middle East. Two other cases were mentioned when the children were not UMAS and in that part the report highlighted the vulnerability of, for example, children with intellectual impairment. The report mentions collaboration amongst the EU to improve the situation internationally and that Sweden nationally needs to increase the knowledge and competence. The report mentions that Sweden is obligated to work against sexual exploitation in accordance with the CRC (1989) which we have signed and ratified (Rikspolisstyrelsen 2014: 10, 17 & 26 – 27).

The police have the following routine when UMAS deviate: (1) After 24 hours the individual is reported as missing. The 24 hours apply for all cases of missing people; (2) In some cases, but not all, the police get in touch with the social network of the UMAS. This mostly consists of the staff at the HVB, the social worker and appointed guardian; (3) If it cannot be determined that a crime has been committed then no operational measures are taken. UMAS are not internationally wanted like children born in Sweden; (4) The report is sent to the Border Police who will look in their registers after two months and if the individual has not been seen the case is closed (Mikkelsen & Wagner 2013: 37 - 42).

### **5.3.1 Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model**

*Discourse practice:* The two first texts are produced by two different levels of the police. The first one is directed towards other societal actors to spread information on how to deal with situations as the one described. Since this is a governmental organisation they may appear to formulate it in a way that makes them look better. The recipients of the two first are possibly people who work within the same or other governmental organisations and the interpretations may not differ significantly. The third text is written by two journalists. They are critical towards the system, which the police are included in, and may paint the police in a negative light. Since the book is not overly popular those who find it, the recipients, are probably curious and may share the views of the writers. The recipients may interpret the text like the writers wanted them to.

*Text:* When the three texts are combined a contradictory discourse becomes evident. The CRC (1989) is mentioned in the second report and it is stated that Sweden needs to fulfil the obligations set forth in the convention but the report fails to identify all vulnerable groups that

may become victims of smuggling/ trafficking. That UMAS are only mentioned as possible victims when they leave to go fight for extreme groups shows a clash between the CRC (1989) and the discourse that the report is attempting to present. The routine for when UMAS deviate does not go hand in hand with the CRC (1989) which has several articles saying that the state needs to take every possible measure to protect children. But it is clear that the state does not do that. That is strengthened by the plan of action which mentions no way for the Border Police to identify possible victims of smuggling/ trafficking. Without warning signs, the risk of victims going unnoticed are high. That UMAS are not reported missing internationally shows a possible uncertainty on which country is responsible. It could also be interpreted as an easy way for countries to remove responsibility for the UMAS to whichever new country they may be located in.

*Social practice:* The discourses have major effects on the social practices. Since there are no warning signs to look for most victims of smuggling/ trafficking goes unnoticed. This presents a risk for the particular UMAS and others that he or she may come in touch with. If UMAS were to deviate due to traffickers then the chance of them being found are slim as a consequence of the unsatisfying routines that the police follows when UMAS deviate.

### **5.3.2 Maslows Hierarchy of Needs**

None of the needs are mentioned in any of the reports. But based upon the contradictory discourses, the police can still affect where UMAS end up on the hierarchy. It has been stated that the police do not utilise enough resources to protect UMAS from possible traffickers which means that they cannot guarantee them a safe environment. As a consequence, UMAS would be unable to move past the first step (physiological needs) on the hierarchy.

### **5.3.3 The Convention on the Rights of the Child**

One of the two official reports mentioned the CRC (1989) but does not mention any specific articles. The report about smuggling/ trafficking fails to include UMAS as a vulnerable group. The plan of action fails to mention signs that may indicate that someone is a victim of smuggling/ trafficking. The CRC (1989) says that the state should utilise all possible measures to protect children. UMAS are included in that but the routines that are used when UMAS deviate falls short. All measures to find the UMAS are not taken.



