

Becoming the perceived outsider?

Building social trust as a newly arrived immigrant in Malmö

Abstract

Sweden was always considered a high trust country, yet recent extreme right movements and increased xenophobia have complicated the picture of a stable social cohesion. The problem with such phenomena is that it focuses on the fear of the “other”, as observed by a perceived societal in-group. The purpose of this thesis is, on the contrary, to examine the feelings of one perceived out-group. In reference to the research aim ten semi-structured interviews with newly arrived persons to Malmö have been conducted, examining the dynamics of trust in people who have gone from a low to a high trust environment.

The theoretical framework and literature on social trust and ethnic diversity claims that high social trust is strongly connected to the occurrence of bridging social networks. The stories collected from a narrative analysis of the interviews confirm that to be able to adapt to higher trust levels it is essential to learn the new language as well as having a job or going to school in order to make new social contacts.

Key words: social trust, social capital, new arrivals, immigration, ethnic diversity

Words: 19941

Acknowledgements

I extend my warm thanks to the people who welcomed me and helped me out at Språkcafé Nobel, Språkcafé Ung and JobbMalmö, while conducting the interviews of this paper. Thank you especially to Magnus Fryklund and Lars Ekström, and to all of my interviewees who tolerantly answered my questions and made me laugh. I did as you said and “searched the solution”. I hope to have found it.

Malin Gustafsson

Lund, April 2014

Table of contents

1	Prologue	1
1.1	Prior knowledge – Why is this interesting?	1
1.2	Aim and research questions	2
1.3	Cases	3
1.3.1	Choosing the perceived out-group	3
1.3.2	Is Sweden really a high trust country?	4
1.3.3	Why Malmö?	6
1.4	Limitations – The danger of generalizations	6
1.5	Material and structure	7
2	Social trust and ethnic diversity	8
2.1	Discussion on definitions	8
2.2	A growing literature – wide in scope	9
2.2.1	The impact of an increased ethnic diversity	10
2.2.2	Bonding and bridging social capital	12
2.2.3	The collective mind of the ”in-group”	13
2.2.4	Hypotheses of in-group reactions towards a perceived out-group	13
2.3	Building trust as a perceived out-group	15
3	Methodology	17
3.1	Type of interviews and sampling method	17
3.1.1	Locating interviewees	18
3.2	Interview questions	19
3.3	Network charts	21
3.4	Interview settings	21
3.4.1	Recordings and transcriptions	22
3.5	Moral considerations	22
3.6	Limitation of method	23
3.6.1	My role as the interviewer	24
3.6.2	Different backgrounds, different answers?	24
3.7	Analytical approach – Finding the stories	24
4	Interviewees	26
4.1	Presentation of interviewees	26
4.1.1	General trust levels of interviewees’ countries of origin	27
5	The stories	29
5.1	Background – Arriving to Sweden	29
5.1.1	”I will say I’m Swedish”	30
5.1.2	What to expect?	31

5.2	First impressions	31
5.2.1	”Here one can do anything ...”	31
5.2.2	“... As long as one is active”	32
5.2.3	“I trust Swedish people more than immigrants”	33
5.2.4	”Swedish people are naïve”	33
5.2.5	”Mañana, mañana, tomorrow, tomorrow”	34
5.3	Daily life in Malmö.....	36
5.3.1	The wait	36
5.3.2	”You have to start from zero”	36
5.3.3	Passing time	37
5.4	Networking	37
5.4.1	The importance of family	37
5.4.2	Language skills and social contacts go hand in hand	38
5.4.3	“Networks are more important than doing a good job”	39
5.5	Trust and integration	39
5.5.1	”All people are the same”	39
5.5.2	Multiple identities?	40
5.5.3	The comparison.....	40
5.5.4	Racism and discrimination.....	40
5.5.5	Trust or not? Insider or outsider?.....	41
6	From low to high trust?	42
7	Epilogue	43
8	Bibliography	44
9	Appendix 1 – Question sheet.....	47
9.1	In English	47
9.2	In Swedish.....	48
10	Appendix 2 – Transcriptions	50
10.1	Interview with Samer	50
10.1.1	Original	50
10.1.2	Translation	64
10.2	Interview with Petar	77
10.3	Interview with Maurice.....	83
10.3.1	Original	83
10.3.2	Translation	91
10.4	Interview with Fariborz	99
10.4.1	Original	99
10.4.2	Translation	105
10.5	Interview with Lara.....	111
10.5.1	Original	111
10.5.2	Translation	117
10.6	Interview with Purity	123

