



LUND UNIVERSITY
Faculty of Social Sciences

SIMT28, Master' Thesis (two years) in

Development Studies

Spring Term 2010

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**Adolescent refugees' traumatic experiences and its
influence on the vision of the present life
circumstances**

An exploration of narratives from the phenomenological perspective

Words: 22651

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Abstract

The development of psychological health interventions for adolescent refugees is complicated by the cultural and linguistic diversity of individuals. Additionally, both post traumatic experiences with ongoing development during the process of acculturation make a problem of psychological assessment even more complex. Those aspects are the effects of violence and traumatic loss as well as migration hardships and settlement stresses. When assessing this population group for possible treatment and formulating appropriate interventions for promoting psychological health and well-being generally, a comprehensive understanding of the perception of the past experience by adolescent refugees themselves has to be taken into account. Hence, a phenomenological approach is seen as the most appropriate one for studying of identified problem. Six adolescent refugees' interviews were analyzed qualitatively with MCA-Minerva software. Regardless the culture being with the family during the war was the only positively marked memory. Those participants, who express less negative, but instead neutral vision of the past experience, performed positive-wishes and expectation for the future to higher degree. There are particular activities that provide adolescents with the sense of life purpose, hence, the availability of these social activities provides general satisfaction of the life' circumstances. The paper discusses stated above findings and some others.

Key words: Adolescents, Culture, Experience, Phenomenology, Refugees, Meaning Constitution Analysis.

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Introduction

Human beings are set up in the multi-imaged field of the life world with social, political, economic, religious activities. Each of us is involved in the social-psychological transformations of the given society at the given time. Children and teenagers are a prominent part of this issue where negotiations of adults' social, political, religious relations are projected into children's well-being. The main focus of this study is on the active role of adolescents as developing persons who construct new knowledge and a vision of the life world in settings filled with different social demands and conditions such as wars torn by fierce political, ethnic, and religious conflicts. The present paper explores experiences of teenagers from three following countries: Iraq, Afghanistan and Burundi. The cross-cultural character of the studied problem is an incontestable argument for involving qualitative method. Phenomenology allows contemplating the life world of individuals within their own cultural context. The main principle of this approach is to avoid any already formed conceptions and opinions trying to see things as they are lived by the subjects themselves. The present research strives to elucidate the living experience rather than the testing of causal hypothesis. It is an empirical research, the essential aim of that is not the direct exploration of facts, but meanings that are constituted by intended psychological acts of individuals, as being the necessary step for the formation and observation of facts.

Hence, using phenomenology, the research is based on hermeneutic thinking that takes into account three essential aspects, while studying individuals. First of all, it is methodological choice that considers individuals as rooted in specific context and cultural settings. Individuals are pervaded with cultural values and beliefs (even being without awareness of it) which inevitably become apparent in persons' interpretation of themselves and the world around. The second aspect is an ontological one that allows studying individuals as constituted by an ongoing process of self-interpretation. Hence, to understand an individual is to comprehend the constitution

of his/her “understanding” or, in other words, the way she/he gives meaning to her/his world (Sages, 2005). The third aspect of hermeneutical thinking is emancipative. It requires studying the Human realm by seeing individuals as having reflective capacity towards religious, cultural, political and other social properties (ibid). All three mentioned above issues of hermeneutic reasoning present themselves as a basic foundation for implementing phenomenology as qualitative approach.

This research might be seen as one small part of a large picture of refugees and forced migrants’ situation, where they face hardships and challenges due to psychological distress and traumatism that is interconnected with other cultural and social experience.

Subject of study

The 1951 Refugee Convention in Article 1A gives the following definition of ‘refugee’. Status of refugee is accorded to person who fulfills certain conditions: “[...] owing to well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his own nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it” (UNHCR, 2007). Initially this definition was used to distinguish the status of persons whose statelessness was the result of the events occurring in Europe before 1 January 1951. The Convention stipulates the principle of the unity of the family, which states that “the unity of the family, the natural and fundamental group unit of society, is an essential right of the refugee, and that such unity is constantly threatened” (ibid). The agreement recommends Governments to take the necessary measures for the protection of the refugee’s family especially with a view to “[e]nsuring that the unity of the refugee’s family is maintained particularly in cases where the head of the family has fulfilled

the necessary conditions for admission to a particular country” (ibid). Children and teenagers are the most vulnerable part of marked population. Adolescents are in the age period, when they need to creatively negotiate their developing personal value system. This process is stipulated first of all with biological and psychological specificity of this period of transition from childhood into adulthood. The second, as it is assumed, war conditions, migration experience and acculturation in a new country by adolescents might develop a view of the life world that is distinct from the view of those who have not been involved in pointed above experience. Phenomenology is seen as an appropriate approach for considering the enquiry.

Apparently, the statistics do not specify an amount of adolescents undergone a dramatic changes in their lives caused wars in their home countries. Though, the numbers of asylum seekers and refugees presented below can help to portray sources and trends of the flow of sampled population.

Iraq remains the top country of origin of asylum seeking applicants that were 13,200 claims for the last four years. Afghanistan with 12,000 claims for the same period is on the second place as the situation continues to worsen in large part of the country (UNHCR, 2009). This statistics shows that ongoing violence and instability in some parts of the world force increasing numbers of people to seek protection in safe countries. The UNHCR statistical report shows an uneven distribution of asylum claims. The majority of claims by Iraqis, for example, were submitted in Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden, as well as, in neighboring Turkey. Afghan claims were mostly filed in the United Kingdom or Norway (ibid). But stated above numbers of applications do not equal the number of individuals because some people may have applied in more than one country in a given year or more than once in the same country. In 2007 after a migration court in Sweden ruled that the situation in Iraq was not one of “armed conflict” the decline Iraqi asylum claims is occurred. According to

UNHCR statistics at January 2009 in Sweden resided 77,038 refugees¹ and 24,099 asylum seekers² from different countries. Refugees from Iraq number 21,046 while from Afghanistan they are 4,264 residing in Sweden (ibid).

Context of Study: historical background and current situation

The purpose of this section is to provide an outlook of the situation in Burundi, Iraq and Afghanistan in order to understand the root of the phenomenon of refugees coming from these countries.

The Republic of Burundi

Burundi is a small landlocked country in the Great Lakes region of Eastern Africa bordered by Rwanda to the north, Tanzania to the east and south, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the west. Its capital is Bujumbura. Burundi is poor and densely populated that is almost 8,700,000 (World Population Prospects, 2008). Over four-fifths of the population engaged in subsistence agriculture. The small modern sector, largely based on the export of coffee and tea, had been damaged by an economic imposed by neighboring states in 1996. The ongoing violence in a form of ethnic conflict since 1993 had caused severe economic disruption and dislocation. Large numbers of internally displaced persons had been unable to produce their own food crops and largely depended on international humanitarian assistance. The ethnic conflict took place between the majority Hutus and the minority Tutsis. The Tutsis historically had held power and controlled the military

¹ Persons recognized as refugees under the 1951 UN Convention/1967 Protocol, the 1969 OAU Convention, in accordance with the UNHCR Statute, persons granted a complementary form of protection and those granted temporary protection. It also includes persons in a refugee-like situation whose status has not yet been verified.

² Persons whose applications for asylum or refugee status are pending at any stage in the procedure.

forces. They dominated educated society. Ethnic discrimination against Hutus, who constituted an estimated 85 percent of the population, affected every facet of society, but most of all higher education and certain branches of the Government such as the armed services and the judicial system. The president and the Tutsi-dominated army retained their dominance in decision-making. During the conflict over 550,000 citizens, or 9 percent of the population, have been displaced. Burundian refugees had at various times crossed to neighboring Rwanda, Tanzania, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Some Burundian rebel groups have used neighboring countries as bases for insurgent activities (African Studies Quarterly, 1995).



Burundi

Map from UNHCR, the UN Refugee agency

On 16 November 2003 Burundi President and the leader of the main Hutu rebel movement signed a peace accord. Despite the official end of the civil war confusion and disorder still continue to have a place in Burundi. According to Human Rights Watch source (2006) “the absence of justice for past war crimes may contribute to a climate in which members of the security forces continue to commit both common and politically motivated crimes”. Few of the crimes of this nature carried out since the end of the serious fighting in 2006 have been investigated.

Going back to the origins of Tutsi and Hutu ethnic groups we may see that this division became the basis of a society under colonial racial schemes (Belgian). The Tutsi ethnic group was given privileges by colonists. Since gaining independence from Belgium in 1962 the ethnic conflict began to be visible resulting in the civil war in 1993 (ibid). Lemarchand (1996) cited from “Report of the National Commission to Study the Question of National Unity” (1989) four aspects that hinder national unity in Burundi: “violence and extermination”; collectivization”, meaning that “when an act of violence is committed by an individual [...] it is his or her ethnic group, region or tribe that is held responsible”; the “confusion between political majority and ethnic majority”; and “discriminatory practices” (Lemarchand, 1996, p.137).

Since the end of war actions in 2006 Burundi is improving security and stability on the political front. Demobilization of combatants of Palipehutu-Forces nationales de libération³ has been completed by signing up an agreement with the Burundi government in September 2006. The presidential, parliamentary and local elections are characterized by intense competition among several players, all of

³ The Palipehutu-Forces nationales de libération – rebel movement which has become a political party in Burundi in September 2006, formally Party for the Liberation of the Hutu People. Further agreement led to a final agreement in December 2008, according to which it also changes its name to remove “Palipehutu” to leave only “FNL” as its name (as Burundian political parties may not refer to ethnicities in their names).

whom have the potential to mobilize a significant portion of the population. The re-establishment of peace has led to massive voluntary returns of Burundian refugees. According to UNHCR statistics today, more than 6 per cent of Burundi's inhabitants are former refugees who have returned over the last six years from neighboring countries (UNHCR, 2010). Most displaced people face problems similar to those of all Burundians, such as food insecurity, lack of access to basic services, crime and banditry.

The Republic of Iraq

Iraq is located in Western Asia bordering by Jordan to the west, Syria to the northwest, Turkey to the north, Iran to the east, and Kuwait and Saudi Arabia to the south (see the map). Iraq was home to the earliest known civilization on Earth. It produced the earliest writing, literature, sciences, mathematics, laws and philosophies of the world. The Islamic conquest in the 7th century CE established Islam in Iraq. The federal government of Iraq is defined under the current Constitution⁴ as an Islamic, democratic, federal parliamentary republic. According to statistics of International Monetary Fund (IMF) up to April 2009 the total Iraqi population was 31,234,000. The majority (75%-80%) of it is Arab. The other major ethnic groups are Kurds (15%-20%), the Assyrians, the Iraqi Turkmen and others (5%) who mostly live in the north and northeast of the country (see IMF link). Arabic and Kurdish are official languages. Religious composition includes: Islam (97%), Christianity and others (3%) (ibid).

Iraq is ongoing military campaign that began on March 20, 2003. Since the beginning with an invasion the country came under military occupation by a multinational coalition of forces, mainly American and British. The stated reason is

⁴ The current constitution was approved by a referendum that took place on 15 October 2005.

that Iraq had failed to abandon its nuclear and chemical weapons development program in violation of U.N. Resolution 687. According to some U.S. government report since the invasion functional weapons of mass destruction (WMD) have not been found (The guardian, 2004).⁵ In October 2006, the UNHCR and the Iraqi government estimated that more than 365,000 Iraqis had been displaced since the 2006 bombing of the al-Askari Mosque, bringing the total number of Iraqi refugees to more than 1.6 million (UNHCR, 2006). By 2008, the UNHCR raised the estimate of refugees to a total of about 4.7 million that is about 16% of the population (ibid). In 2007 Iraq's anti-corruption board reported that about five million children, which is 35% of Iraqi children, were orphans (Gorilla's Guides, 2007). In 2007 the Red Cross stated that "[f]ive years after the outbreak of the war in Iraq, the humanitarian situation in most of the country remains among the most critical in the world" (ICRC, 2008). It continued that "[b]ecause of the conflict, millions of Iraqis have insufficient access to clean water, sanitation and health care". This situation was "exacerbated by the lasting effects of previous armed conflicts and years of economic sanctions" (ibid).

Up to March 2010, 96,000 US troops remain in the country. There is a deadline for the full withdrawal of U.S. military forces from Iraq by 31 December 2011 (Voice of America, 2010). Occasional violence continues in Iraq, although the overall security situation is perceived to have improved. At the present speaking the country is in a state of transition and, as UNCHR reports, "will see more changes in 2010, including parliamentary elections early in the year" (UNHCR, 2010). Major development and economic rehabilitation programmes are helping to rebuild infrastructure but a general lack of access to basic services and employment still prevails. Many returnees and internally displaced persons remain in the conditions of need for humanitarian intervention (ibid).

⁵ After investigation following the invasion, the U.S. - led Iraq Survey Group concluded that Iraq had ended its nuclear, chemical, and biological programs in 1991 and had no active programs at the time of the invasion (ibid).



Iraq

Map from UNHCR; The UN Refugee Agency

According to UNCHR statistics about 300,000 internally displaced persons and nearly 80,000 refugees returned in 2008 and 2009. There are also some reports of new displacements that resulted in increase for humanitarian assistance. UNCHR webpage states that “[r]eturnees in Iraq encounter, among other things, a lack of physical security, a dearth of livelihood opportunities and difficulties in availing themselves of social services”. It continues that “[i]f returnees are not helped to reestablish themselves in their places of origin, tensions could flare up between them and local people” (UNHCR, 2010). Many internally displaced persons live in dreadful conditions and do not have access to assistance

The Republic of Afghanistan

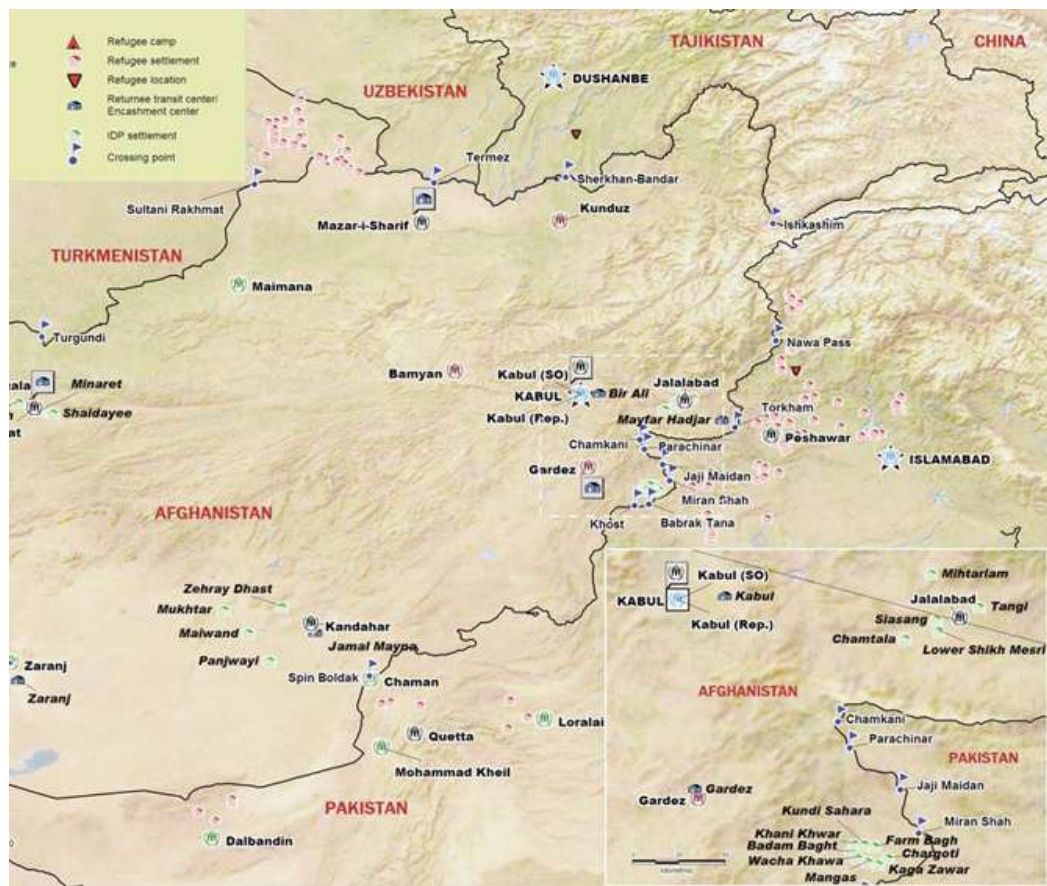
The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan is a landlocked country in South-Central Asia. It is bordered by Pakistan in the south and east, Iran in the west, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan in the north, and China in the far northeast. Up to 2008 the Afghan population was 28,150,000⁶ (World Population Prospects, 2008). The only city with over one million residents is the capital, Kabul. The population of the country is divided into a wide variety of ethnic groups.⁷ The most common languages spoken in Afghanistan are Eastern Persian (Dari) and Pashto. Both are official ones. The religion of Islam first arrived to Afghanistan in the 7th century but at that moment many people refused to abandon their old faith (Hinduism and Buddhism). By the 10th century majority of the people living in Afghanistan fully converted to the new religion and became Muslim. At the present over 99% of Afghans are Muslims (The World Factbook, 2010). As of 2006 more than four million male and female students were enrolled in schools throughout the country. There are still significant obstacles to education in Afghanistan, stemming from lack of funding, unsafe school buildings and cultural norms. A lack of women teachers is a main issue of illiteracy among girls. Some parents do not allow their daughters to be taught by men (BBC news, 2007).

During its history Afghanistan has been invaded many times disputing its boundaries and governments. Invaders include the Islamic conquest of South Asia (642-1187), Russian Tsars (330 BC), Soviet Union (occurred on December 24, 1979), British Empire (was invaded twice: 1838-1842 and 1878-1880), and currently a coalition of NATO troops with UN-backing led by US armed forces (Magnus & Naby, 1995). The stated reason of US invasion of Afghanistan was to capture Osama bin Laden who was accused of the September 11, 2001 attacks in New York.

⁶ This number includes about 2.7 million Afghan refugees currently staying in neighboring Pakistan and Iran.