## 5.4 The Migration Office

In 2006 a change was implemented which meant that some of the responsibility that had previously been the Migration Office were moved to the municipalities. The Migration Office became responsible for: (1) the reception of asylum seekers; (2) handling their asylum applications; (3) direct them to a municipality; (4) specific for UMAS was judge their age, research the whereabouts of their parents and handle their economic processes (Regeringskansliet 2011: 11, 32 – 35 & 37 – 38).

A report from 2014, said that the Migration Office should, in suspected smuggling/ trafficking cases, make sure that UMAS are given protection. Such a suspicion should come from the Border Police. The report also said that the Migration Office become more efficient when handling the asylum applications of UMAS and carrying out orders of extradition (Rikspolisstyrelsen 2014: 11).

*Describe the application for asylum process for UMAS?* The application is assigned to employees who work specifically with asylum applications from UMAS. UMAS are asked standard questions during their first conversation with that employee at the Migration Office, such as name, age, where they come from, where they entered Sweden, location of ID or other information to strengthen their identity, shortly their reason for applying for asylum and location of their parents. After that the Migration Office gets in touch with the Social Services who drives them to their HVB. Laws and paragraphs that are used when making decisions about children are:

1st Chapter, 10 § In cases when children are involved extra attention shall be made in regards to the child's health, development and other possible needs.

1st Chapter, 11 § When questions regarding asylum are to be judged and a child is affected by the decision then that child shall be heard; assuming it is appropriate. Whether or not it is appropriate depends on the age and maturity of the child.

*What happens in cases of suspected smuggling/ trafficking?* When there are cases of suspected smuggling/ trafficking, you contact the specific department of the Migration Office that work specifically with smuggling/ trafficking, the police and the Social Services. The Migration Office has a good cooperation with both these actors. My personal thoughts are that

even if there is information regarding how employees should work when these cases appear and even if the cooperation with the police and Social Services are good one can still see that the discovery of suspected victims of smuggling/ trafficking are vague. The Migration Office can develop their work during the application work and investigation regarding asylum applications. Especially when it comes to asking the right questions and what kind of indicators they are looking; I think that today, due to the way people work, a lot of cases are not discovered.

*What do you think could be improved at the Migration Office?* I would like the employees who work with UMAS to inform them that there is reliable protection to have in Sweden and that they do not have to work for their smugglers; they should also be informed that they have good chances of ‘entering society’ if they do not work illegally. However, it is important to note that their HVB also have responsibility for them and they should know who they are talking to, where they get phones from and so on. It is important that the employees at the HVB have information regarding deviating UMAS and that they are aware of the fact that UMAS do not always deviate voluntarily (Interview Migration Office 2017).

#### **5.4.1 Fairclough’s Three-Dimensional Model**

*Discourse practice:* The text was written by a governmental organisation which like to portray themselves as better than they are. The report that explained the change from 2006 was written with the intent to show that the Migration Office could no longer be held responsible for certain things. The recipient of such a report is probably hired in similar institutions or critical towards the work of the Migration Office. This affects how people react to the information. The interview was produced by the researcher to show the routines, flaws and possibly anything that could improve. This thesis will most likely be read by people who carry a certain kind of opinions and that will affect how they react to the information.

*Text:* The discourse of the text is clear: The Migration Office cannot be held responsible for what happens to UMAS after they have been placed in the care of a municipality. The Border Police is held responsible for notifying the Migration Office about possible victims of smuggling/ trafficking. And once UMAS has been placed into the care of a municipality they are the ones to be held responsible to prohibit possible deviations.

*Social practice:* The change in 2006 resulted in an inability to hold the Migration Office accountable for what happens to UMAS once they are placed in the care of a municipality. A previous report said that the Border Police is the societal actor who should act if there is risk of an UMAS being a victim of smuggling/ trafficking and that they should notify the Migration Office. This in combination with the lack of knowledge that existed according to M means that victim of smuggling/ trafficking falls between the lines and that the Migration Office cannot be held accountable.