10.7 Interview with Jose	142
10.7.1 Original	142
10.7.2 Translation	154
10.8 Interview with Muhammad.....	166
10.9 Interview with Derya	174
10.9.1 Original	174
10.9.2 Translation	183
10.10 Interview with Saba	192
10.10.1 Original	192
10.10.2 Translation	200
11 Appendix 3 – Network charts	209

1 Prologue

It can be stated with fair certainty that any of the world's modern societies will be more diverse a generation from now than they are today. One of the most important challenges and at once one of the most significant opportunities for these societies is therefore the increase of immigration and ethnic heterogeneity, not least due to the contested impact of diversity on *social trust*. Social trust has been called the glue that holds society together (Putnam, 2007: 137). Where there are high levels of interpersonal trust everything from neighborhood gatherings to politics seem to run more smoothly. Sweden was always considered a case in point for such trust, but is the image of the “country different” really that perfect (Svedberg et. al., 2013: 36)?

While Sweden welcomed 116 000 immigrants in 2013, media coverage and public debate of shootings and hate crimes put a strain on social cohesion (Migrationsinfo, 2014; Brå, 2010: 33). A commonly expressed fear is that the increased ethnic heterogeneity will make it impossible to maintain the social solidarity of the welfare state, as an increasing proportion of social benefits is targeted towards immigrants (Ervasti and Hjelm, 2012: 153). Gradually, the fear that immigrant groups will increase criminality and take away jobs has triggered support for xenophobic political parties (SKOP, 2014; Sifo, 2014).

The increase of xenophobia puts a focus on the fear of the unknown, the strange, and is directed from an *in-group* of people towards a perceived *out-group*. It does not per se mean that general social trust is eroded, but it may strengthen trust within certain groups and weaken that of others. Xenophobia is, then, often considered from the perspective of the insider, but what happens if we turn this causality around? What is the fear of the perceived out-group and how can that be understood as an impact on social trust? What happens when people come from a low trust environment into a high trust environment such as Sweden? Will they feel distrust towards those who fear them or will they rather assimilate to the existing general trust levels? Are they simply expected to do so?

1.1 Prior knowledge – Why is this interesting?

So, from where do I draw this interest on social trust? A year ago I and two fellow classmates conducted a minor study on social trust in reference to likeness and difference. We quantitatively examined the determinants of social trust, making use of statistics from the World Value Survey. We found the strongest significant determinants of trust to be inequality and unemployment – thus where there seem to be great differences between those who *have* and those who *have not*, there is

also less trust. This is supported by for instance Svedberg et. al (2013) and Gustavsson and Jordahl (2006), who also show evidence to suggest that an increased ethnic diversity is likely to have a negative impact on trust.

In the continuation of our study, we choose two municipalities of equal size in Skåne, Sweden, to qualitatively examine how these variables of diversity played out. One of the two municipalities had low divisions between income takers and the other had large divisions between income takers. From our results we could see that there was a greater distrust in the municipality with high diversity, but that both municipalities used a terminology of in- and out-groups when referring to trust.

For this paper I will further explore the phenomena of in- and out-groups as this suggests that groups in society that lack some of the things that make people feel inclusion, such as work, a proper home or language skills, will not only be at risk of feeling left out of society but also of being perceived as outsiders by those who are not lacking. The perception that there exists such groups will take part in what I call an in-group collective mind and if the perception of these groupings become too prevailing I believe them to cause a crack in the social trust that is the very foundation of any society. Likely it will also withdraw to further societal divisions, which is why the study of such a perceived out-group is highly relevant to the political debate of today.