⁷ Because a systematic census has not been held in the country in decades, exact figures about the size and composition of the various ethnic groups are not available.

Regarding the current situation on the country, poverty remains the biggest threat to life and the protection of civilians is still a major issue in Afghanistan. The Government has yet to adapt refugees and internally displaced persons' policies. Achieving sustainable return and reintegration of people is becoming more challenging in the current context. Voluntary repatriation has as a consequence slowed down in the last years. UNHCR webpage states that “[t]he return of more than 5 million refugees since 2002 has increased the estimated population of Afghanistan by over 20 per cent” (UNHCR, 2009).



Afghanistan

Map from UNHCR; the UN Refugee agency

Voluntary repatriation has as a consequence slowed down in the last years. UNHCR webpage states that “[t]he return of more than 5 million refugees since 2002 has increased the estimated population of Afghanistan by over 20 per cent” (UNHCR, 2009). In the areas of highest return, as many as one in three people is a returnee. This level of return has put a tension on receiving communities struggling to cope with already limited resources. Security remains more problematic in spite of reconstruction and development efforts took place. Afghanistan's capacity to absorb more returns is limited, without further targeted support. So it is not enough to sustain return. Innumerable needs faced by returnees are for shelter, water and livelihoods support. However, a community-based approach supports receiving communities and mitigates the potential for conflict over resources, particularly in ethnically mixed areas. Children face a wide range challenges including child labour, smuggling and human trafficking, and early or forced marriage (ibid).

Previous Researches

This chapter describes theories of culture and adolescent’s development as well as touches upon theoretical implications of traumatism in the context of migration, refugees and forced migrants’ experience. This experience varies according to a large amount of factors, including personal characteristics, social relations, age, gender, length of living in a new country, the level of involvement in a social-political situation of home country and many others.

Theories of adolescents’ development

The adolescence is a period that viewed by many scientists as an age crisis. Especially by those who become engaged in talking about adolescents as ‘difficult’ and ‘problematic’ age period. It is a socially constructed definition. Cultural developmental psychology views adolescence as a central period for establishment of an elaborate structure of personal culture. Adolescents - based on their established

personal cultures – form their domains of lively curiosity in both the ways in which the world outside functions, and the way they could relate to the world. Teenagers construct their social worlds that go beyond of their parents yet are based on the social input from parents (Valsiner, 2000).

Segall and others (1999) reveal three subsystem of development context of each child:

1. The settings, or physical and social contexts on which the child lives;
2. The customs, or culturally-determined rearing and educational practices;
3. The psychological characteristics of the caretakers, including the parental ethnotheories of child development (Segall, et al., 1999, p.55).

With the complexity of all three one must deal considering the adolescence experience. The claim of uniqueness of adolescents' personal worlds is normative since personal culture is built through constructive internalization and externalization (Valsiner, 2000). Vygotsky (1966) establishes the notion of 'teaching-learning' that entails both the active construction efforts by the learner (the individual component of adolescents) and efforts by others to guide those in some direction (the teaching component) (ibid., p.43). Much of what human beings learn during different age stages of development is learned without direct teaching. Those are particular ideas, concepts, and values which are widely transmitted. This process of direct or indirect learning is called "enculturation" and it will be examined below in the section of the same name. Baldwin (1911) underlines a similar idea of an improvement of the development of the emerging psychological functions, which is accomplished in two different ways. First of all it is individual activities, for example, fantasy in adolescence. The other way is a social guidance that is provided by different social institutions (Valsiner, 2000).

Within any general direction of development each individual produces its own unique trajectory. At the same time all these unique trajectories observe the general

law of development. Psychological system of the person is constantly in movement. It may move individual away from some realm of world life and nearer to others; it may invent new personal constructions as well as disrupt existing ones. The psychological system of a person is “an open system in its constant creation of novelty” (Valsiner, 2000, p.26). In this process of creation or formation a psychological system an individual adapts not to the given conditions using his/her experience and knowledge but also anticipate future changes. Baldwin (1930) was one of those, who understood the lack of effectiveness of using quantitative methodology in development psychology. According to him the world of person is that of a heterogeneous collection of unique personal adaptations to heterogeneous environment. The heterogeneity of socially mediated environmental input leads to the establishment of ‘cognitive schemas’, which in their turn guide the person’s acting upon the environment towards more variably, through novel action (ibid., p.35). It is particularly the study of development, that is, the *investigation of real emerging phenomena* that brings to the attention of scientists the extent of the issue of psychological development in studying age period.

Theories of Culture

‘Culture’ is used in many ways in contemporary social sciences but almost any definition includes behavioral products of those, who preceded any particular individual. It contains values that that will be expressed and a language in which to express them. It is a significant part a way of life that is followed by human beings and the most of the time it is unquestioningly appropriated that there is no better way of living. Munroe and Munroe (1980) states that ‘culture’ is “composed of numerous separable (but often correlated) factors, including subsistence patterns, social and political institutions, languages, rules governing, interpersonal relations, divisions of labor by sex, age, or ethnicity, population density, dwelling styles, and more” (Segall, et al., 1999, p.4). Hutchins (1995) considers ‘culture’ as an ‘adaptive process’ as well as it is ‘a human cognitive process that takes place both inside and outside the minds

of people.” He continues that “It [culture] is the process in which our everyday cultural practices are enacted” (cited by Segall et al., 1999, p.3). This paper mostly focuses on culture as intrapersonal mediation between psychological functioning of the individual and the experiences in her/his life world. Each particular individual while being involved in experiencing the world performs feeling, thinking, memorizing forgetting and so forth. This study aims to observe culture through individual experiences, taking into account the persons as meaning constituting persons and considering each specific experience. It is where phenomenology is a very useful approach reflecting on how something is experienced from uncritical approval of what is experienced (Sages, 2005). The person becomes simultaneously an actor, who is immersed in the given context, and an active agent, who reflects on settings in which he or she immersed (Valsiner, 2000). Different persons in the same context construct their personal (and discrepant from another) meaningfulness of the context. The personal system of created meanings becomes projected to the world through personal arrangement of things that are important for the given person (ibid, p.55). It is what makes different perspectives on the same event possible.

Miller (1997) comes up with the “semiotic” approach where a dialectic relationship between culture and individuals is studied. Human beings shape culture and culture shapes the different activities and functioning of human beings. Culture not only forms behavior, but also is continuously reconstructed by individuals. The freedom of choice allows to individuals to select and accept some aspects of culture and reject others (Segall et al., 1999). Stability cannot be a defining feature of the culture as culture is never complete. Cultural changes constantly occur due to internal innovations or through the contact with other societies (ibid).

Theory of culture as an adaptation to ecological and socio-historical prerequisites views every cultural system as a solution to the problem of living that is workable in the particular conditions in which the culture evolved. Herskovits, Miller and others being proponents of cultural relativism adhere to that there is no better or

superior culture. At the same time it does not mean that every aspect of culture is necessarily functional or out of public debate. As Morin and Kern (1993) point out “every culture has something dysfunctional... One has to respect cultures, but they may well be inherently imperfect” (cited by Segall et al., 1999, p.13).

Another approach of defining culture is offered by Kim U. and colleagues where it is seen as “a rubric of patterned variables” (Kim, Yang & Hwang, 2006, p.34). Culture is a consequent property of individuals controlling, changing and in every possible way interacting with their environment. Human beings belonging to distinct cultures set different collective goals, use different methods and resources to realize them, and, that is most important for this paper, attach different meanings and values on those goals (ibid). Culture provides individuals with symbolic knowledge to define themselves, demarcate what is meaningful, communicate with others, and to interact with the environment (ibid, p.35). Further the definitions and theories of enculturation and socialization are provided to show, how the enculturation and socialization experience of children affect their attitudes, values and behavior. As a result of this experience those children are differing from another child who grew up in another cultural environment.

Enculturation and Socialization

Determining the boundaries of extent of the term Herskovits (1948) defines “enculturation” as all kind of learning, both directly and indirectly, that occurs in human life because of what is available to learn in a given culture (Segall et al., 1999, p.6). This process of learning occurs by observation any part of the essence of our society that has been culturally shaped and limited during preceding generations. Human beings are not likely to be aware of what is available in the society to be learned. Hence the people who are most entirely enculturated are often the least aware of their culture’s role (ibid).

Child (1954) defines the term “socialization” as “the whole process by which an individual, born with behavioral potentialities of enormously wide range, is led to develop actual behavior which is confined within a much narrower range – the range of what is customary and acceptable for him according to the standards of his group” (cited by Segall et al., 1999, p.7). Socialization narrows the range of responses each of us habitually makes in many other behavioral domains. The social conditions under which the people express emotions, and the ways in which they quell them, are determined by socialization (ibid). Referring this process to the development of adolescents who are active creatures and may choose those with whom they come into contact, the probability of their behaving in certain ways is influenced by them. Those who possess power relative to children can socialize him or her. Mostly those people who provide socialization include parents, teachers, and other elders, who are more knowledgeable in the ways of the particular society in which they function. Even age peers and classmates can effect socialization in certain conditions and situations. Segall and colleagues (1999) notice that this process of socialization often involves some sort of conflict between the individual and those who provide socialization. For example, as it is sometimes occurs between pupils and teachers. Some behavioral patterns can be punished or forbidden by behavior of others in very subtle ways at a certain time and place they consider it inappropriate. Generally socialization involves exertions by others to control behavior aiming to produce “acceptable” patterns of it. Valsiner and Lawrence (1997) notice that in contemporary world with increase of migration and mobility, individuals are not only socialized once being in original place. The process of resocialization also takes place in different ways during their lives experiencing migrations (ibid).

Enculturation and socialization are processes of cultural transmission from within one culture. In the case of acculturation the sociopolitical context influences the individual from outside one’s own culture. Acculturation is a second set of

cultural influences on an individual, while enculturation and socialization constitute the first set, beginning from a birth (Segall et al., 1999)

Acculturation

Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936) give the following definition of acculturation: it “comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups” (cited by Segall et al., 1999, p.301). According to Sam and Berry (1995) acculturation refers to “the behavioral and psychological changes that occur as a result of contact between people belonging to different cultural groups.” (cited by Miglietta & Tartaglia, 2009, p. 2). Cultural changes happen in both the host culture and the guest one. Though the latter undergoes greater changes not only because of being a minority but also for reasons will be defined below by seeing acculturation process from a psychological and a behavioral point of view. The first one is defined in terms of psychological and emotional well-being. In this sense, adaptation is affected by personality of individuals, changes in living environment, coping strategies, and social support from relatives and friends. Psychological features of individuals may contribute to change in the society and spread to psychological changes to others in the population. These psychological features are themselves likely to be the result of cultural conditions. Hence, there is an interactive relationship between the population and individual levels of understanding culture change (Segall et al., 1999). Behavioral aspects are referred to social abilities such as an ability to learn a new culture. According to previous studies these two aspects of acculturation (psychological and behavioral) are strongly interdependent (Berry, 2001; Ward & Kennedy, 1999 cited by Miglietta & Tartaglia, 2009, p. 4). Rudmin points out that acculturation is a process in the situation “when people of different cultures interact and intermix, they have some probability of adopting each other’s products, technologies, behaviors, languages, beliefs, values and social institutions” (Rudmin, 2003). In the same article Rudmin

and Ahmadzadeh propose refinement on the taxonomy articulated by Berry and colleagues (1984; 1989). They mention four key outcomes or strategy of acculturation which may occur in different contexts: assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization. Assimilation is a strategy of non-dominant group's individuals who do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures. In contrast, separation is an alternative strategy when individuals place a value on holding onto their original culture, and wish to avoid interaction with others of dominant culture. Marginalization is defined in the situation when there is little possibility in cultural maintenance, and little interest in having relations with others which mostly happens for reasons of exclusion and discrimination. Integration can only be voluntary (freewill) chosen and pursued by non-dominant groups when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation toward cultural diversity. Integration and separation strategies of acculturation can only be pursued when some members of a certain ethno cultural group share the desire to maintain the group's cultural heritage. These two strategies are 'collective', while assimilation is 'individualistic' (Segall et al., 1999, p. 305).

By seeing acculturation as a process of negotiation appropriate values, customs, and practices (Berry, Poortiga, Segall, & Dasen, 1992; Buriel, 1993), this study assume that individuals emerge with their own interpretation of it in a new life setting. It is not cultures that come into contact in acculturation process but individuals. This is why this paper emphasizes individuals as bearers of their own cultures.

Considering acculturation it is useful to notice that some of the aspects of culture change come as a result of internal forces which can be seen as features of the society itself. Ethnic and religious conflicts, population explosion, differential group access to power or wealth and other factors are likely to contribute to social changes which in turn require individuals to adapt psychologically (Segall et al., 1999, p. 300).

Traumatism and psychological disorder

There a large variety of researches on reaction to traumatic experience where trauma is considered as a significant risk for psychological development of individuals. Among these researchers a large body is focused on the effects of traumatic experiences on adults, while responses of children and adolescents to disaster are a neglected area of study (Ickovicts et al., 2006; Norris et al., 2002). Additionally, studies mostly deal with natural disasters (earthquakes or hurricanes) whereas traumatism caused by ethnic conflicts and civil wars lack proper investigation. The later differs from natural disasters and potentially has more negative effects on psychological health, because, as Norris and others (2002) states, “they symbolize human callousness and carelessness” (cited by Dekovic et al., 2008, p.7). A war entails a whole reorganization of family and society. Children and adolescents are not only directly exposed to uncommon sources of stress, but are also affected by transformation of family that is traumatized itself. The effects of direct and indirect traumatic war experiences alter children and adolescents’ entire development (Rousseau, Drapeau, and Platt, 1999).

Dekovic and others (2008) group three categories of factors that predict trauma symptoms and problem behaviors: pre-trauma factors, trauma-related factors, and post-trauma factors (Dekovic et al., 2008). Pre-trauma factors include preexisting, stable characteristics such as the culture and certain personality traits that might lead to choose a coping strategy. Individual pre-trauma factors may be particularly important for understanding reactions to traumatic events. Trauma-related factors refer to the nature and features of the trauma event itself which include individual severity of experience that are physical and emotional. Physical one represents witnessing injury and physical pain. Emotional experience refers to emotional involvement such as a death of a loved person. The closeness the physical and emotional experience to the event defines the level of negative consequences of the traumatic event. Dekovic and others state received social support by individuals

experienced trauma as a pervasive post-trauma factor in promoting recovery from a stressful experience (ibid). This paper under category of post-trauma factors presents the whole individuals' living environment that is characterized by certain social, political and cultural features.

Studies on effects of war focus on the direct impact of it on teenagers and their families or on between generational transmission of trauma. Researches mostly emphasize psychiatric symptoms arising from the traumatic experience that is called posttraumatic stress syndrome (PTSS). Kinzie and colleagues' longitudinal study (1986) of Khmer adolescents in the USA who have lived through the Pol Pot regime state that teenagers who initially had had no symptoms later presented PTSS, while others became asymptomatic (Rousseau, Drapeau, and Platt, 1999). Sack and others (1994) show a relationship between PTSS and age and supposed that these findings reflected more-indirect exposure to traumatic events. Studies are not certain about the extent and the consequences of direct trauma. Trying to explain these uncertainties researches focus on the children's age at the time of the trauma, protective factors related to family as well as methodological issues such as assessment of trauma and PTSS (ibid). Several authors (Becker, Morales, & Aguilar, 1994; Kestenberg, 1993; Richman, 1993) dealing with PTSS conclude that it is not the only consequence of children's war experience. War trauma (both direct and indirect) affects children's overall moral development, which in turn influence their behavior. Apart from negative repercussions of socialization in an atmosphere of violence there are some studies that investigate the positive outcome of some types of war trauma. For example, Macksoud and Alber (1996) studying Lebanese teenagers remark that those who had been separated from their parents or had witnessed acts of violence were more sensitive to altruism and reported more prosocial behavior. They suggest that social and personal involvement with the aim of avoiding a repetition of trauma may be a strategy for coping with one's own suffering (Rousseau, Drapeau, & Platt, 1999).

Several studies have suggested a relationship between immigrant status and greater psychological morbidity or sickness rate. Quantitative studies (Aronowitz, 1984; Ekstrand, 1976; Roberts, 1992; Rodriguez, 1968; Rutter, Yule, Berger et al., 1974; Yee, Thu, 1987) investigating the effect of immigration on psychological health have produced mixed and uncertain results for higher rates of morbidity in immigrant children and adolescents. It stays unclear to what extent these results of previous studies are due to the method of measurement of psychological and social disturbance or to actual high rate of psychological disorder. Adolescents may express themselves differently to parents and teachers (or to those who provide the information on which the assessment of particular study is based) as well as parental tolerance for different behavioral disorders in children may differ cross-culturally.

Responses to trauma are extremely complex and only partly depend on the trauma timing. In addition, after experiencing a war and settling down in a new country, adolescent refugees are influenced with new cultural settings. There are many factors associated with migration and refugee status that may predispose immigrant samples in general to health and welfare interventions, especially low socioeconomic status. Fabrega (1969) and others show that there are risk factors common to all adolescents, regardless of ethnicity or refugee status as well as there are some certain factors applying to only some groups (for example, liability to traumatic incidents among refugee adolescents) (Klimidis et al., 1994). Generally, the quantitative approach aims to show whether traumatism and resulting psychological disorder takes place or does not, which may simplify the picture of refugee migration and acculturation. The use of phenomenology as a qualitative approach allows considering the complexity of issues brining individuals of a particular background who lived in an environment with certain cultural patterns that are different. It attempts to explore a wide range of possible effects on the social adjustment of children and adolescents.

Theoretical and scientific approach

This chapter underlines some main principles of Phenomenology, its central approach and practical implication of it in the present paper.

Phenomenological approach

Phenomenology refers to the idea that the complexity of the real-world surrounding us can be understood through the study of individuals experiencing this reality, by examining individual perception and understanding of it. Human beings live in the same world and experience particular events but the perception and vision of it might be different. This difference is caused by a variety of characteristics (social, cultural, biological, etc.) of a particular individual. Karlsson states in his book (1993) that “[d]espite the multiplicity of possible ways of experiencing the objects in the world, it is still only one and the same world which is experienced” (p.13). There is common agreement among scientists using different phenomenological methods that fundamental experience shapes the function of language and discursive practices (Ashworth & Chung, 2006).