#### **5.4.2 Maslows Hierarchy of Needs**

None of the needs from Maslows hierarchy was mentioned but they still affect where UMAS can be placed. The risk that victims of smuggling/ trafficking go by unnoticed is high. Combined with the fact that the Migration Office has been told to be more efficient in handling asylum applications and extraditions creates an environment where the safety of UMAS cannot be guaranteed. That means that UMAS would be stuck on the first step of Maslows hierarchy of needs.

#### **5.4.3 The Convention on the Rights of the Child**

Based on the inability from the Migration Office to identify victims of smuggling/ trafficking and the way that they have removed responsibility they fail to follow the obligations as set forth in the CRC (1989) particularly those who involve state responsibility.

## 6.0 Discussion

The information from the HVB showed that UMAS could be placed on the fourth step of Maslows hierarchy of needs. And if this interview could represent every HVB and if they were the only societal actor that affected where on hierarchy UMAS would end up then that would have been the conclusion. But UMAS are affected by all societal actors. The fact that one actor may manage to provide what the UMAS need to reach the fourth level of the hierarchy is affected by the actions of the other actors. Excluded from that is the discourses that were found within the interview and the consequences that may have caused. They also affect where UMAS end up on the hierarchy. In the case of the HVB one could for example see that they may not trust the staff with everything due to the HVB collaborating with the police. That does not mean that the UMAS do not trust them with other things but as mentioned in Chase (2010) it may lead to UMAS not sharing everything with the staff. This is strengthened by the fact that authorities in many of the countries where they are from are corrupt and that includes the police. The information from this interview cannot be seen as representative for all HVBs in Sweden. Some may fulfil more of the needs as stated in the hierarchy and others may fulfil fewer. This is the example of how an HVB can be run and it shows that even though there are HVBs which to some extent can fulfil some of the needs of the UMAS their action alone does not make up for the flaws within the system.

The information from the Social Services showed that UMAS got stuck on the first step of the hierarchy. This may seem odd since the guidebook mentioned terms which leads up to the fourth step in the hierarchy. The difference between the Social Services and for example the HVB is the practical implementation. Because a staff from the HVB was interviewed the researcher was given information on how the organisation actually works and could compare that to the needs. The guidebook for the Social Services does not provide any practical way to implement the needs that they say UMAS require. This means that although in theory the Social Services can fulfil the needs as stated from the first step in the hierarchy to the fourth it cannot be guaranteed that they practically do that. That statement is strengthened by the fact that the terms can be interpreted in different ways meaning that different Social Services may interpret it differently. UMAS are portrayed as a homogenous group.

The information from the police showed that UMAS would get stuck on the first step of the hierarchy. Unlike with the previous two societal actors this one is not responsible for actively taking care of UMAS but they are obligated to protect them from potentially dangerous situations. This has to do with them being children/ minors and not specifically UMAS. Their plan of action for spotting victims of smuggling/ trafficking is questionable and allows for many victims to go by unnoticed. This is dangerous for the UMAS who is a victim but it is also dangerous for the UMAS whom the trafficker may get in touch with due to them being in contact with the victim. Because of that the police fail to guarantee UMAS safety and that is the reason that they cannot go past the first step of the hierarchy (physiological needs). This negatively affects ones' mental health and can lead to PTSD, depression and anxiety. By using Fairclough's three-dimensional model, it became clear that the routines showed contradictory discourses. On the one hand the police mentioned the CRC (1989) and said that Sweden is obligated to meet the requirements as set forth in the convention. But on the other hand, they have routines for when UMAS go missing which violates the articles saying that the state is responsible to take every measure to protect children/ minors from smuggling/ trafficking, inhumane situations and so forth. UMAS are included in that. Another routine showed traces of the police not viewing children/ minors and UMAS as the same. The progress report about smuggling/ trafficking for sexual or other purposes talks about victims. Not only do they use an old stereotypical image of what a victim looks like they also fail to mention UMAS as being a vulnerable group. According to the progress report the stereotypical victim is a female between 15 – 45, nationality is not mentioned. Even if that is the case they fail to highlight that victims do not have to be like the stereotype. Children as a group, regardless of biological gender, is at risk of becoming victims. UMAS is even more vulnerable and should be mentioned as potential victims. The report only talks about UMAS in combination with extremists. This can be interpreted as the police saying that UMAS can only be victims because they get themselves into that potentially threatening situation. The routines that are used when UMAS deviate is not the same routines as when children/ minors born in Sweden go missing and that shows that the police do not take every measure to find them. That UMAS have a lesser social network causes problems for the police during the investigation. That needs to be acknowledged but that is no reason to not take the same measures as when a Swedish-born child/ minor goes missing.

The information from the Migration Office showed that UMAS would get stuck on the first step of the hierarchy. This societal actor has previously been more responsible for UMAS but that responsibility was removed in 2006 and moved to the municipalities. From that point and onwards the Migration Office is not responsible for the well-being of UMAS after they have been placed in a municipality. The Migration Office, like the police, can still affect UMAS even if it can be argued that they cannot be held responsible for anything going wrong. Fairclough's three-dimensional model showed that there are contradictory discourses within the material. UMAS are for example viewed as a homogenous group. This does not go hand in hand with Maslows hierarchy of needs or the CRC (1989). M says that more knowledge is required about human smuggling/ trafficking and that the system of identifying possible victims is vague. Because of these flaws many victims of human smuggling/ trafficking are not spotted. This is dangerous not only for the victims but for other UMAS who may become potential victims since the trafficker can get in touch with them too. This is not the only factor which affects UMAS position on Maslows hierarchy. In a report from 2014, the Migration Office was told to be more efficient in handling asylum applications and when carrying out orders of extradition. Although the police and the Migration Office believes that efficiency and dignity can be combined many societal actors disagrees (Ghazinour, Hansson, Lauritz, Padyab, Sundqvist, Wimelius & Ögren 2014: 1 – 2, 11 & 60 - 61). Although the demands are not strange per say they can be argued to be vague. This information is up for interpretation and again this can lead to UMAS and asylum seekers in general being treated differently because of how different Migration Offices interpret these demands. The combination of the unclear demands and the routines which needs to be improved results in UMAS ending up on the first step of the hierarchy. This has negative consequences on mental health and can lead to PTSD, depression and anxiety.

It needs to be stressed that the discussion is affected by the author and hence if the same research was conducted by another author that person would eventually formulate a different discussion. This does not mean that the discussion above is less valuable but that there is more information to come out of the study that the author decided not to focus on.

## 7.0 Conclusion

*How do relevant societal actors (the Social Services, HVBs, the police and the Migration Offices) protect UMAS from potentially threatening situations?* It is unclear how and if the relevant actors manage to protect UMAS from potentially threatening situations. Some societal actors, like the police, may have plans of action but it is unclear if these actually work. By using Fairclough's three-dimensional model the thesis was able to show contradicting discourses and flaws within the system. The biggest flaw within the system was a lack of clarity on how to practically implement something that would fulfil UMAS needs, rights and ensure that Sweden does not violate the articles in the CRC (1989). The answer to the question is that neither of the actors managed to show how they protect UMAS from potentially threatening situations. This is strengthened by the inability of many societal actors to identify possible victims.

*How are UMAS portrayed by the relevant societal actors (the Social Services, HVBs, the police and the Migration Offices)?* Fairclough's three-dimensional model showed contradicting discourses in some of the societal actors but not all. The police portray UMAS as different from other children. In some aspect, they are. They have a lesser social network which decreases the amount of people to get in touch with when they deviate. But it is important to stress that they are included in the CRC (1989) like all other children/ minors. But the police do not mention UMAS as vulnerable in terms of possibly ending up in smuggling/ trafficking. They are only mentioned in combination with extremists. The Migration Office, HVB and Social Services portrays UMAS as a homogenous group and they are portrayed in neither a positive nor negative light.