Interdependency

Phenomenological attitude, namely transcendental, aims to explore interconnection and interrelation between the subject which is experiencing and the object which is actually experienced (Sages, 2003). Chosen participants or phenomena are an intrinsic part of studying object and represent it in the unique and specific way. By studying the “multiplicity of possible ways of experiencing the object” the real world unpacks during the scrutiny. *Interdependency* is a characteristic of involvement between an individual (the subject) and experienced object of the real world. Phenomenology seeks to unfold or discover psychological acts which influence the creation of meaning of words by individuals. In turn, those psychological acts are influenced by the life world and everyday experience, as well

as they affect the perception of the reality by individuals. This interdependency between individual and the real world shows up itself in the meaning of words. Only through the act of speaking the meaning of the visual and invisible forms emerges. The task is to capture what individuals say and through the analysis to understand how they *interpret* their world or particular events. Hence, this qualitative research method aims to capture the process of *interpretation*. As Karlsson states that “phenomenology rejects the idea that there exist objective facts, independent of a subject or a subjective consciousness” (Karlsson, 1993, p.16) these “objective facts” can be studied through the close understanding of subjective perspective which is formed with his/her particular experience. In the course of qualitative analysis each particular experience is elucidated in the context and personal meanings of using words by an individual. The purpose of phenomenology is to discover the constitution of meaning by individuals.

As have been mentioned above, being free of any theoretical framework or pre-understanding in studying the question, the main focus of this paper is on the experience represented by participants. Phenomenology is not just description and classification of experiences, but it is about “the first-person stand-point as a whole, that is, what it means to have experiences, what it means to be a self or subject or ego” (Carr, 1999, p.84). The subject experiences the world or any situation not in a way the researcher can presume it to be experienced but in its specific and peculiar way that the researcher ought to seek to uncover and describe. It is through this description the reality of this question will appear and the understanding of the problem will be delineated and circumscribed. The experience expressed by participants in an open interview is inevitably formed and influenced by cultural practice, customs, personal values, opinions, etc. In the course of the interpretation of the data (interviews) cultural and historical issues (or horizons) come up as an unavoidable part of any particular experience. Reflection on this experience reveals the essence or entity thought upon in this particular experience. Horizons of

comprehension constitute any experienced situation by an individual in its typical nature. These horizons existing prior to any reflective activity can be made explicit by phenomenological analysis (Sages, 2003)

Using phenomenology it is worth to remember that an experience is one continuous, uninterrupted 'line of information' where each particular part of this information cannot be considered without taking into account previous ones. Each moment of perception of the world always brings into one's mind or to one's consciousness the past experience (knowledge, feelings, images, etc), that evidently influence perception of the presence. That is why behind every meaning of the word there is a knowledge that unites in itself the experience of the past and the present and as well as a vision of the future. Individuals are never free from previous experience, it always affects their way of thinking and always represented in words (or precisely in meanings) when it comes to express their opinion about different things or situations.

Intersubjectivity

Intersubjectivity reveals itself in meaning constitution that is a process that is always occurring in a community of subjects where the life-world is shared (Sages, Lundsten, 2003). As the world is complex, no one can represent it completely and objectively. But each single experience is very valuable and may bring something new in understanding of the object and contribute by knowledge regarding it. As Sages R. put it that "...experience in phenomenology, as constituting experience is never only a private business but always and in the same time experience of a community" (Sages, 2003, p.5). He continues that "[i]ntersubjectivity is then the foundation and guarantee of objectivity" (ibid). That is why Clark Moustakas speaking about perception by individuals considers it as "the primary source of knowledge, the source that cannot be doubted" (Moustakas, 1994, p.52). As individuals differ in their knowledge of the life spheres, everything what they share

with others is part of the “world within common reach” (Schutz, 1970, p.39). This world is an area of overlapping entities which express different parts of each individual’s total world within reach. This “common” knowledge presupposes a minimum of agreement on the part of the individual concerned and, at the same time, it is not identical in thoroughness and details (ibid).

Mikhail Bakhtin’s concept of ‘the internal multi-layeredness of language’ presents a similar idea of generating the actual meaning of an utterance on the background of language, through the encounter of myriad of experience of the individual. The person actively encounters the word of the others, and creates his or her own personal understandings. Understanding is created in the process of responding in a dialogue (Valsiner, 2000). Human beings create a ‘web of meaning’ and are also brought into already existing webs of meaning. These webs of meaning are the context in which they reveal ourselves to others (Maykut, Morehouse, 1994).

Intentionality of Consciousness

Intentionality is the defining feature of conscious the activity of consciousness in both its conscious, preconscious and unconscious levels. It seeks to underline “relatedness” of consciousness to the object of its attention bringing up the idea that to be aware is necessarily to be aware of something. Brentano, who first introduced the idea of intentionality, states that “all consciousness is consciousness of something” (cited by Ashworth & Chung 2006, p. 13). He reasons that “all mental phenomena have content, or are about” something or other, even where what they intend does not exist outside of the thinker’s awareness” (Warner & Szubka, 1994. p.199). “Consciousness” is a type of being different from a physical thing, not given to individuals via sensory experience. Hence, consciousness is not given to be investigated as a spatio-temporal entity regulated by causality that natural sciences correctly do in their respective fields. Intentionality of consciousness is hidden dimension to empiricism and naturalism. The task of the phenomenology used by

psychology is to delineate the various ways in which consciousness could relate to its object (Ashworth & Chung, 2006). The strategies such as bracketing and the several reductions, which are involved in phenomenological research, will be described below in this paper, help to attain an access to consciousness.

Every experience is not only characterized by the fact that it is an act of consciousness, but, at the same time, it is determined by the intended object itself. Forms of intentionality can be described on two different levels: the natural attitude and the sphere obtained by the application of the phenomenological reduction. From the natural attitude human beings accept as unquestionable the world of existed facts which surrounds them. But, according to Husserl (1913), by “a radical effort” of mind individuals can alter this natural attitude, not by transforming or replacing existing beliefs, but by “suspending” them (Schutz, 1970, p.58), realizing in this way what is the pure meaning of the intended object as such, prior to and independently of positing it is a fact. The method of phenomenological reduction makes possible to approach the stream of consciousness in itself. It can be done through “bracketing” of all judgments about the ontological nature of the perceived objects (ibid).

For further consideration of intentionality of consciousness two aspects of phenomenon *Noesis* (“the experiencing, meaning forming acts of consciousness”) and *Noema* (“the experienced, the meaning formed by the noetical processes”) as described by Husserl (1913) should be used. *Noesis* is defined as the mental act of consciousness that constitutes a phenomenon. *Noema* refers to the intentional object or, precisely, to the sense content achieved by the mental act (Sages, 2003). Only the already experienced is meaningful where a meaning is merely an operation of intentionality (Schutz, 1970). The correlation of these two aspects allows obtaining a phenomenological description of lived experience and separate personal expressions from expressed meaning that contents subjective experience (Sages, 2003). The transcendental reflection offers the possibility to explore the underlying meaning and origins of individual past and present experiences that usually stay unseen if studied

by natural scientific methods (ibid). It is through the capturing of the multiple dimensions of meanings, an understanding of individual's perceptions, comprehensions and anticipations becomes possible to elucidate.

Validity of the research

To clarify the question of validity Husserl's concept (1913) of the lifeworld serves as a useful implement. By the lifeworld he actually means to investigate instances of the way things are lived and experienced in the context and situation in which they occur. Instead of creating questioners pertaining to specific aspects of the phenomenon, which are removed from the full context, the idea is to study an experience of a phenomenon by way of real life examples. Taking the lifeworld into account the research situation is closer to praxis as the collected raw data consists of descriptions of lived events by the individuals who living through the experience. The phenomenon can be understood exactly with all the nuances as the participant went through it (Ashworth & Chung, 2006). Additionally, phenomenological approach offers the kind of research findings that would be more useful to the practitioner.

As Roger Sages (2004) states that "[...] a general question of validity and related problems cannot be postulated in advance". He continues that "[i]t may very well be that validity problems can only receive local solutions, depending on the region of reality to which the object of research belongs" (p. 5). Hence, the question of validity is a "local and not a global one" (ibid) as research situation is occurring in a particular region of reality with the specific material and ontological frame.

Looking at the question of validity as a process of validation, the intentional object of research appears as the whole process of project itself (being an object of reflection and analysis). According to Sages this intentional object has three important criteria, following which means to validate:

- the sequence of systematic steps taken and following during the project, from its first formulation to its conclusion;
- the modalities of its application, including the way its aims are formulated, its postulated relationship to similar projects, the “public” to which it address itself, the understanding of ethical implications it suspends;
- the intersubjectivity for which it strives as the competent judge and guarantor of its objective value (ibid, p.7).

The researcher has to follow all criteria sequentially with maximum transparency in order to validate.

Doing research an explication of meaning is done with modifying “the ongoing view of the noematic content of the intentional object” (ibid, p.6) instead of just stating the facts. This aspect is named by Sages as horizon-opening validity.

Problematization validity is satisfied if a research allows the formulation of a set of expectations indicating possibilities for continued research (ibid, p.7).

For a research to be ethically valid, it is important to obtain willingness of each single individual participating in project. An active participation with interest to develop in individuals’ life circumstances in a way significant for participants can help to open “new horizon of comprehension” of a problem. The later point also fulfills contextual validity as being strongly interconnected with the ethical one (ibid, p.7).

Additionally, generalization in phenomenology is obtained with the studying of individuals constituted meaning instead of looking at a large body of people without definite personal features.

Methodology

Selection of participants and conditions of conducted open interviews

The outcome is a deeper understanding of experience from the perspectives of the participants selected for the study. The selection of participants has been made according to the studied question. The data collection includes six interviews of participants that agreed to take part in the research. Participants are adolescents of 18-19 years old⁸ who came in Sweden as refugees with their families during the period of 2006-2008. At present all of them live in Lund while studying. Partakers are from three following countries: Burundi, Iraq and Afghanistan. Among them are two male participants from Burundi, one Afghani and three Iraqi female partakers. The selection of participants is stipulated by, first of all, experience of war or armed conflict when being teenagers in their home countries. The second condition is that all of them moved in Sweden as refugees and have been living there from two up to four years. This second condition insures in having acculturation experience apart from migration by all participants. Due to the ethics of holding experimentation main principles for scientific research with human participants were accomplished. Before holding interviews, the project description of the research and explanation of its purposes were formulated to the adolescents, insuring their comprehension of them. Each of the partakers was secured full anonymity.

Interviews started with one open question: “could you please tell me your feelings, thoughts, memories, opinions about experienced events in your original country and moving than to Sweden”. Duration of interviews varied from 20 to 30 minutes including the time of introduction with the interviewer (to establish a warm and confidential atmosphere) as well as a description of the research to the participants. Four interviews (Iraqi and Afghani participants) were conducted at

⁸ Due to the age of participants consents from parents to be their children interviewed are not required.

Polhemskolan, a Highschool in Lund in South-Sweden. The two Burundian adolescents were interviewed separately downtown in Lund. All interviews were held in English, except for one of the Iraqi young woman, who due to poor English told some parts of her story in Swedish. The translation was made by the author. The participants did not mind interviews to be recorded. All participants had not met an interviewer before the appointed day of the personal interview except one of the Burundian young men who maintained friendly relation with the interviewer.

The Sphinx Lexica as validating method

The Sphinx Lexica is software allowing an examination, both qualitative and quantitative of a qualitatively obtained text material. It offers statistical analysis of textual data by applying an extended tool box for various data processing methods, such as, for example, computing word frequencies, making accessible detailed information on the lexical content and approximation (word dominance, repeated terms, its grouping, etc.). In this particular study the Sphinx Lexica is used as a complementary method aiming to validate a content structure of collected textual data before applying actual meaning constitution analysis. A principal components analysis is performed with observation of correlation between three following variables: length, richness and banality of the text. For the application of the Sphinx Lexica all six interviews are combined as one source of information.

MCA: the procedure of analysis

The research is based on phenomenological reflection using Husserl's conceptions of the *epoché*, *noematic structure* and *phenomenological reduction* to analyze collected data. The epoché means the process of suspension of all value judgments as well as an increased attention toward the phenomenon studied

independently of any theoretical interpretations. The transcendental reduction is the method leading towards the steps on the constitution of the meaning of the phenomenon under study (Sages & Lundsten, 2003) When research is seen as a making of meaning explicit (instead of statements of facts), each step of unveiling a layer of meaning modifies the ongoing view of the noematic content of the intentional object (ibid). The software MCA-Minerva is used to explore a text in depth disclosing the several components of the intended meaning of subject (Sages & Lahlou, 2004). This software provides a wide range of tools for analyzing a text. For the most part the data is dealt qualitatively, but the software allows exploring it using statistical treatment. The method is free from cultural biases, values and beliefs which is quite important in the present cultural research settings. The lived experience of participants is considered to be the source of valid knowledge and the experiencing of each of them is treated equally from the beginning.

The procedure of analysis includes two steps, which respectively were followed analyzing each of six collected interviews.

I. Establishing meaning units and categorizing them by modalities

By using MCA software the pragmatic task of this step, first of all, is to break sentences into smaller meaning units. Practical applicability is that smaller meaning units increment thoroughness of the analysis. Breaking is not based on syntactical units, which are actually hard to reveal due to the spontaneous character of sentences and plenty of interjections and parenthetical words used by participants. The split into the meaning units of words is made by finding a smaller amount of meaning in the sentences.

Modalities are characteristics of meaning units; each modality is a way of its appearance. Drawing back to the Husserl's theory, modalities represent *noesis* that, as was pointed out above, is the act of consciousness. Modalities depict the subjective experience of the object or, in other words they give an understanding of the form of

experiencing. The separation of personal experience from the expressed meaning is done by applying modalities. The present analysis uses following modalities: belief (doxa-affirmation, possibility, probability)⁹, function (perceptive, imaginative, signitive), time (past, present, future), affect (positive-perspective, negative-perspective, neutral, positive-retrospective, negative retrospective) and will (wish-negative, wish-positive, engagement, unengagement, aspiration or this modality may be not stated). Meaning units are also characterized by stating property (my, ours, etc.) and subject (I, we, they, etc.). Modalities indicate the position of the individual in relation to the expressed meaning and “no meaning can ever appear independently of some forms of modalities sustaining it” (Sages, 2003). By combining different modalities it is possible to elucidate the correlation between them that actually provides the description of appearance of meaning units in the data.

II. Immediate analysis of partial intentions

The account of person’s experience goes much beyond what they would be able to say themselves. Bringing the unstated taken-for-granted implications of accounts of experience to expression in the analyses of phenomenological psychology is certainly within the meaning of the reduction. Phenomenological reduction aims at elucidating and clarifying experience. As Husserl (1913) states it that “... what is decisive consists of the absolutely faithful description of what is actually present in phenomenological purity and keeping at a distance all the interpretations transcending the given” (cited by Ashworth & Chung 2006, p.204). Phenomenology is never carried out in terms of a meaning interpretation but instead the analysis is in the service of “bringing out” the meaning of the experience (ibid). MCA helps to accomplish this task by separating out from each meaning unit two dimensions with that immediate analysis of partial intentions is conducted further. First of all, the entity is that which is actually spoken of. The second one is the predicate that

⁹ Here and further in the paper names of all categories of each modality are used as they are stated in the MCA-Minerva software.

indicates the individual's own way of representing entity or, in other words, how she/he is speaking about a particular entity (Sages, 2003). One and the same entity may appear in a variety of ways in the text and predicates are used as a serviceable tool to elucidate its different appearances. To give for each meaning unit the partial intention is to investigate a possible reading or another combination of given wording. This is the way to explore and describe individuals' motivation, opinions, etc. under all their possible aspects, not restraining the understanding to the first perception of the text. These partial intentions can be linked to the previous step of categorization of meaning units by modalities. The second step of the analysis is where a synthesis of several entities is made as well as their predicates and modalities. Extracted entities elicit the complete noema. In other words, they uncover different horizons which characterize, how an individual understand a particular object. The selection of entities was done on respect of the numbers of times they were appeared in the interview.

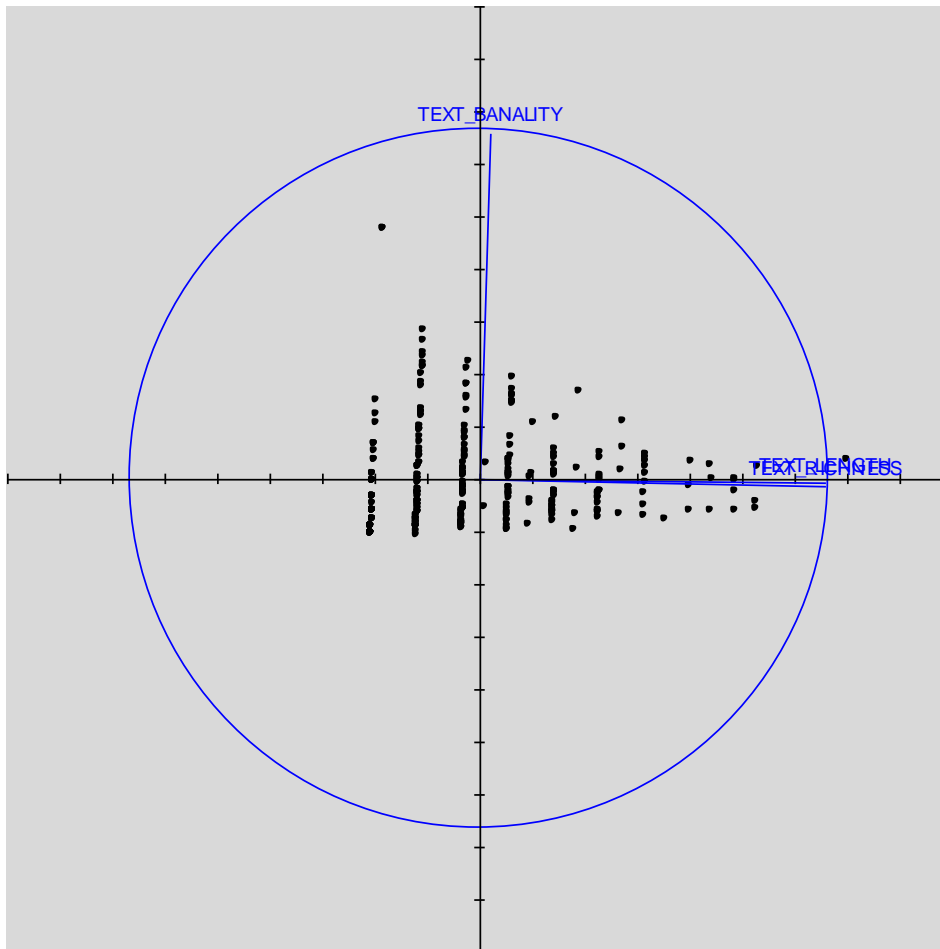
Analysis of results

Application of the Sphinx Lexica

The Table 1 below shows the correlation between three variables: text_length, text_richness and text_banality. Each dot performs a single observation. The wide spread of the dots on a coordinate system signifies uneven representation of correlation between observing variables during each observation by the software. The variable text_length is represented almost equally with text_richness.