*How can poor mental health and deviations among UMAS be explained by the routines of relevant societal actors (the Social Services, HVBs, the police and the Migration Offices)?* By using Maslows hierarchy of needs the thesis could show how deviations and poor mental health do not have to be a consequence of previous trauma. The reason for poor mental health and deviations could be that flaws within the system brought latent traumatic events to light and with it the poor mental health. By using Fairclough's three-dimensional model the thesis was able to point out flaws in the system and how these flaws affect UMAS placement on the hierarchy of needs. Three out of the four societal actors had major flaws or unclarities within

their systems which resulted in UMAS not being able to move on past the first step of Maslows hierarchy of needs (physiological needs). This can lead to mental health issues such as PTSD, anxiety and depression.

The main focus of the thesis was not to investigate the concrete actions taken by the societal actors. Hence, the actions of the societal actors have only been vaguely and theoretically mentioned in terms of how they are affected by the nature of the routines. Thus, the focus of the thesis was the perspectives of the societal actors and the possibly underlying discourses that was visible in the routines which could possibly affect them.

This conclusion shows that vague terms without concrete explanations causes problems when needs are practically implemented. By using vague concepts actors on different levels are allowed to interpret what to do in order to meet the laws or the guidelines. This presents a national problem for Sweden since this means that rights and needs will be met to different extents based upon how that particular person in that place has chosen to interpret them. Some societal actors may meet the obligations. Internationally this can be said about the UN and possible EU. Their conventions/ laws are vague and even if it can be argued that there is a reason for that, the consequence is still that nations interpret the conventions/ laws differently.

It cannot be stressed enough that it is hard to draw any conclusions from this limited thesis. The following conclusions is one way of interpreting the data and does not necessarily explain the situation as it is in reality. What one can take from these conclusions however is that the routines of the relevant societal actors are vague and can be interpreted differently. Hence the same routines may be expressed in various different ways depending on the geographical location.

If one looks at the results in relation to the wider research fields one can reach a number of conclusions. This thesis highlights certain issues that the UN have. The UN does not have any way of ensuring that the governments follow the conventions. This is often discussed when certain countries, such as Saudi Arabia, fails to fulfil the obligations or does not sign and ratify a convention. It is less discussed as an issue when governments such as Sweden fail to fulfil the obligations, or when they are given critique from the UN. The thesis also highlights issues regarding globalisation. So far, the majority of the global population has experienced the benefits and the disadvantages has been pushed into the background. Immigration and



with it the arrival of UMAS shows that there are disadvantages to globalisation and it is starting to affect governments in the Western world. It is important to stress that globalisation has affected governments and the civil society under a period of time but that the Western societies has mostly reaped the benefits of globalisation while other parts of the global society has experienced the disadvantages. Hence, when negative consequences of globalisation are mentioned as something that recently erupted it is based from the perspective of the Western world which has mostly experienced the negative consequences in terms of terror attacks. The question that arises is if globalisation will continue developing because the benefits are greater than the disadvantages or if globalisation will reach a halt or even retreat due to the increase of negative affects against the Western world.

It needs to be stressed that the following conclusions can be the result of the method and that using another method would have led to a different conclusion. The stance of the author also affects the conclusion and hence another author would have reached different conclusions. This does not discredit the result but rather promotes more research to be done about the subject to further investigate the circumstances that surround the issue and how to improve the situation.

## **7.1 Future research**

Considering the fact that a lot of UMAS suffer from poor mental health it is relevant to study both what kind of mental health issues they face and how to best ensure that they are given the care that they are entitled to. It would also be highly valuable to look into how to practically implement routines and guidelines so that interpretations cannot stand in the way of some people having their rights met. It would also be beneficial to investigate if the change from 2006 has improved the situation or if it has had more negative consequences than positive.