Table 1

The Principal Components Analysis



The use of varied words (richness) is shown as appropriate for the length of all six interviews. The constant occurrence of new terms in the narratives is indicated by both variables text_richness and text_length opposing to the one of text_banality. The obtained findings provide then for a meaning constitution analysis as necessary and valid method for a scientific study of the text material.

The Table 2 represents the availability of the correlation with 1.00 between three variables. Hence, the result obtained from the table above can be seen as a clear sign off a good ecological validity of the collected data.

Table 2

Correlation coefficients between criteria

	Text_length	Text_richness	Text_banality
Text_length	1.00		
Text_richness	0.99	1.00	
Text_banality	0.02	0.02	1.00

The software reveals only positive contribution by all three variables to the textual data, which is introduced in Table 3.

Table 3

The related contribution (positive and negative) of criteria

	Axis 1 (+66.27%)	Axis 2 (+33.31%)
Positive contribution	Text_length +49.0% Text_richness +49.0%	Text_banality +99.0%
Negative contribution		

The importance of all above figures is that they show the ecological validity as being satisfied and interviews may be used for further investigation in depth applying Meaning Constitution Analysis.

Meaning Constitution Analysis

This section presents the analysis of all six interviews separately. Each analysis of six participants’ narratives sequentially follows steps of MCA described in the previous chapter of this paper. The interviews are partitioned on meaning units each of which constitutes significant sense and can stand by itself answering question about the

participants' life world. The process of modalization thus allows seeing how something is experienced from the uncritical approval of what is experienced¹⁰.

In conclusion a comparison of all six interviews is presented as a summary of the main findings and all relations of separate analyses.

Participant 1: the Iraqi young woman (18 years old), has been in Sweden for about two and a half year.

1 step

As it is seen in the table 4, all meaning units are expressed in doxa-affirmation type of **belief**. There was not found any statement that would question something or consider probability and possibility of occurrences. The participant does not show any hesitation while narrating the experience.

Applying **function**-modality, distribution of meaning units between perceptive type and signitive one is nearly equal with 44.83% and 55.17% respectively. These numbers indicate an almost identical frequency of use of concrete and abstract terms in the description of personal experience. Those statements, which concern directly experienced the experience of war in the home country and resettlement in the new one, are rather detailed and do not leave any room for further questions: "that was 2003", "the Americans came with the helicopters", "after three years my father said we needed to move", "we moved to Syria"¹¹, etc.

¹⁰ To clarify, the summary of all types of one particular modality is equal to 100%, as each modality was applied to all meaning units of analyzing interviews.

¹¹ All quotations from participants' interviews are directly cited without any corrections by author of this paper.

Table 4

Distribution of all categories of modalities for the participant 1

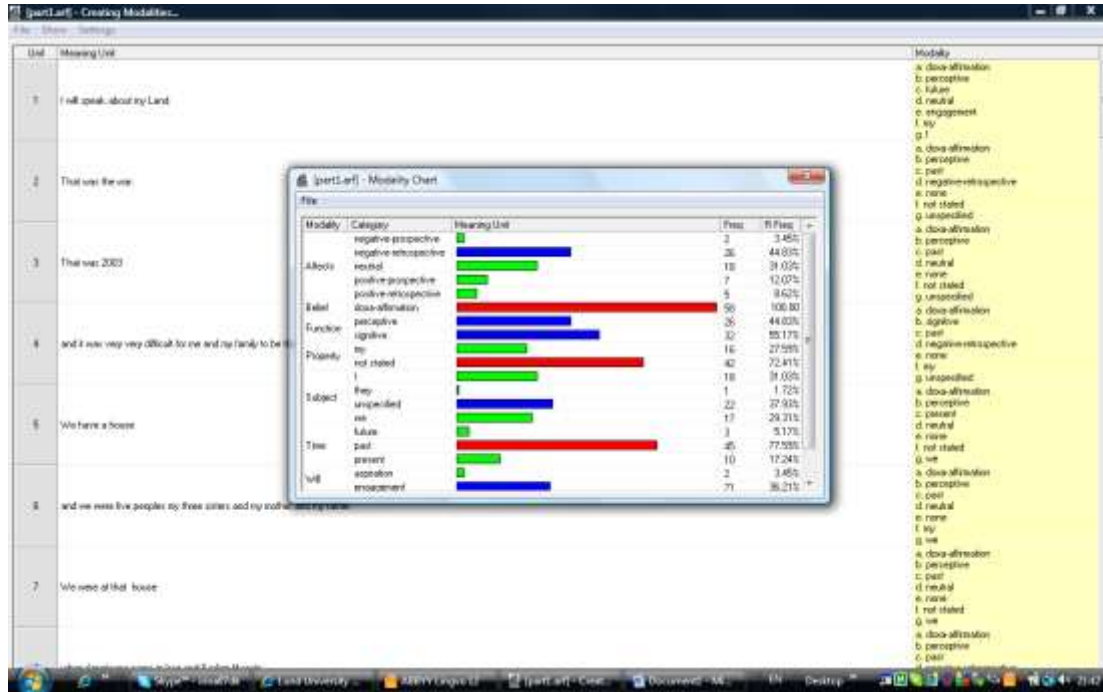
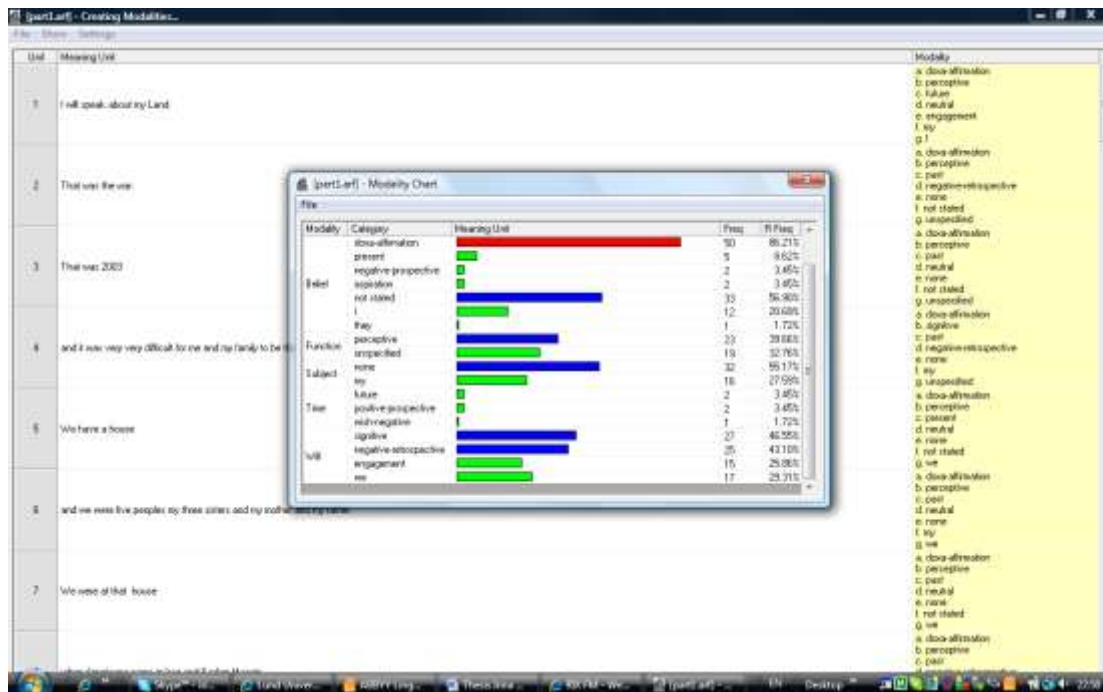


Table 4(a) (continuation)



On the other hand, there are still many uncertain expressions mostly concerning the theme of the family: “we were scared”, “we were stronger and stronger”. Some of the later ones epitomized in abstract words also concern personal feelings and thoughts: “I felt I was alone”, “it is great for me”, etc.

Absolute dominance of meaning units in the past tense (77.59%) are blended with small, but still significant amount of expressions (17.24%) describing the present. Amount the later ones there are some utterances that express feelings, perception and thoughts towards the past, such as, “I do not want to lose my future”, “I do not understand”, etc. There are also a few statements (5.17%) depicting the vision of the future: “I will move to the gymnasium this year”.

Negative-retrospective and neutral types of **affects**-modalities have rather even representation with 44.83% and 31.03% respectively. It is no surprise that mostly the participant speaks about the experience with negative impression, but the significant quantity of meaning units with neutral affect may even indicate the perception of things without any affective appraisal. Positive-prospective reveals in 12.07 % of meaning units while positive-retrospective was shown in only 8.62 % of them. The presence of the later ones portray that, despite overall negative perception of the past experience, there are still some positive memories that actually concern only the family: “we were together”, “we were strong”. However, two statements (3.45%) characterized with negative-prospective take place which ponder over negative perception of present life circumstances.

The highest numbers of meaning units are presented with two types of **will**-modality: not stated (58.62%) and engagement (36.21%) The significant figure of the later one shows that, while talking about personal experience, the interviewee sees herself very much as an inalienable part of it. The expressions characterized by no will may reflect submissive position of the adolescent towards experience. Considerably small amount of meaning units (3.45%) are performed with aspiration, though, expressed

on behalf of the family: “we had to move to another house”. Only one utterance (1.72%) reveals wish-negative affect that is “I do not want to lose my future”.

Regarding **subject**, the software displays that pronouns “I” and “we” were articulated rather equal amount of times which are shown with 20.69% and 29.31% respectively. In 48.28% of meaning units the subject was not specified at all, while “they” was stated only once (1.72%) referring to the people generally.

2 step

The following entities show the prevalence in the given order: I (me), Family (we), Father, and Mother. In the analysis of the present interview and subsequent ones entities ‘I’ and ‘me’ are grouped due to identical representation. As entity ‘we’ is only used to perform an experience on behalf of the family, these two are united as well.

Entity I/me

who it was very difficult for	Who lost mother	Who was alone/ very small	Who felt was alone	Who stopped because of the war
Who enjoy here	Who came to Sweden	Who studied	Who do not want to lose the future	Who do not understand something
Who will finish	who it is great for	Who started	Who likes	Who will move to the gymnasium this year

The entity I (me) is expressed in a variety of ways and in the different contexts starting with undergone experience in the original country following by migration

and up to the contemporary life in Sweden. Expressions with 'stopped' and 'lost' are perhaps the only ones that stand clearly as perceptive, while performing the actual experience during the war. Apart from them, there are very strong predicates with signitive feature: 'felt was alone', 'was alone' and 'it was very difficult for'. All above stated predicates are expressed in negative-retrospective affects. The mixture of both types (perceptive and signitive) indicates that perceptive experience of 'I', that is expressed with concrete words, occurs as often as uncertain, vague, emotional experiences of one expressed with abstract terms. In the period of migration the entity 'I' is signified with 'came' and 'was small'. Both of them are categorized with doxa-affirmation and neutral affect, that display no doubt in spoken facts, and, at the same time, this two predicates are taken as they are without any judgmental appraisal. While 'come' shows the engagement and seeing oneself as an inevitable part of narrated experience, 'was small' does not express any will, which makes visible the submissive character due to the age. All predicates depicting the present are performed with doxa-affirmation, revealing confidence in 'start', 'enjoy' and 'like'. Interestingly, it is in this context the will become visible and engagement is more marked: 'do not want', 'will move to the gymnasium', 'will finish'. The last two predicates indicate consideration of the future and expressed with concrete words, which represent the participant as being sure and quite certain in future steps. The majority of predicates expressed in the present time are characterized with positive affect. Yet, 'do not want' and 'do not understand' put across negative and signitive feature, which lead us to the implication, that there is something the nature of which stays unintelligible for the interviewee. This unclear topic is about incomprehensible possibility 'to lose the future' while talking of the past. The presence of the topic about the contemporary life, while narrating the answer on the open question about the past experience in the original country is interesting itself. Its predicates, such as 'like', 'it is great', and 'enjoy' are expressed with doxa-affirmation, positive affect, and signitive function.

Entity Family/We

who has a house/ were at that house	who had to move to another state	who needed to move to another land	who it was very difficult to be there for	who were (so) scared
who were five people in the house	who my father said that would move	who stayed there till the war began to the end	who moved to Syria	who needed to stay (were) together
who would be alive	Who were strong(er)			

Some of these predicates appear more than one time which points out the great importance of the entity ‘family’. For example, the family is introduced with given emphasize on the following predicates: “who were strong(er)”, “who were together”, and “who were scared”. All three mentioned predicates expressed in abstract terms (signative), but without any hesitation (doxa-affirmation type of belief–modality). What is worthy to note is that two of three predicates are the only ones expressed with positive affect directed to the past. The last finding refers to the fact that being together and getting stronger (despite being scared) during the war is the only positive impression that is remained according to the analysis of the interview. Several predicates express ‘move’ in different ways: ‘had to move’, ‘needed to move’, ‘would move’, and ‘moved’. Similarly view has ‘stay’, such as, ‘needed to stay’ and ‘stayed’. The argument, that the major amount of predicates are with ‘move’ and ‘stay’, refers to constatation that the entity ‘family’ is mostly expressed in the context of migration. These expressions combine three will-categories to different extend. The dominance of no will and engagement indicates the assimilation to the necessity of moving, while just a few statements with aspiration still signify a certain

demand on behalf of the family. All expressions of ‘move’ and ‘stay’ are characterized with the doxa-affirmation category of belief and negative-retrospective category of affects-modality, while using both abstract and concrete terms. The given predicates carry negative connotation and mostly submissive representation in the context of obliged resettlement.

Entity Father

who was in that house	who said that we would move/ had to move to another land	who think we were together we were stronger and stronger
who was (only) there	whose cousin that was	Who exists

The entity ‘father’, first of all, represents the existence of one person, which is provided with the predicates: ‘who was in that house’ and ‘who was there’. The father is shown as an inevitable part of the past experience. Hence, being as such, in the majority of expressions the entity appears in negative-retrospective terms. Positive connotation is revealed in the statements, where the entity ‘father’ is depicted as a part of the family. More importantly, there are very strong expressions appearing more than once, where father is introduced as ‘said’ in the context of the described experience of resettlement. The later predicate is put across in doxa-affirmation and perceptive ways, which portrays the father as a person who makes decisions and control the course of the family in general. Expressions ‘said we would move’ and ‘said we had to move’ have slightly noticeable tinge. The first statement carries an authoritarian connotation, while the second one is more likely to present father as a person who administers the family and, at the same time, is submitted to circumstances. The predicate of ‘think’ shows somewhat similar reflection as in the case of ‘said’, but in the present time. The last argument indicates the father, whose opinion and thoughts are worthy to be mentioned in the description of the experience.

Entity Mother

who think we were together we were stronger and stronger	who said we need to move to another land	who that was very difficult for
Who I lost	Who moved to Sweden	who lost her cousin

Similarly to the previous one the entity ‘mother’ appears with the strong indication of ‘said’ and ‘think’, which applies the same status as for the father. At the same time, being a substantial member the family, whose voice is worthy to be heard and considered, the mother is shown as ‘who that was very difficult for’. This predicate describes the member of the family, the mother, as one to whom the participant feels compassion, which is not the case when speaking about the father. Expressed with doxa-affirmation and signitive function, the given predicate does not leave any room for hesitation, but still the nature of seeing her distressed stays intangible. Similarly to the previous predicate, ‘who lost’ stresses the feeling of sympathy and pity for the suffering. The following predicates are interconnected: ‘who I lost’ and ‘who moved in Sweden’. They are performed with doxa-affirmation and perceptive type, which refers to the implication that the expressions are stated near to fact. Equating ‘moved’ with ‘lost’ indicates a strong emphasize on the significance of being together with her.

Participant 2: the Afghani young woman (18 years old), has been in Sweden for about two years

Step1

Applying the category of **belief**, analysis of the text reveals the complete dominance of doxa-affirmation (96.67%). This number indicates that the person does not

question and is entirely sure about the narrative. Possibility performed only with two expressions (3.33%) that are following: “If Taliban notice, they might kill the teacher and close the school”, “every girl can be kidnapped”.

Function is presented with perceptive (61.67%) and signitive (38.33%) types. The domination of perceptive function shows that the majority of the meaning units are expressed in a very certain way. The percentage of signitive function displays that there are still significant number of expressions that are made in abstract manner, such as, for example, “I remember a fear”, “we didn’t know what is going to happen tomorrow”, “but since it became dangerous I stayed at home”.