## Bibliography

Akbar Ali, Avin., Gustafsson, Anna-Karin., Kullander, Mats., Löönroos Tönnes, Lisa & Verständig, Natalie. 2016. På flykt och försvunnen – En nationell kartläggning av ensamkommande som avviker. *Oxford Research AB, Stockholm*. Länsstyrelsen i Stockholm.

Broekaert, Eric., & Derluyn, Ilse. 2005. On the Way to a Better Future: Belgium as Transit Country for Trafficking and Smuggling of Unaccompanied Minors. *International Migration* Vol. 43 (4).

Chase, Elaine. 2010. Agency and Silence: Young People Seeking Asylum Alone in the UK. *British Journal of Social Work*, 40: 2050 – 2068.

Cherry, Kendra. 2016. *The Five Levels of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs*. [Electronic source]. Available: <https://www.verywell.com/hierarchy-of-needs-2795947>. Collected: 2017-02-01.

**CRC:** Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989.

Ghazinour, Mehdi., Hansson, Jonas., Lauritz Erik, Lars., Padyab, Mojgan., Sundqvist, Johanna., Wimelius E, Malin., & Ögren, Kenneth. Avvisningar och utvisningar av ensamkommande flyktingbarn – Om effektivitet, värdighet och barnens bästa från tjänstemäns och god mäns perspektiv. 2014. *Umeå Universitet, Polisbildningens skriftserie* (3).

Good Therapy. 2015. *Maslows Hierarchy of Needs*. [Electronic source]. Available: <http://www.goodtherapy.org/blog/psychpedia/maslow-hierarchy-needs>. Collected: 2017-06-07

Interview HVB. 2017.

Interview Migration Office. 2017.

Polismyndigheten Stockholm. 2008. Gemensam handlingsplan gällande hanteringen av ensamkommande asylsökande barn och ungdomar som reser in via Arlanda och avviker eller riskerar att avvika från kommunala boenden. *Gränspolisavdelningen*.

Jørgensen Winther, Marianne., & Phillips, Louise. 2000. Diskursanalys som teori och metod. *Studentlitteratur AB, Lund*.

- Migrationsverket. 2017. Verksamhets- och utgiftsprognos april 2017. *Migrationsverket*.
- Mikkelsen, Jens., & Katia Wagner. 2013. De förlorade barnen. *Natur & Kultur, Stockholm*.
- Regeringskansliet. 2011. *Asylsökande ensamkommande barn – en översyn av mottagandet*. [Electronic source]. Available: <http://www.regeringen.se/49bb89/contentassets/772326c9bf23460191a6bf52abc43943/asylso-kande-ensamkommande-barn.-en-oversyn-av-mottagandet-sou-201164>. Collected: 2017-03-22.
- Riddell, Rebecca. 2016. *Seeking refuge- Unaccompanied Children in Sweden*. [Electronic source]. Available: <https://www.hrw.org/report/2016/06/09/seeking-refuge/unaccompanied-children-sweden#page>. Collected: 2016-12-01.
- Rikspolisstyrelsen. 2014. Människohandel för sexuella och andra ändamål. *RPS Tryckeri, Stockholm*.
- Socialstyrelsen. 2017. Ett gemensamt ansvar för ensamkommande barn och ungdomar. *Socialstyrelsen*.
- Socialstyrelsen. 2016. Ensamkommande barn och unga – Handbok om socialnämndens ansvar och uppgifter. *Socialstyrelsen*.
- Vetenskapsrådet. 2002. Forskningsetiska principer inom humanistisk-samhällsvetenskaplig forskning. *Vetenskapsrådet*.
- Yin K, Robert. 2013. Fallstudier: design och genomförande. *Liber AB*.

## Appendix

Följande frågor berör situationen för UMAS (ensamkommande minderåriga asylsökande) på boenden samt hur personal ser på situationen; vad man gör vid eventuellt avvikande samt hur samarbetet med övriga instanser fungerar. Frågor skrivna med kursiv text är preliminära följdfrågor. Innan intervjun informerades H om att hen skulle anonymiseras, hen kan när som helst dra sig ur samt att informationen inte skulle användas för något annat syfte än denna studie. Hen blev också försäkrad om att hen inte skulle uppleva några konsekvenser om hen valde att inte fullfölja din medverkan. Full medverkan skulle inte heller leda till några konsekvenser och hen fick erbjudandet att läsa materialet.