Table 5

Distribution of all categories of modalities for the participant 2

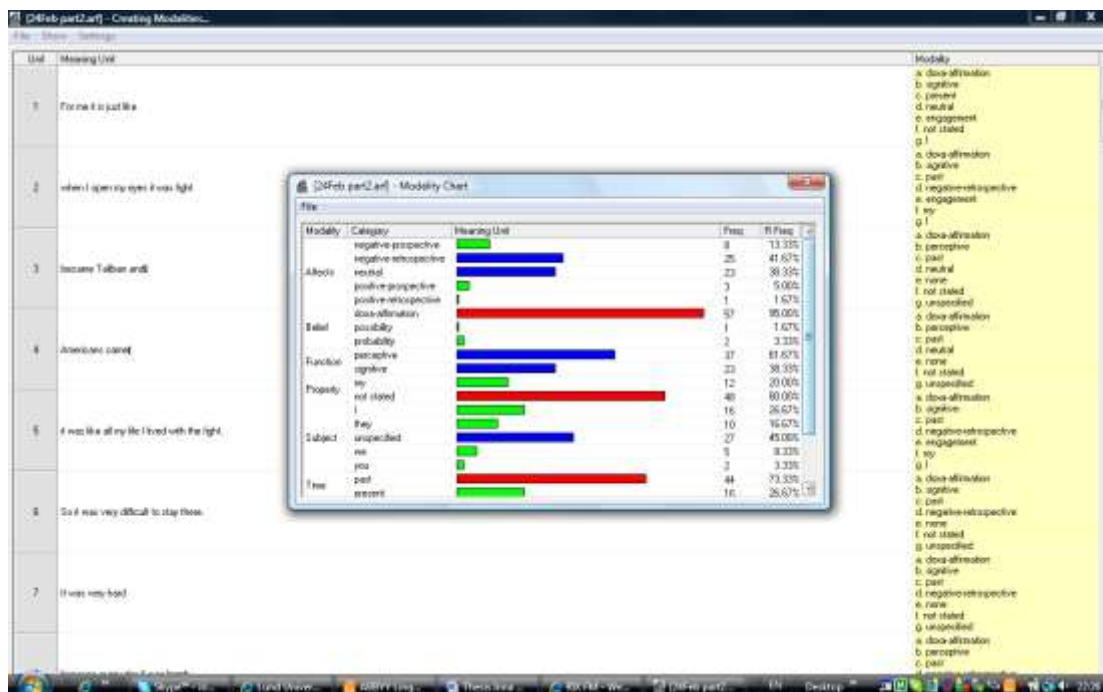
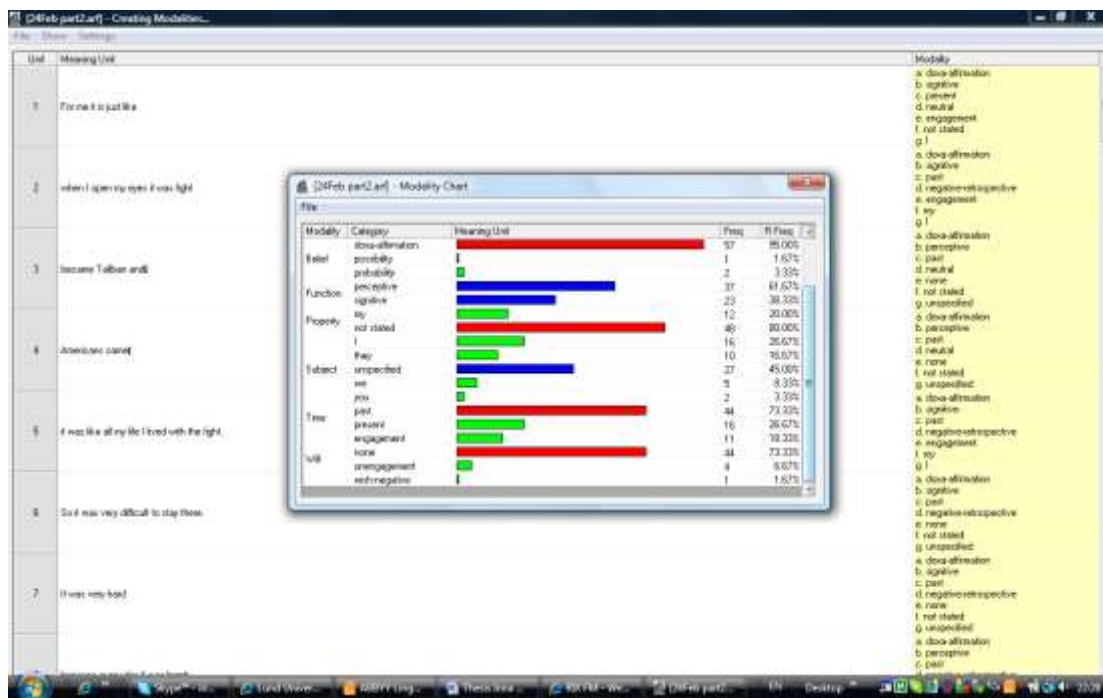


Table 5(a) (continuation)



As the open question was about the experience in the origin country it is not surprising, that the most statements of interview (73.33%) are expressed in the past tense, while there are some utterances in the present (26.67%). The later ones mostly represent perception and feelings toward the past experience: “there is nothing else from my childhood”, “I just remember it was a war since I was born and grew up”, “it is just bad memories”.

The analysis of **affect** category reveals that 41.67% of meaning units expresses negative-retrospective and 38.33% of neutral statements. Positive-retrospective shows up only in one utterance (1.67%): “I am happy that I came and live here with my family”, which can be categorized as positive-prospective. Actual positive-prospective is noticed only in a few statements (5%) characterizing the life in Sweden: “there is no bad things going on, no fights”, “I can go to school”. There are found some meaning units (13.33%) which are classified as negative-prospective. These units are in the present tense describing the situation in Iraq but obviously are

formed by memories: “most people, they have problems”, “the children, they do not have families or a father”, “there is nobody to support them”.

Among all meaning units the majority (73.33%) does not express any **will** that indicates on a passive description of the experience by individual without personal emotional involvement. However, one statement performs aspiration (1.67%): “when the Taliban came we were not allowed to go outside”, where the interviewee is presented not as demanding of something but as an object of demand. There are found a significant amount of meaning units indicating person’s engagement (18.33%) such as, for example, “I could go to school in my country”. Unengagement is shown only in 6.67 %, all of which are referred to the past experience: “I cannot live in this situation”, etc. Wish-negative affect was expressed in only one statement (1.67%): “I do not think right now that would go back at any point”.

Considering the modalities of **subject** the analysis exposes that 45% of meaning units are not specified, while ‘I’ and ‘they’ are shown with 26.67% and 16.67% respectively. The pronoun ‘they’ is referred mostly to the people and only one utterance uses it to father and brother, which is ‘when they died’. The modality of ‘we’ is explored in 8.33% of meaning units that perform in the main on behalf of the participant’s family. However, two utterances (3.33%) use the modality ‘you’ to show the general rule of social behavior in experienced context: “if you need to go outside and meet friends, you need to go with the brother”.

Step 2:

The dominant entities founded in the present interview are following: I/me, School/Schools, There, Father.

Entity I/me

Who remember a	Who lived with	Who can go to	Who cannot live in
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fear/ it was the war	the fight	school	this situation
Who stayed at home	Who came in Sweden	Who do not think	Who are happy with my family

The entity ‘I/me’ is marked with the strong predicate of ‘remember’, which is shown with doxa-affirmation, negative affect, and signitive function. The participant is confident about negative representation of the past experience, while the use of abstract terms indicates the unclearness in comprehending it. ‘Stayed at home’ and ‘lived with the fight’ are perhaps the strongest predicates are referred to the past. Both of the last expressions are the only ones stated with engagement, but the context, in which the participant is engaged, have a negative affect representation. ‘Do not think’ and ‘cannot live’, while being with doxa-affirmation, signitive function and negative affect, indicate some sort of conclusion by participant about the past experience. As both given predicates are expressed in the present tense, it shows that undergone experience is something, which is still ‘remembered’, despite the participant prefers ‘do not think’ about it. The considering entity ‘I’ is introduced with the only positively affected predicate that is ‘who are happy with my family’, which is shown with doxa-affirmation and signitive type of function. It indicates that the feeling of happiness are relatively intangible, nevertheless their existence is definite. The family is the only one cause signifying participant happiness in the given interview and, at the same time, belongingness to her own family is the strong identification her personality.

Entity School/Schools

Which could be closed//were closed	Where stopped going to	Which Taliban might close
Where was walking/could go	Where 7-8 girls of 15 year old studied together	Where I can go now

Interestingly, the topic of ‘school’ is very noticeable in narrated experience. Being a place ‘where 7-8 girls of 15 year old studied together’, the entity is stated with the perceptible strength of predicates: ‘were closed’, ‘might close’, and ‘could be closed’. Apart from stating the actual fact of schools being closed, some expressions carry the discussion of possibility and probability of these institutions to be closed in a certain framework. All mentioned above predicates are performed in concrete terms, while with negative retrospective. In the context of the past actual actions towards entity ‘school’ are ‘was walking’, ‘could go’ and ‘stopped to go’. While the first two are put across neutral affect, the last one has strong negative characteristic. Similarly at present the participant performs it with ‘can go’, but with the positive connotation. An appearance of ‘school’ as a place, where one ‘go’ or ‘stop to go’ without any specification of other actions, shows the importance for participant the fact of being able to attain it. The meaningfulness of the school topic is also presented with the negative connotation of being unengaged in attendance in the war context and, as an opposite emotional expression concerning a school visitation at present.

Entity There

Where it can be very difficult to stay	Where was my father and my brother to support us	Where can be no bad things going on, no fight
Where was no satellite TV	Where were bombs and solders	Where children do not have a family or a father
Where most people, they have problems	Where that was not a problem of what to eat	Where every girl can be kidnapped
Where were not allowed to go out	Where Taliban tried to kill them but killed other innocent people	

The entity ‘there’ is another one that is performed with doxa-affirmation and mostly negative retrospective. The participant introduces a variety of facts about ‘there’: ‘were bombs and solders’, ‘was no satellite TV’. While speaking generally about the entity, there are found many predicates addressed to the people’s life: ‘most people have problems’, ‘Taliban tried to kill them, but killed other innocent people’, ‘were not allowed to go out’, and ‘children do not have a family or a father’. Involvement ‘the people’ in the description of ‘there’ is, first of all, aiming to present the picture of ‘there’ clearly. On the other hand, the note of empathy to the people can be recognized in the narrative. The given predicates are put across perceptive function, while there is very strong one (stated more than once) describing ‘there’ with abstract words: ‘can be very difficult to stay’. Analysis leads to the inference that signitive ‘difficult’ may have a meaning of insecurity as given predicate appears after the following quite certain perceptive ones: ‘that was not a problem of what to eat’, ‘where were my father and my brother to support us’. Though, signifying by ‘difficult’ the participant shows some vagueness in comprehending ‘there’. Interestingly, with all stated above despair facts, the interviewee concedes that it can be the place where ‘no bad things going on, no fight’. The acknowledgement of the last one displays the interviewee as having a hope about ‘there’ to be a safe place.

Entity Father

Who was an English teacher	Who should stop teaching	Who was there to support us
After who died it was difficult	Who they talked with	Who would have a talk with my brother, sisters and mother

The entity ‘father’ is another significant one in the narrated experience. The considering entity is performed with strong verbal communication: ‘who they talked

with', 'would have a talk with my brother, sisters and mother'. The given predicates, which displays 'father' as ruling and negotiating on behalf of the family, express neutral affect and no stated will. The actual non-verbal actions of the father are seen with 'was an English teacher' and 'was there to support us'. Almost all predicates spoken about this entity carry with the doxa-affirmation type of belief and perceptive function, except following signitive one: 'after who died it was difficult'. The later one signifies the uncertainty in defining the experience after the death of the father.

Participant 3: the Iraqi young woman (18 years old), has been in Sweden for one and a half years at the moment of taking interview.

Step 1:

Regarding the **function** modalities, perceptive and signitive types are expressed rather equally with 51.35% and 48.65% respectively which shows that the usage of concrete and abstract terms while narrating the experience is nearly the same. There is no found any meaning unit that demands imagining of something.

Categorization of utterances with the modalities of time is depicted in the following figures: the past with 62.16% and 37.84% of all meaning units are performed in the present tense. Almost all statements in the present tense are addressed to the description of the life in Sweden and none of them delineate present feelings or perceptions toward the past experience.

Applying the modalities of **affects** the analysis portrays scarcely equal division of meaning units between neutral (32.43%) and negative-retrospective (45.95%). Interestingly no meaning units with positive-retrospective take place that portrays completely negative perception of the past experience by the individual. Positive-prospective depicts 18.92% of all meaning units. Only one utterance (2.7%) is characterized with negative-prospective that is of expressing negative affect toward the present life situation.

Table 6

Distribution of all categories of modalities for the participant 3

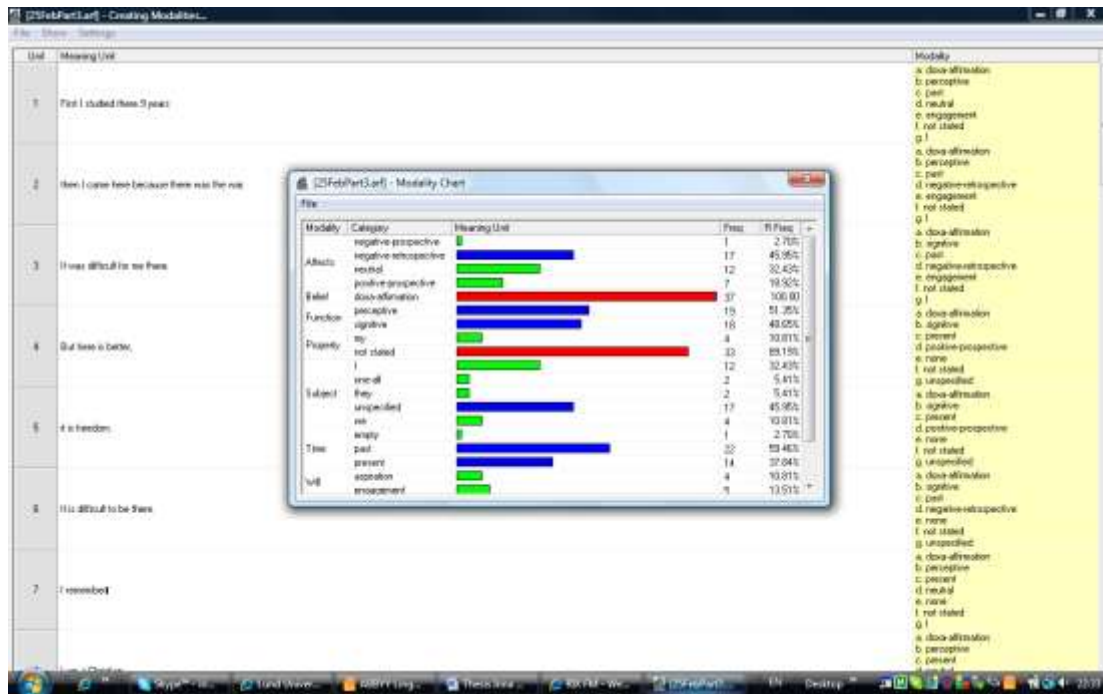
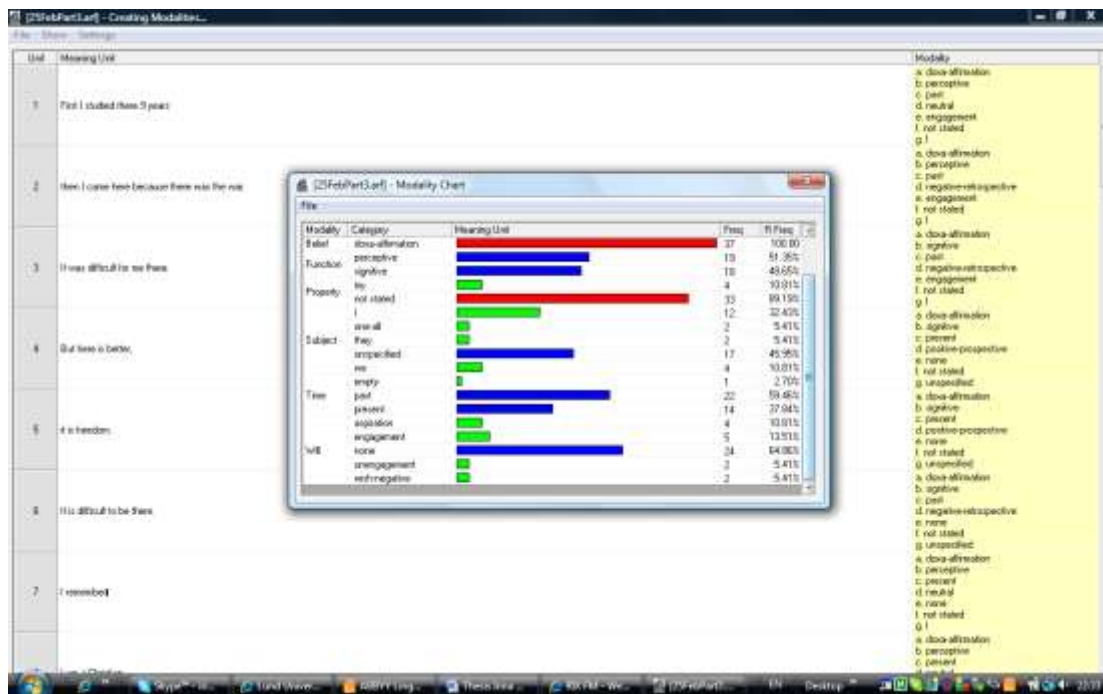


Table 6 (continuation)



The highest **will** expressed, with 64.86%, regards the category of not stated, this for the reason that not much is expressed in terms of the personal wishes of something. At the same time, engagement in the narrative is shown with 13.51%, which is still remained significant. Aspiration takes place in a few meaning units (10.81%), which represent interviewee and members of her family as an object of demand to do something: “we had to”, they forced us”. Wish-negative is shown in only two meaning units (5.41%) that are following: “but I didn’t want to wear it” and “they didn’t want us there”. Unengagement is performed with the same number of statement; all of them referred to the life in the original country.

Regarding the modalities of **subject** the interview reveals more than half of the meaning units (54.05%) are unspecified, while “I” as the subject is detected in 27.03% of all expressed statements. “They” referring only to the people generally and “one-all” type of modality share the same number that is 5.41%. The pronoun “we” is performed in three utterances that is 8.11% of all meaning units. According to the narrative, “we” is used on behalf of the whole family and female members of participant’s family in the context of the headscarf wearing.

Step 2:

In order to reveal how an individual understand a specific object this step presents a synthesis of several entities, their predicates and modalities. The following entities are the most rapid and the frequency is performed in the given order: I (me), There, Here and People.

Entity I (me)

Who moved with my family	Who came here	Who remember
Who is a Christian/ is not a Muslim	Who didn’t want to wear it	Who couldn’t go to the school/on the street

In this case all predicates speaking about entity ‘I/me’ carry doxa-affirmation and perceptive function. It indicates that the person lying behind the description is sure about the narrative and stating facts are quite clear. The very strong predicate ‘remember’ expressed with doxa-affirmation and negative connotation. What is interesting here is that the notion of ‘remember’ takes place in the present time but are shown to be effected by the past. This negative effect of the past experience identifies the present person. Yet other expressions of actions that occur often in association to I is ‘came here’ and ‘moved with my family’, which both are put across without hesitation (doxa-affirmation), also as engaged and made in concrete (perceptive) terms. More importantly, the participant defines herself as ‘a Christian’ and ‘not a Muslim’. The use of oppositional predicates carrying with doxa-affirmation strengthens participant’s confidence in identification herself. Moreover, the last predicates are expressed in the present tense in spite of the context of the past, which supports the indication that being a Christian is a meaningful part of her identity generally disregarding the time and residence. Interestingly, the participant reveals a strong wish-negative predicate: ‘did not want to wear it [a headscarf]’ in the context of the past. Unwillingness of doing something that goes against of her personality is displayed with doxa-affirmation, in concrete terms (perceptive) and negative-retrospective.

Entity There

Where they didn’t want us	Where was the war	Where it is not like here	Where was difficult to be	Where were just Muslims
Where we had to go in headscarf	Where the people killed each other	Where was difficult for me/us to live	Where I couldn’t go on the street	

The entity ‘there’ is represented with a variety of certain facts (perceptive) which is not questioned (doxa-affirmation) such as ‘was the war’, ‘I couldn’t go’, ‘were just Muslims’, and ‘the people killed each other’. At the same time, predicates in abstract terms (signitive) but still without hesitation (doxa-affirmation) takes place: ‘it was difficult for me/us to live’, ‘it is not like here’. The last one performs the comparison of the experience in ‘there’ and ‘here’. Engagement of ‘me’ and ‘us’ shows the participant and her family as being immediately involved in the context of ‘there’. The use of both exact and vague terms shows that in seeing the considering entity, there are as many certain subjects as those which are hazy for the interviewee. Additionally, the predicate ‘where they didn’t want us there’ depicts the place where one is refused and feels as being outcast by ‘they’. Being not welcomed ‘there’ is obviously ill-natured for the participant, which leads to the negative attitude towards ‘there’. Another predicate ‘had to’ carrying with negative connotation and engagement displays the similar appraisal of the demand of doing something while being ‘there’.

Entity Here

Where is not like there	Where is freedom	Where everything is new	Where are all free
Where is better	Where I/we came	Where my father could come	Where is personal life

Almost all predicates depicting entity ‘here’ are abstract (signitive) and with positive connotation: ‘free’, ‘new’, ‘not like’ ‘better’. The only attempt to clarify positive vision of ‘here’ was done by using terms ‘freedom’ and ‘personal life’, which still leave a lot of room for further questions. The fact of using the last mentioned terms is interesting itself; somewhat that was lacking there, hence, making the life ‘better’ here. Being conducted with one-all expression ‘all are free’, the word ‘freedom’

characterizes the society in generally. In the meantime ‘personal life’ seems more likely to be addressed by participant to herself as something that was experienced only here, hence, lacking there. Similarly, as the previous entity does, the present one discloses the involvement of the family, though, only stating the fact of ‘coming’.

Entity People/they

Who killed	Who forced us	Who didn’t want us there
Who are kind	Who are new	Who support the life

The entity ‘people’ is very controversial one as being experienced in the different context. It is expressed referring to beings, doings and feelings. Firstly, the considering predicates in the past tense, ‘people’ appears as those who ‘killed’ and ‘forced’, which put across as a pure statement (doxa-affirmation), negative-retrospective, and in the concrete terms (perceptive). The later shows that there are quite certain facts, which formed the negative impression about ‘people’ in the context of the original country. Regarding the expression of ‘didn’t want us’, which is still carries with negative affect, it expresses the engagement of ‘us’, those are who rejected. Expressions, where ‘people’ are seen as ones ‘who are kind’, ‘who are new’, and ‘who support the life’, are disclosed only in the context of the present life. Differently the statements in the present tense portray ‘people’ with abstract (signitive) terms and only with positive-prospective. The later findings show that there is something elusive to explain the positive attitude towards the people, ‘who are new’.

Participant 4: the Iraqi young woman (19 years old), has been in Sweden for one and a half years.

Step 1:

Similarly to the previous interview doxa-affirmation type of **belief** is expressed in all meaning units. The participant does not challenge or doubt own thoughts and knowledge. In the contrary, statements of facts are taken place while uttering life experience.

Regarding **function**, perceptive type are prevailing with 76.53%, while the rest of meaning units (23.47%) were expressed with vague terms leaving room for further qualifying questions. Hence, they were categorized with signitive type of function-modality. There were no expressions showing an attempt to imaging something.

The heist number of meaning units point towards the past with 71.43%. Rather significant number of utterances (28.57%) is still expressed in the present **time**, though almost all of them are intended to describe the contemporary life.

Similar to already analyzed interviews arrangement of **affects**-modalities is presented with the dominance of neutral (38.78%) and negative-retrospective (31.63%). Moreover a great deal (17.35%) of meaning units is put in positive-prospective which mostly addressed to describe the life as well as feelings and thoughts at present. Surprisingly, meaning units characterized by positive-retrospective are depicted with the figure 8.16% that reflects the idea of availability of positive thoughts concerning the past experience. Negative-prospective is introduced in a few utterances (4.08%) that express discomposure with father's life conditions at present: "my father is sad because he has no friends here".

Table 7

Distribution of all categories of modalities for the participant 4

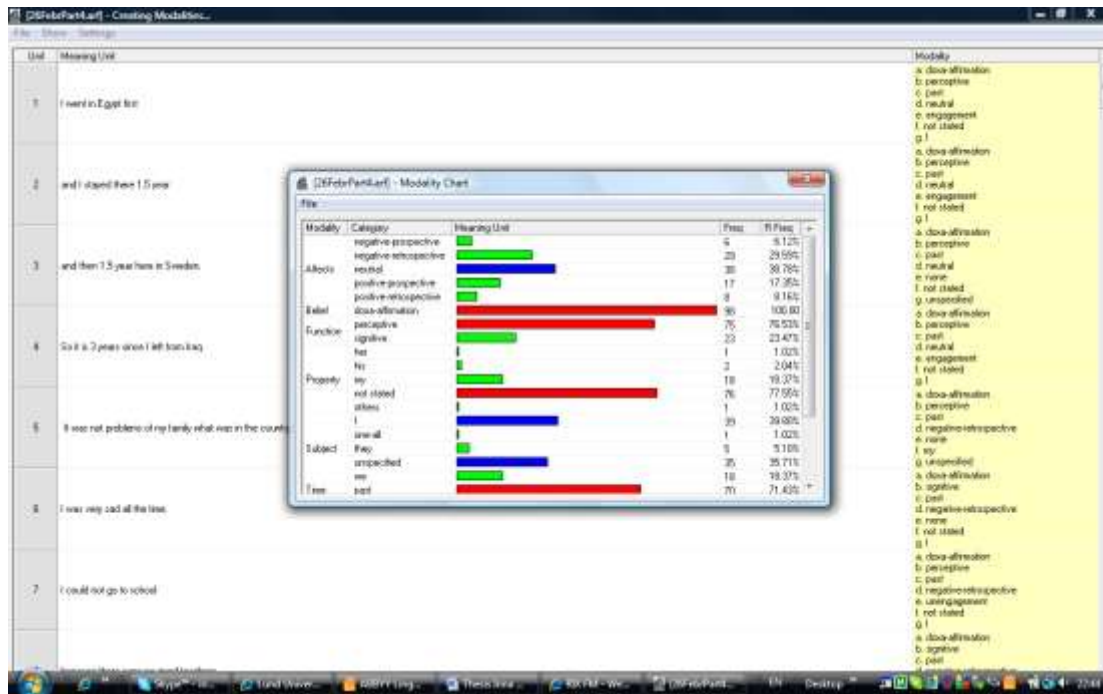
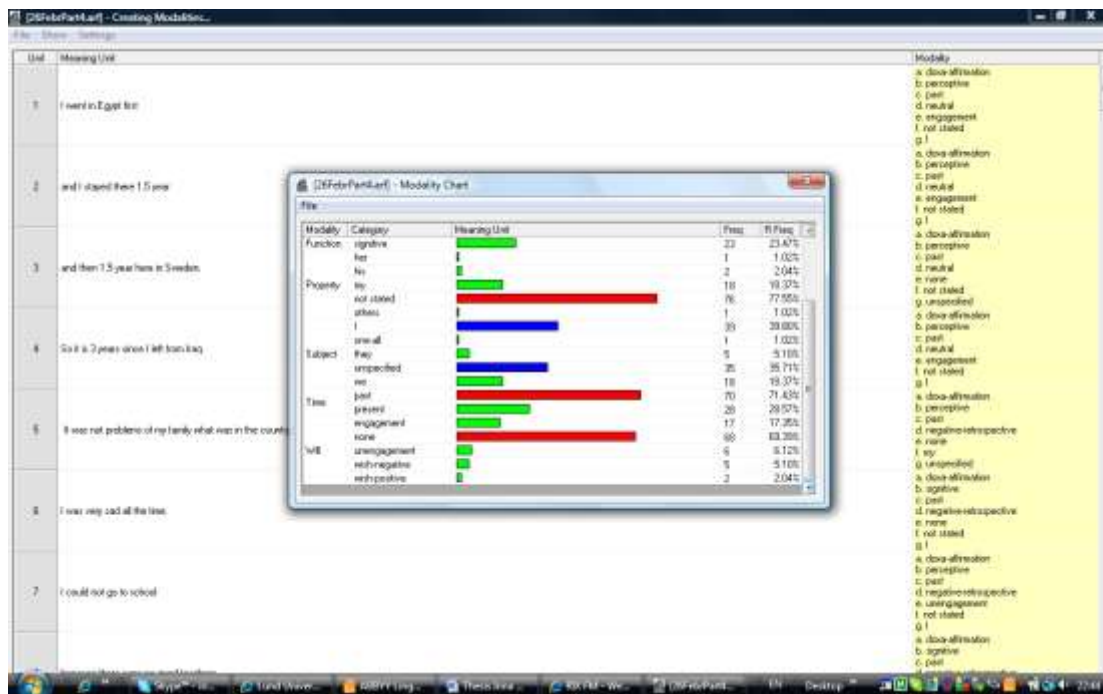


Table 7(a) (continuation)



The majority of meaning units (69.39%) do not indicate any **will**, while engagement is revealed with still significant figure (17.35). Unengagement and wish-negative are performed with almost equal amount of meaning units 6.12% and 5.1% respectively. Additionally, there were found two wish-positive utterances (2.04%), expressed in the present tense.

Exploration of **subject**-modalities reveals that “I” and “unspecified” share nearly equal figures: 39.8% and 35.71% respectively. “We” is used in 18.37% of all utterances and expressed on behalf of the family and friends, while “they” is introduced only with 5.1% and is referred to the people generally. There was found one expression (1.02%) used one-all type of subject-modality which generalizes perception of teachers: “all teachers are like that there”.

Step 2:

The step displays prominent entities touched by an individual, which are I/me, Father, Teacher/Teachers, and People/They. I and me as well as People and They are grouped in two entities for the same reason as in the stated above interviews. These entities are assumed to be essential and indispensable for the participant, while narrating an answer on the open question.

Entity I/me

Who has three sisters and no brothers	Who was all the time at home	Who didn't see	Who was told	Who heard
Who was afraid/sad all the time	Who couldn't go	Who learnt	Who left	Who went/stayed
Who do not want/ want	Who stay out	Who can do	Who is free/happy	Who dress how

The entity 'I/me' takes place in all three contexts: being in the original country, migration period and the contemporary life. In the first context there are found non-verbal and verbal predicates attributing to 'I'. The non-verbal actions are stated with 'couldn't go', 'was all the time at home', 'didn't see', and 'heard' carrying without any hesitation (doxa-affirmation) and negative-retrospective. Presenting 'I' as 'heard', but 'didn't see' as being 'all the time at home' somehow explains the use of abstract terms (signitive) of the narrative. At the same time, unengagement with 'didn't' and 'couldn't' shows the existence of conditions, in which the participant is limited to act. The later ones are conducted with negative-retrospective. On the topic of verbal communication, expression of 'was told' indicates somewhat submission to the circumstances. In the context of the war expressions referring to feelings are 'was sad' and 'was afraid'. Both predicates carry with doxa-affirmation and signitive function. There are found some predicates performing the period of resettlement, which express only actions: 'went', 'left', and 'learnt'. The last ones are put across with concrete (perceptive function) and non-stylistically nuanced words (neutral affect), which indicate on acceptance things as they are or some sort of assimilation, while still being involved (engagement) and even 'learnt'. Interestingly, the present context of entity 'I/me' is represented in a numerous ways with expressions of being, feeling and doings. First of all, carrying with doxa-affirmation and signitive type of function strong predicates 'happy' and 'free' are equating by the participant in the context. The following concrete (perceptive) expressions of actions somehow explain the use of previous abstract ones. All three 'stay out', 'can do', and 'dress' are conducted with wish-positive connotation, which show enjoyment of being 'free' to do, what one 'wants'.

Entity Father

Who	saw	Who stayed with	Who was armed,	Who took me by
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everything	me	military	car to school
Who didn't want to leave me alone	Who didn't want us to be like other women	Who was afraid for me and for us	Who was walking with
Who is sad here/ living here for us	Who has no friends here	Who wants to live with us	Who wants us to be educated

The entity 'father' is another significant one for the participant to perform the life world. The entity is introduced in both contexts: during the war in the home country and the present life in Sweden. In the settings of the past 'father' is depicted with 'who was armed, military', hence perhaps is a person, 'who saw everything'. The other predicates of actions', which are 'stayed with me', 'took me by car', and was walking with me', as well as feeling performed with 'was afraid for me and for us', take place. The appearance of 'me' in each of stated above predicates, is a strong sign of engagement of the father in participant's life. In addition to it all given predicates are put across doxa-affirmation, positive-retrospective, though, are carried with both concrete (perceptive) and abstract (signitive) terms. Continuing with the entity 'father' in the context of the war, the strong wish-negative is expressed with following predicates: 'who didn't want to leave me alone' and 'who didn't want us to be like other women in Iraq'. Apart from it, there are found two predicates which show the notion of occurring all the time: 'wants us to be educated' and 'wants to be with us'. Analyzing all stated above may lead to the picture of the father, who has a strong will to be engaged in participant and family's life, and as such did and does it. In the contemporary life in Sweden 'father' is depicted with 'living here for us', 'has no friends', and 'is sad'. The last two predicates perhaps the only ones which carry negative-prospective. The statements are epitomized with doxa-affirmation carrying the sense of the participant taking a compassion on one's own father.

Entity Teacher/Teachers

Who was very angry on me	Who was very good in mathematics	Who didn't know
What is my mother	Who was talking Arabic	Who all are like that there

The following entity encompasses a variety of positive, negative and neutral expressions while the majority of them are expressed in the past tense. The only statement in the present is that one depicting participant's mother: 'what is my mother is'. The later one and 'was talking Arabic' are both put across neutral affect, doxa-affirmation and with the concrete words (perceptive). The following expressions portray the teacher with whom the participant has been in contact: 'was very good in mathematics', 'didn't know', and 'was very angry on me'. Expressions encompass doxa-affirmation, signitive function, while mixing positive and negative affect.

Entity People/they

Who were killed	Who killed a lot
Who think	Who were happy all the time/ very nice

The next synthesis of the entity 'people/they' show strong predicates used more than once: 'were killed' and 'killed a lot'. Stated as the only expressions of actions, they create a quite limited and negative image of the people in the war, though, both predicates are presented with confidence (doxa-affirmation) and abstract words (signitive). Another expression of 'think' carrying doxa-affirmation and negative connotation, is in the present tense, but is discussed in reference to the past. It implies that people's thoughts are still considered by participant as being valid, despite being

formed in the past. The time of being in Egypt performs completely different picture of 'people': 'were happy all the time' and 'were very nice'. Both predicates are expressed without hesitation (doxa-affirmation), with abstract words (signitive), and positive-retrospective. It is worthy to notice, that the participant's attitude to the people reflects the stand to countries generally. In other words, it is through the experience of immediate relationship with the people, the participant's opinion about a particular country is formed, and it is the people, who dwell in the memory representing the country.

Participant 5: the Burundian young man (19 years old), has been in Sweden for four years

Step 1:

Application of **belief**-modalities to the text discloses the complete dominance of doxa-affirmation with 92.59%. Though, probability is found in 6.48% of all meaning units. The later ones display obscurity about expressed objects by participant while narrating the experience. Possibility was discovered in only one expression (0.93%) which comes into sight in the context of possible consequences of long residence in a alien country discussed by interview: "may be not the language but some of the culture may disappear".

The use of exact and abstract terms is performed in almost equal ratio with signitive type (50.93%) and perceptive one (49.07%).

The distribution of utterances categorizing with **time**-modalities introduces as following: past (57.41%) and present (39.81%). Only 1.85% of all meaning units do not have any indication of time; those ones simply express something that takes place. Surprisingly, one statement (0.93%) is used in the future tense considering the probability of coming back "to go to change the country".