1. Hur ser rutinerna ut vid ert boende en vanlig vardag (tillgång till mat, frukt och rutiner gällande säkerheten, exempelvis låses dörrarna nattetid och i så fall när... etcetera)?
  - i. *Hur förhåller sig ungdomarna/ barnen till varandra och till personal och hur kan relationerna beskrivas (finns det tillit mellan personal och ungdomar, känner de att de kan anförtro sig till personal och/ eller vänner på boendet)?*
  - ii. *Hur ser möjligheten till fritidsaktiviteter ut?*
  - iii. *Hur ser möjligheten för individerna att växa självständigt ut så att de kan laga mat, städa, handla, tänka ekonomiskt och på det stora hela leva självständiga liv?*
  - iv. *Ändras rutinerna om man misstänker att barnen/ ungdomarna har varit offer alternativt på annat sätt involverade i smuggling/ trafficking?*
2. Vid händelse av avvikande UMAS från boendet hur ser rutinerna ut?
3. Migrationsverket och polisen anser att det är viktigt att vara effektiv gällande asylärenden och vid beslut om utvisning har polisen laglig rätt att hämta ungdomen var som helst då det inte finns några ”fria platser”. Anser du att det hjälper eller stjälper er verksamhet att det inte finns några ”fria platser” samt att det ofta är lång väntetid för beslut från migrationsverket?
  - i. *Hur påverkar ungdomar av detta?*
4. Som anställd hur känns det att få beskedet att någon ska utvisas?
  - i. *Är man benägen att samarbeta med polisen?*

Följande frågor berör UMAS (*ensamkommande minderåriga asylsökande*) asylprocesser samt hur samarbetet går mellan olika instanser och hur Migrationsverket ser på sin roll i processen. Frågor skrivna med kursiv text är preliminära följdfrågor. Innan intervjun informerades M om att hen skulle anonymiseras, hen kan när som helst dra sig ur samt att informationen inte skulle användas för något annat syfte än denna studie. Hen blev också försäkrad om att hen inte skulle uppleva några konsekvenser om hen valde att inte fullfölja din medverkan. Full medverkan skulle inte heller leda till några konsekvenser och hen fick erbjudandet att läsa materialet.

5. Hur hanteras en asylansökan från en ensamkommande minderårig?
  - i. Används några specifika lagar som bas för beslutet, vilka?*
6. Om det finns misstanke gällande att individen varit utsatt / är utsatt för smuggling/trafficking påverkar detta eventuella handlingar från Migrationsverkets sida vid asylansökan eller beslut när ansökan gått igenom processen?
  - i. Hur ser samarbetet med andra instanser såsom polis, socialtjänst och HVB-boende ut för att förhindra avvikande och för att skydda UMAS?*
  - ii. Anser du att migrationsverket och övriga relevanta instanser har möjligheten att skydda UMAS från att bli utnyttjade av exempelvis människosmugglare/-handlare?*
4. Har Migrationsverket rutiner vid händelse av att UMAS avviker?
5. Migrationsverket har under en längre period arbetat för att man ska effektivisera hanteringen av asylansökningar. Polisen som stöttar beslutet om att man ska vara mer effektiva har själva gått ut med att de inte finns några så kallade "fria platser" i Sverige vilket innebär att de i teorin får plocka upp ungdomar med utvisningsbeslut vart som helst. Anser du att det hjälper eller stjälper er verksamhet?
  - i. Hur påverkas UMAS?*
  - ii. Hur påverkas personal?*
6. Om du fick ändra Migrationsverkets gällande dess roll i processen och hur de bedriver sin verksamhet, vad skulle du ändra?