Table 8

Distribution of all categories of modalities for the participant 5

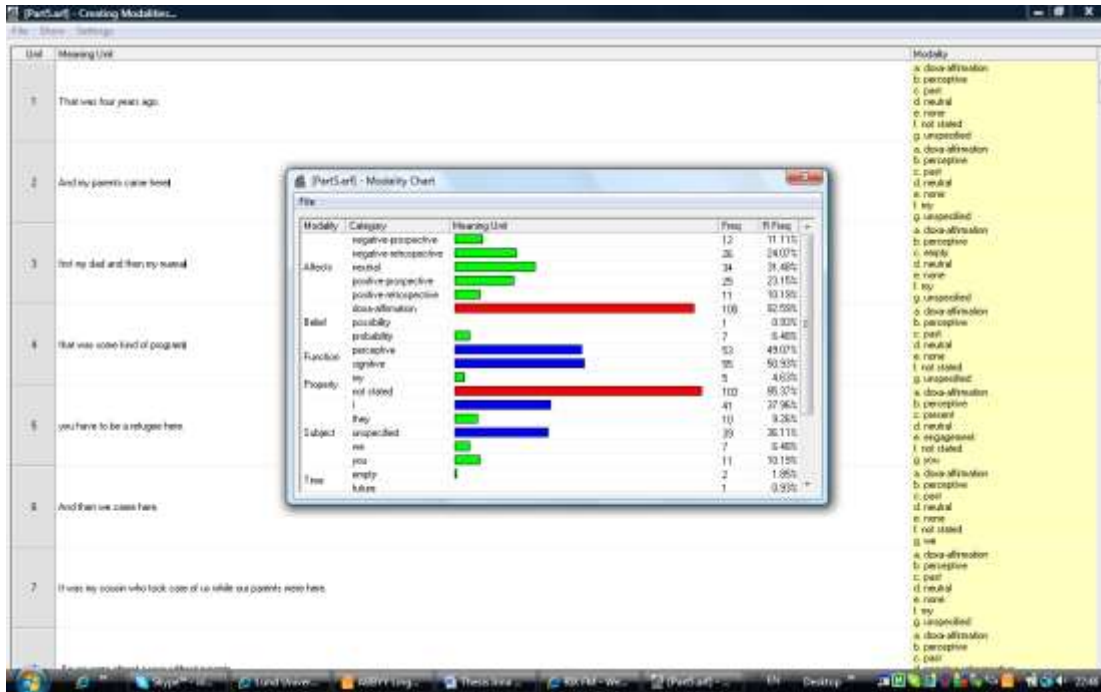
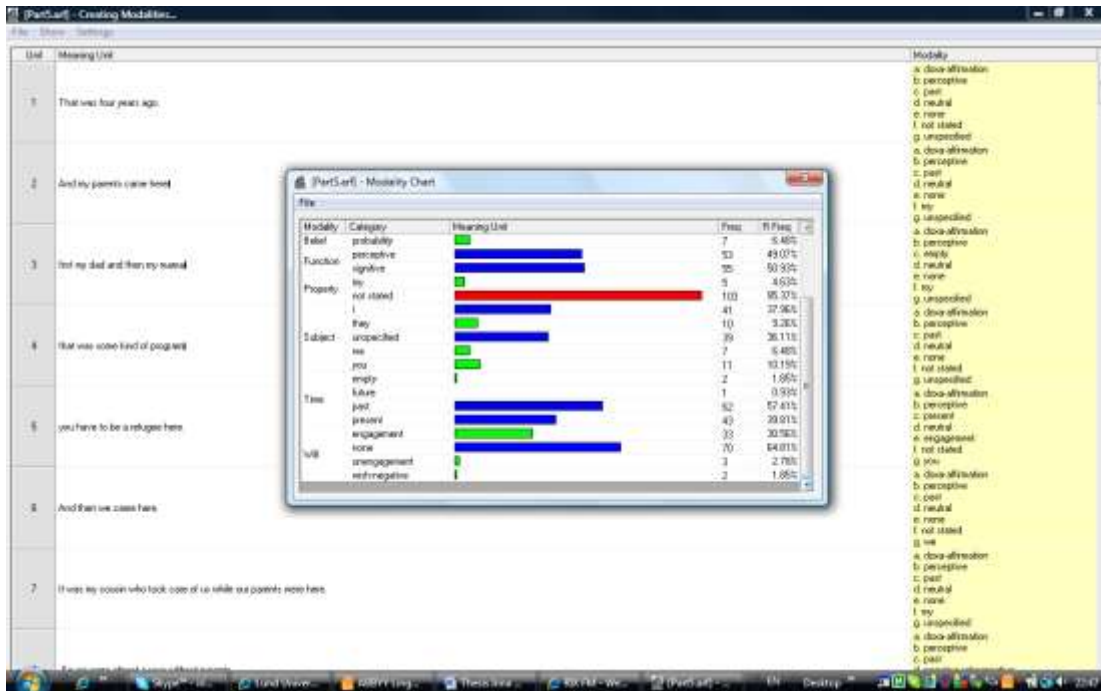


Table 8(a) (continuation)



The types of **affects** are spread over among all meaning units more or less equally. The frequency of displaying them looks in following decreasing order: neutral (31.48%), negative-retrospective (24.07%), positive-prospective (23.15%), negative-prospective 11.11%) and positive-retrospective (10.19%). Apart from equability, generally this picture of applicability of affects-modalities is performed similarly to results of previously analyzed interviews.

More than half of all meaning units (64.81%) do not state any **will** while engagement was expressed in 30.56%. A few utterances (2.78%) show participant's unengagement in the narrated experience of the past. Only two statements (1.85%) were characterized as wish-negative.

A **subject** stays unspecified in 36.11% expressions and almost the same amount (37.96%) of meaning units are spoken out on behalf of "I". "They" and "we" are used in 9.26% and 6.48% of utterances respectively. The pronoun 'they' is introduced on behalf of the people and the family (in a few expressions). Interestingly, quite high number of them (10.19%) is appeared by "you", which carries tendency to generalize personal experience.

Step 2:

The most prominent synthesized entities are following: I, People, Here, and There.

Entity I

Who didn't experienced the war that much/knew there were robberies	Who it was absolutely forbidden for	Who sometimes stayed at home because it was too much bombing in the	Who is afraid to spend a lot of time here/ interested to visit, spend a summer there	Who just saw on the TV and Radio
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		capital		
Who could go to school	Who left a lot of friends there	Who would feel	Who would have	Who lived in the capital
Who spent a lot of time of staying here	Who do not know how to explain	Who began to have a relationship with them	Who believe/miss/can forget/feel secure here	Who was afraid to go out
Who need to follow the path	Who has/ met some friends	Who don't think one left there a lot	Who could talk	Who gained to use to

Synthesizing the entity 'I/me' there are formed two sets of expressions regarding the period of life time they referring to: being in the context of the war and the contemporary life. Depicting the time of being in Burundi during the war many expressions carry descriptive character of participant's life: 'lived in the capital', 'could go to school', 'sometimes stayed at home because it was too much bombing in the capital', 'left a lot of friends', and 'just saw on the TV and Radio'. All of them are expressed with doxa-affirmation, in concrete terms (perceptive) and with both neutral and negative connotation. Predicates stated above are summarized with the very strong expressions appeared more than one time that is 'I didn't experience the war that much'. Carrying with doxa-affirmation and neutral affect, the expression still leaves a room for further questions (signitive), that shows the participant as being unclear in definition of 'experiencing the war'. Another expressions referring to feelings and thinking are the following: 'was afraid', 'knew', which epitomized with 'I do not know how to explain'. The later ones are stated without hesitation, with negative connotation and signitive type of function, which indicate on something being 'known' and 'frightening', but still hazy to comprehend and 'explain'. Apart from stated above there is something that is 'missed' and 'can be forgotten' referring

to the home country. Interestingly, the present life in Sweden is depicted with the significant amount of expressions, which perform doings as much as being and feelings. Perhaps due to substantial time of residing in a new country, mostly the expressions of actions ‘spent’, ‘met’, ‘could talk’, and ‘began’ are with doxa-affirmation, with descriptive details (perceive), but in the past tense. While those ones of being and feelings are in the present, such as, ‘do not think’, ‘can forget’, ‘feel’, and ‘is afraid’. Yet expressions of actions and feelings are put across neutral affect, indicating of no distinctive (indifferent) quality while characterizing the contemporary life. More importantly to acknowledge the presence of ‘need’ and ‘believe’, as well as being ‘interested’, which are referred towards the future. The later statements are expressed with doxa-affirmation, positive–prospective and with use of both abstract and concrete terms, which can be seen that it is the future the participant is passionate about. An occurrence of imaginative expressions of ‘would visit’, ‘would feel’, and ‘would have’ with the positive connotation may lead to somewhat similar reflection of revealing intense positive emotions and being excited towards the future generally. Additionally, expressions depicting the contemporary life indicate the strong will of doing something.

Entity People

Who belong to different parties	Who were not afraid to sit down and began to talk about it	Who decided to talk about it for real	Who were moving from the country side to the city	Who bring the food
Who keep for robbing not for the war	Who are staying at home/ dying there	Who need more time to meet more	Who are very interested in fashion here	With who it is easier in my country than here

The entity ‘people’ is most heterogeneous one of all presented above and it is introduced in a variety of contexts. First of all, there are those who are involved in the civil war directly and the other who do not experience it at all to whom the participant is ascribed. This entity also reveals another division of the people which is that by the place where the people live: the country side and the capital. He states: ‘...they were moving from the country side to the city’, ‘in the city we were not used to it’. The varied framework and context of ‘people’ representation creates multifarious view of the entity. Broadly speaking, expressions characterizing the people in the context of the war, who ‘belong’, ‘decided’, ‘were moving’, ‘were not afraid’, ‘keep’, ‘bring’, ‘staying at home’, ‘dying’ carry with doxa-affirmation, with both abstract (signitive) and descriptive (perceptive) words (though with the prevalence of the later ones), and with neutral and negative connotation. Introducing the people as acting agency, yet, the participant reveals the feeling of empathy towards them. Variable use of present and past tenses, while speaking about the people in the war, indicates that the image of the people formed in the past is kept by participant and generalized as a common representation of them. The constant comparison of the people here (Sweden) and there (Burundi) carried with doxa-affirmation is traced through the most part of the interview. The majority of these expressions are put across with neutral affect and in abstract words: ‘with who it is easier in my country than here’, ‘who are interested in fashion’, ‘who need more time’. The predicates indicate on the awareness of differences between the people of both countries, but which is hazy to be expressed precisely.

Entity Here

Where my parents came	Where I met (have) some friends	Where I feel secure	Where it doesn't work	Where you have to be refugee
Where the	Where there	Where I spend	Where I am	

people are very interested in the fashion	are no big problems in population	a lot of time of staying	afraid to spend a lot of time	
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The entity ‘here’ is, first of all, performed as the place ‘where my parents came’ and ‘where I met (have) some friends’. Another interesting predicate presents ‘here’ as a locality, ‘where you have to be refugee’, that is not surprising, as it is an actual status obtained by the participant. The majority of expressions depicting the entity are put across with abstract terms: ‘there are no big problems in population’, ‘it doesn’t work’, ‘I feel secure’, ‘where I spent a lot of time of staying’. The combination of two predicates ‘there are no big problems’, but still something can do not ‘work’ shows quite critical or perhaps analytical approach in comprehending ‘here’. All sited above predicates are expressed without any hesitation (doxa-affirmation), but with the mix of abstract and concrete words.

Entity There

Where the people are dying	Where it was dangerous	Where I am interested to visit, to spend a summer
Where I left a lot of friends	Where were robberies	Where the life was ok

The entity ‘there’ is depicted with ‘were robberies’, ‘it was dangerous’, but, at the same time, ‘the life was ok’. Stating with doxa-affirmation, in abstract words and alternating each other with neutral, negative and positive connotation, predicates create uncertain picture of ‘there’. This vagueness may be explained with the time passing by and fading away memories. The expression of ‘the people are dying’ in spite of being in the present time is referred to the past that may indicate on

something occurring constantly out of time. Anyway, the manifested interest ‘to go there’ and ‘spend the summer’ shows the participant’s attitude towards ‘there’ being far from indifferent.

Participant 6: the Burundian young man (19 years old), has been in Sweden four and a half years

Step 1:

Most of the statements (93.33%) expressed in doxa-affirmation type of **belief** while probability and possibility are shown with 4.44% and 2.22% respectively. The later one utters the possibility of personal ameliorating being in touch with the people around: “may be to improve”. Unlike other interviewees this participant underlies the value of relation to social network considering it is a source of self-development and personal growth.

Perceptive and signitive types of **function**-modalities are introduced with the following proportion respectively: 64.44% and 35.56%.

Interestingly, this participant shows the prevalence of the expressions in the present tense (55.56%) over the use of ones in the past (37.78%). Unlike other participants do, considering interview contents some meaning units in the future tense. Though, an amount of them is insignificant, presented in only 6.67% of all meaning units.

The picture of **affects**-modalities looks as following numbers portray: neutral (44.44%), positive-prospective (22.22%), negative–prospective (17.78%), negative-retrospective (13.33%) and positive-retrospective (2.22%). The dominance of prospective characteristics over retrospective may be conceived as individual’s orientation towards present and future time while leaving the past behind.

Table 9

Distribution of all categories of modalities for the participant 6

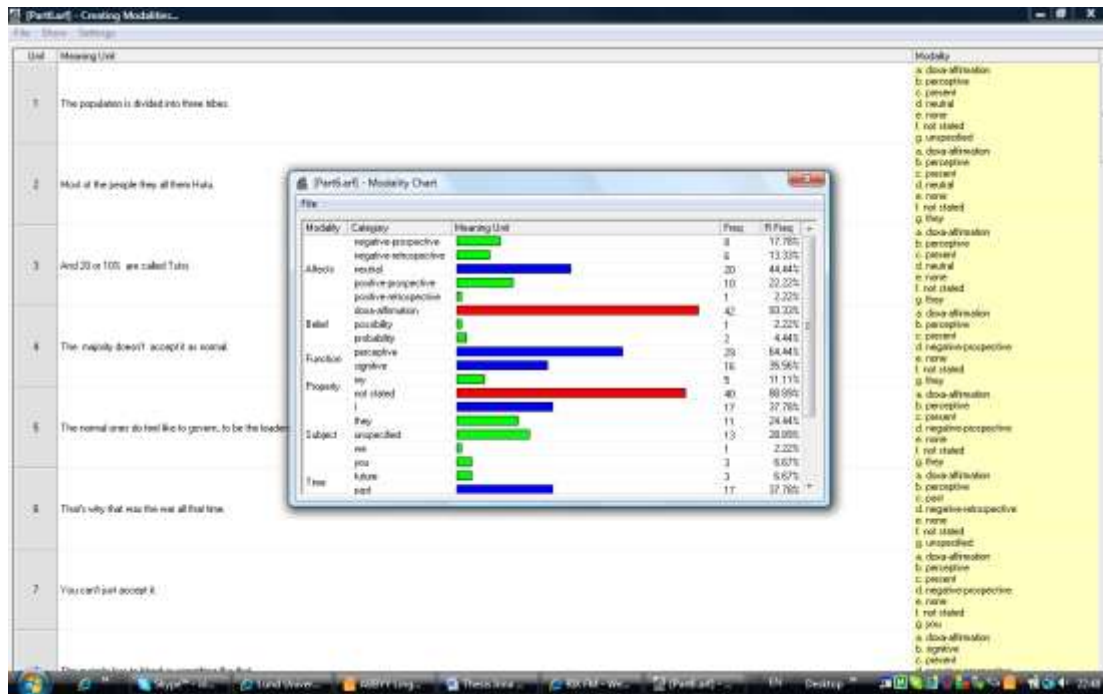
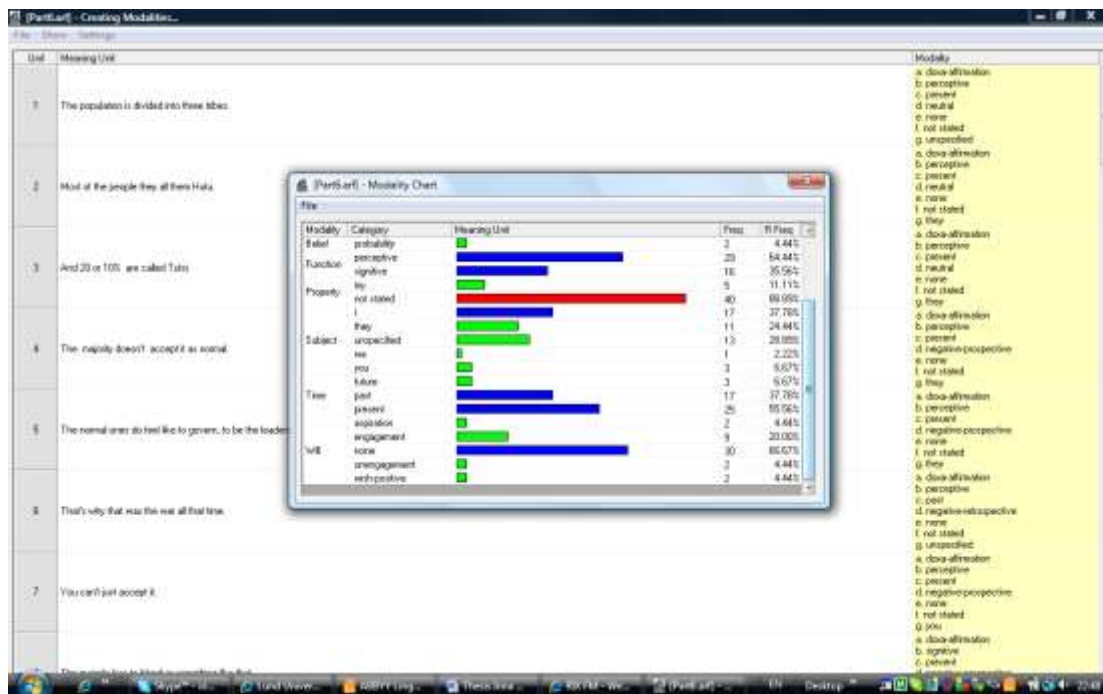


Table 9(a) (continuation)



Will is not stated in more than half (66.67%) of all meaning units, while engagement was revealed in 20% of them. Unengagement, aspiration and wish-positive were revealed in equal amount of expressions, which is performed with 4.44% each.

Ratio of **subject** implementation of “I” to “they” is presented with 37.78% to 24.44%. Pronoun ‘They’ is used to define the people as well as his own parents. Significant amounts (28.89%) of meaning units stay unspecified. You-subject is revealed in 6.67% while “we” was stated only in one expression (2.22%).

Step 2:

The most prevalent entities synthesized in the narrative are following two: I/me and People/they. They were grouped for the same reason as it was stated in the analyses of previous interviews.

Entity I/me

Who is not interested in politics/ do not know why	Who will sometimes to see what is going on	Who is surrounded with the people	Who do not feel like to understand them	Who had people surrounding
Who learnt	Who belong to	Who can't ask them	Who didn't change a lot	Who has changed
Who can't meet	Who want to continue the study	Who used to	Who it is big step for	Who is a low level now

The following entity ‘I/me’ is synthesized in two essential contexts: the life in the original country and at present in Sweden. In the first stated one ‘I/me’ encompasses ‘used to’, ‘learnt’, ‘didn’t change’. The following predicates ‘is not interested in politics’, ‘do not know why’, ‘belong to’, expressed in the present tense, but refer to

the past. The same with ‘will sometimes to see what is going on’, which expresses a positive-wish and actual interest in situation around the country apart from the politics. All statements are put across without hesitation (doxa-affirmation), with neutral-connotation and in abstract terms. It is speaking about the contemporary circumstances ‘I/me’ is introduced as ‘who has changed’. Both ‘can’t meet’ and ‘can’t ask’ perform the limited ability of being fully involved in the relationship with the people. Providing with the positive but critical ‘I am very low level now’ referring to an education, the expression ‘want to continue the study’ carries the positive wish oriented towards the future.

Entity People/they

Who are most of them Hutu	Who just killed each other	Who didn't use guns	Who could be asked to learn more
Who I had surrounding me/ am surrounded with	Who it will be fun to work in the future	Who it is about I've been changed	Who I need more to understand

Similar to the previous analysis the entity ‘people’ is a very controversial one and can be divided by place, where connection (direct or indirect) and dealings with them were experienced. ‘People’ of the home country are introduced as ‘who are most of them Hutu’, ‘who didn’t used guns’, ‘who just killed each other’, which are put across with doxa-affirmation, with the concrete words, and alternating negative and neutral connotation. At the same time they are those, ‘who we asked to learn more’ expressed with the positive effect, but in abstract manner. Despite mostly negative representation of the people in the context of the war, the participant perceives them as a source of information and knowledge ‘to learn more’. The later predicate with engagement of ‘we’ (here on behalf of siblings) shows the relatedness to ‘people’,

even being negative about them. Turning to the contemporary life the entity is described as ‘who I need more to understand’ and ‘who it is about I’ve been changed’. Both expressions carry with positive affect and abstract words, which support the admission by the participant vague dissimilarities between them. In both present and past context the people are those who the interviewee is ‘surrounded with’, which shows putting emphasize on the significance of them regardless the time, residence, and the context of appearance. The positive-wish ‘to understand’ the people seems to be logically leading to the concluding remark, which is expressed with the following predicate: ‘who it will be fun to work in the future’. Broadly speaking, the entity ‘people’ is emphasized and goes through the discourse of the whole interview, which may signify the participant’s awareness of the importance of them, since have been experienced a diversity of relations in different contexts.

Summary of results

By synthesizing dominating entities we can show a commonality of appearance. Regardless the entity ‘I/me’ that shows an immediate engagement in the narrative, the most frequent ones are ‘father’, ‘mother’, ‘people’, ‘there’, and ‘here’. While the entities ‘father’ and ‘mother’ are depicted as only engaged in the experience, ‘people’ is tangential entity in the constant comparison of ‘there’ and ‘here’, which is traced through the whole body almost all six narratives.

In order to summarize all findings it is important to look for eventual similarities and differences of all subjective expressions and their modalizations. Turning to the Table of Appendix 1, which encompasses the percentage of all modalities, it is easy to notice the stable representation of most dominant categories by interviewees. The majority of all meaning units by all six participants are expressed with confidence (doxa-affirmation). While the consideration of probability and possibility is performed with low figures and only by three partakers. The use of abstract (signitive) and detailed (perceptive) terms, while narrating the answers, is revealed

with more or less equal frequencies. Yet the use of both types of words in the past and present contexts is still performed unequally depending on depicted entity. The time-modality is shown with the undisputable prevalence of expressions in the past tense. Even the significant amount of utterances in the present tense is still referred to the past. The majority of the later meaning units concerns with feelings and thoughts remained to appraise the general picture of the past settings. Touching upon the display of the affect-modality, dominating negative-retrospective and neutral connotation are performed rather equally in all six interviews, which referring to the general tendency of exploring a negative attitude or indifference, while talking about the past. However, five from six participants complement this hostile and ill-natured image with some precious moments in the past. Interestingly, the positive-retrospective is revealed mostly on the subject of the family. Looking at prospective categories of the affect-modalities, the positive outlook is detected as dominating the negative appraisal, while the actuality of the second one refers to the critical standpoint of some of the participants towards the contemporary life. Regarding the will performance, that is generally very weak, slightly noticeable dissimilarity is observed in representation of it in three contexts: life in the war conditions, the period of migration and the contemporary life in Sweden. In the two first contexts wish (both positive and negative) is barely traced, which indicates on the submissive stand of partakers towards experienced narrative, while in the present settings the analysis shows the substantial numbers of wishes and, in some cases, hopes concerning the future. Though, it is worthy to mention that the percentage of meaning units with wishes towards the future is higher and actually takes place in interviews of those participants, who have spent longer time away from the war settings. Unengagement is stated with negative appraisal in the context of the war, which indicates participants' dissatisfaction of being unengaged in the context of something meaningful. Depicted with the concrete words they are mostly the topics of school attendance, friends and being outside. Alternatively, the statements of engagement in something ill-natured, as 'living with the fight', are performed with the same negative

connotation, but in the most cases with expressions which leave a lot of room for further questions.

The property-modality is represented with only two categories: the dominant ‘not stated’ and ‘my’ showing mostly the belongingness to family. Only one meaning unit uses ‘my’ to indicate one’s own future. As the frequency of the use of pronouns in the interviews is insufficient, this modality was not included in the analysis of results.

Discussion

The very first thing that one notices in the way the adolescent refugees narrate their answers on the open-question about the past experience is the availability of discourse about the present life and, in some cases, expressions directed towards the future. Almost all participants also introduce the experience in the period of migration. Hence, this interconnection of the past with the contemporary life is an inevitable characteristic of all collected interviews.

Engagement vs. unengagement

Abstract expressions of being happy or, as a contrary, not joyful, sad or depressed refer to how fulfilling a particular person’s life is. The feeling of happiness itself is not something that can be pursued directly. There are particular activities that provide adolescents with the sense of life purpose, hence, the availability of these social activities provides general satisfaction of the life’ circumstances.

School attendance (perhaps not as much as with the purpose to be educated, but an actual performance of this activity), relationships with friends and being outside are more prevail activities, which are traced as lacking in the war. Different activities are not equally worth pursuing, which can be discovered through committing to them, but the criteria for what is worthwhile are strongly dependent on an individual in question. Adolescents may be more or less aware of the

circumstances of their life, but an actual unengagement in something, which is meaningful for an individual, seems to be a crucial point of the process of socialization itself. It is natural for the adolescents to be confused about what is expected from him/her, but impossibility of roles and responsibilities' performance does not bring the sense of self-realization. It seems that adolescents consciously or unconsciously intensify the meaningfulness of being engaged in social life or unengaged in war settings. Meaning, in this respect, depends on an individual, and in particular it depends on where that person is developed.

The experience of both limited (in a sense of personal realization) war conditions and life in controversial circumstances of a new country make adolescents being aware of the necessity to be engaged in certain lively actions and thus the eventual possibility to achieve it, is appreciated sincerely.

Relevance of the family

The discourse about family is undoubtedly prominent one. Analysis reveals that pertaining to the family and facing the hardships 'together' can be considered the only thing provided with the positive connotations midst a war. The separation with one or both parents was the only negatively appraised condition in the narrated context of migration. Interestingly, prevalence of 'we' expressions on behalf of the family reveals the immediate engagement in the family course and vision of participants themselves as inseparable part of it in the period of the war and resettlement. However at present the engagement is mostly shown with the pronoun 'I', which indicates more or less independent participants' representation of doings, feelings and thoughts, though, the discourse of the family still stays significant.

It is interesting to notice the invisible role of siblings in the discourse of all interviews. The only one participant indicates actions of the elder brother, who shared a role of breadwinner on equal terms with the father in the war situation. Other relatives (cousins, uncles, aunts, etc) are portrayed in the narratives of Afghani and

Iraqi interviews, mostly in the context of providing material support (housing) or help with information and, in some cases, the partakers state a loss of ones. This finding is not surprising as due to the fact that previous publications and literatures record the complexity of kinship system and close interconnection between members for Arab countries more than for any other great culture, which evidently can be extremely important in collective society. Yet the war hardships unify not only the single family, but also larger kinship structure leading to joint actions towards common goals. The actuality of statements about the relatives in context of support show intensified meaningfulness of maintaining ties of relationship for the participants.

Significance and representation of the people

As we have seen, the entity ‘people’ was the most controversial one, which led to the conclusion that through experience of diverse relations, the adolescents become aware of the diversity of people’s characteristics. Representation of the people of a particular country is mostly accompanied with the expressions of a similar emotion (positive or negative) as a general view of a whole country. It seems that the entity ‘people’ is used as a useful tool to portray the situation in the country. At the same time, the comparison of the populations in different countries can be seen as biased in their own favor by individuals who feel themselves threatened. Hence, being an intentional act this comparison can be interpreted as an attempt to detach themselves from the negatively represented subject and, thereby, to be rehabilitated from the injurious past by rising their own self-esteem (Sages, & Lahlou, 2004). Taking into account the adolescents’ background of being limited in experiencing relationship with the people as being ‘always at home’, it is not surprising to find the expressions of the belief that everyone can kill and can be killed. It seems that generalization on the base of the past experience causes a formation of disbelief towards them and at the same time the note of compassion is presented. Nevertheless, the majority of expressions are conducted with neutral or negative connotation, which leaves the question about empathy open. At the same time the separation of their own

families from the rest of the people is inevitably indicated with 'we' and 'they'. In the important period, when the fundamental ideas of the people and social relationships are formed, the adolescents become increasingly aware of the significance of human beings, but general mistrust as an outcome of the war experience can be harmful for the establishment of interconnections in the future.

Interestingly, the discourse about friends was not a dominant one during the war life, which actually contradicts the general adolescent's choice to value of the friends more than the family. But the limited ability of being interconnected with the peers might lower its actuality. Yet it is not to say, that friends are not considered as important. As it is stated above the problem of limited possibilities to be engaged in the friendship relationships are touched by partakers with the strong negative connotation.

Representation of the war

Participants describe their experience "within actual reach" according to their unique biographical situation (Schutz, 1970). Some part of their knowledge originated within personal experience and another part is socially based. Since personal experience of the situation is limited, the greater part of the picture about the war is formed, so to speak, socially (obtained from other sources rather than personal experience). Regarding parents, the knowledge or images about the event could not be spread out by direct speaking but by behavioral pattern towards it ("try to keep you out", "didn't want us to listen about it"). Collecting all elements together such as personal experience (even limited), the knowledge from the media ("saw on the TV and Radio that was always something going on terrible"), parental behavior, etc. allowed them to construct their own picture about the war.

‘I don’t want to lose my future’

The most impressive characteristic of all collected narratives is clearly the visible shift from the past to present and eventually an appearance of future plans to be fulfilled. Depending on the time spent in Sweden, future plans, hopes and wishes become apparent to a different extent. Three of all six participants end up their stories with expectation about the future.

The adolescents place very much importance on opportunities to participate in society. The participants, who arrived at a later point, positively mark the actual possibility to do it in new settings, while teenagers staying longer period undermine arisen problems to be engaged in the social life. Availability of wishes and hopes towards the future is a positive sign of overcame depression and distress. Hence, it might be seen that previous researches overemphasize the effects of trauma on post-traumatic stress disorder as the main outcome, instead of being focused on how children from war-torn countries adjust positively to their new homeland. Additionally, the analysis shows relation between emotional representation of the past and availability of the topic about anticipation regarding the future. Those participants, who express less negative, but instead neutral vision of the past experience, performed positive-wishes and expectation for the future to higher degree. On the contrary, adolescents that highlighted the negative representation of their home countries; do not show excitement and the wish to participate in the future.

Discourse about ‘freedom’

The context in which ‘freedom’ is undermined varies from participant to participant depending on the actual experience. Apart from the endeavor to be outside and experience the world directly, ‘freedom’ appears as a possibility to fulfill wishes and desires as well as to maintain personal identity (in the case of Christian young woman). Hence, the meaning that they put in the word substantially differs, while

general positive connotation is traced. Yet it is natural for children in this age period to desire for a space that is free of adults, and in the circumstances, which do not allow exploring plausible actions, the liberty to explore themselves is recognized as a main feature of self-realization and opens a door for their wishes and desires to be fulfilled. Grasping the difference between war life and democratic society participants become aware of the significance of freedom, which meaningfulness is intensified.

The adolescence period

Contemporary researches about the psychology of adolescence are written from the socio-ideological position of adults, rather than from the viewpoint of adolescents themselves. Looking at adolescents psychologists mostly address issues of how to cope with them, rather than how the teenagers could cope with their lives and, the adults (Valsiner, 2000). Hence, the question of adolescents being in the period when they need to negotiate their developing value system is somehow missed.

Evidently the experience of the war conditions has a different impact on each particular participant and influences one to the different degree. But the effect of it on the formation of the view of the life world is generally obvious. The emergence of wishes and desires as a sign of overcome distress are both a significant aspect of establishment a value system, and a natural feature driven by lively curiosity in this age period. They are based on the both ways in which the world outside is functioning and the ways in which teenagers could relate to the world (Valsinar, 2000). The search for the way of being involved in the new society by putting desired goals (academics, sport, or other areas) should be met by the society in a proper way. Otherwise obstacles (internal 'can't talk' and external hardships to establish a connection and maintain relationships) would turn over the teenagers' interests towards not socially accepted activities (drinking, social disorders). It is all to say,

taking into account, the adolescents' nature of notably quickly their interests and wishes to be emerged and disappeared.

Conclusion

The present research on adolescent refugees mostly explores their experiences in regards individual trauma and their general attitudes towards different aspects of the life before and after resettlements. The research based on hermeneutic thinking recognizes the participants of this population group in their particular context with social, cultural, economical and political specificities, which are interlinked. It takes into account individual's capacity to reflect upon the life circumstances and, at the same time, to be constituted by ongoing process of interpretation itself.

With the purpose of psychological assessment the practical implication of the paper is that it can be helpful to formulate appropriate intervention for promoting mental health, learning, acculturation and wellbeing for adolescent refugees. Additionally, the findings discussed in the present study can be taken into account by researchers who make questionnaires to apply quantitative methods.

The unique characteristics of this population group require targeted researches. Areas requiring further investigation can be concerned refugee experience of mental-health services or other school-based services providing psychological treatment and assistance. It would be essential to investigate further the impact of a 'new' culture on psychological rehabilitation, as all psychological assessments occur in a cultural context. When the participant being assessed is someone of refugee background, the close attention to the current and historical domains is necessary as well.

The present paper is based on the interviews of adolescent refugees, who were willing to participate and, even after given open answers revealed interest to the research by asking questions. There were many who refused to talk about the past

experience, therefore their stories and opinions are stayed hidden for exploration. As an alternative the later contingent can be asked to tell about their opinion, thoughts, and feelings towards the present life circumstances. It may reveal interconnections with the past and unveil meaning content of subjective experience in the same way as the present research does.

Research Limitations

One of the most plausible limitations is the tendency of a person to prevent the translation of repressed thoughts and ideas from the unconscious to the conscious and especially to resist the analyst's attempt to bring this about.

It is imperative to point out the challenge to fully incorporate cultural values and beliefs, nevertheless the cross cultural theories describes and the methodology used for subjective meaning construction allows for an open and flexible analysis.

Conclusively the findings cannot to be generalized and applied for the whole population group in question. But instead it has to be seen as one way to view the complex picture of refugees' being and arisen problems of psychological development of adolescents experienced living in war conditions.

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Appendix 1

Appearance of types of modalities characterizing meaning units in all six participants' interviews (%).

Modalities		P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6
1.belief	Doxa-affirmation	100	96.67	100	100	92.59	93.33
	Possibility	-	3.33	-	-	0.93	2.22
	Probability	-	-	-	-	6.48	4.44
2.function	Perceptive	44.83	61.67	51.35	76.53	49.07	64.44
	Signitive	55.17	38.33	48.65	23.47	50.93	35.56
3.time	Past	77.59	73.33	62.16	71.43	57.41	37.78
	Present	17.24	26.67	37.84	28.57	39.81	55.56
	Future	5.17	-	-	-	0.93	6.67
	Empty	-	-	-	-	1.85	-
4.affects	Negative-retrospective	44.83	41.67	45.95	31.63	24.07	13.33
	Neutral	31.03	38.33	32.43	38.78	31.48	44.44
	Positive-prospective	12.07	5	18.92	17.35	23.15	22.22
	Positive-retrospective	8.62	1.67	-	8.16	10.19	2.22
	Negative-prospective	34.5	13.33	2.7	4.08	11.11	17.78
5.will	Engagement	36.21	18.33	13.51	17.35	30.56	20
	Non-stated	58.62	73.33	64.86	69.39	64.81	66.67
	Aspiration	3.45	-	10.81	-	-	4.44

	Wish-negative	1.72	1.67	5.41	5.10	-	-
	Wish-positive	-	-	-	2.04	1.85	4.44
	Unengagment	-	6.67	5.41	6.12	2.78	4.44
6.subject	I	20.69	26.67	27.03	39.8	37.96	37.78
	We	29.31	8.33	8.11	18.37	6.48	2.22
	They	1.72	16.67	5.41	5.1	9.26	24.44
	Not specified	48.28	45	54.05	35.71	36.11	28.89
	One-all	-	-	5.41	1.02	-	-
	You	-	3.33	-	-	10.19	6.67