1.2 Aim and research questions

Even though social trust has been studied repeatedly since the beginning of the 1990's (Svedberg et. al., 2013: 10), what seems to be a forgotten aspect is the social trust of individuals coming from a low trust environment entering a high trust environment. In the scope of this paper the experienced trust of some newly arrived immigrants¹ to Sweden and the city of Malmö will be investigated.

The aim is not foremost to conclude on any general feelings or thoughts of a new arrival, as there can be no such generalized way of thinking. The paper is an examination of the thoughts of some new arrivals, and the aim is to shed light on the dynamics of being a new arrival in a high trust country and in what different ways a new arrival that comes from a low trust environment *could* think as a newcomer in Sweden. The dynamics will concern stories the new arrivals seem to have in common, and stories that seem unique. My research design for this thesis will thus be explorative. I will examine something that has not been widely studied, and therefore an explorative research design suits the project (Esaiason et. al., 2007: 214). As guidelines the following questions will be used:

How, if at all, does a person's trust change when he or she goes from a low trust environment to a high trust environment?

¹ From here on I will make use of the terms "new arrivals" or "newly arrived" while referring to people that have recently arrived to Sweden.

Does he or she adapt to the Swedish high trust or rather feel distrust towards the “in-group” residents?

The second question is included to examine the possibility that the new arrivals perceive themselves or feel perceived by others as an out-group of society, which may or may not have an impact on the way their trust changes in the new environment. My hypothesis is that the crack between such perceived insiders and outsiders will constitute a difficulty for the perceived out-group to build high trust as new arrivals in a high trust country, so that they will experience somewhat a continuation of low trust even though they have entered a society with higher general trust levels.

1.3 Cases

1.3.1 Choosing the perceived out-group

There are of course several groups that are debated as out-groups in media while also the target of directed politics. Besides immigrants, these are groups such as unemployed, criminals, drug users, homeless or sick people, which are in one way or the other occasionally portrayed as outsiders. Guy Standing even perpetrates the definition of a “new dangerous class” called the *precariat*, that is the growing “army of unemployed and the detached group of socially ill misfits living of the dregs of society”, people that seem to in one way or another have more limited opportunities than other citizens do (Standing, 2011: 7).

The definitions of such groups and the qualities they are ascribed are of course major generalizations to what these people really are, and any of these groups would be interesting to study as a result of such generalizations, considering also that they might have experienced a lack of trust as a result of their often changing situations or delimited life opportunities. The reason why I have chosen to study new arrivals to Sweden is because they come from an environment that is usually ranked as low trusting to enter a high trust environment, while the other groups have to a higher extent resided in the same general trust environment for a longer time. Thus, the new arrivals are more likely to have experienced two very different trusting environments and a transition between these two.

The new arrivals I define as people who have lived in Sweden for up to two years. This is to make a clear distinction of the subjects of investigation, and to avoid to falsely address immigrants as a collective or a unified group. I consider the first impressions of a new country as very important to the continuation of trust building in that country, which is supported also by Kuusela (2009), and I think that the new arrivals, ten people whom I have interviewed, are more likely to have these first impressions of trust changes fresh in mind. Also, after a while many people who arrive to a new country are likely to be integrated, learn the language, get a job and so on, which will then perhaps lower the feeling of immediate changes in trust. That, of course, would also be an interesting process for research, yet for this paper

I mark off the investigation to concern the immediate feelings and experiences of moving to a high trust environment.

1.3.2 Is Sweden really a high trust country?

Choosing Sweden as a case of social trust is highly intentional, as Sweden was always considered a high trust country (Rothstein, 2003: 117ff.). As this is a central assumption to my research aim, I will here present statistics as a stepping stone for the continuation of the study, as well as explaining why Sweden is an interesting case.

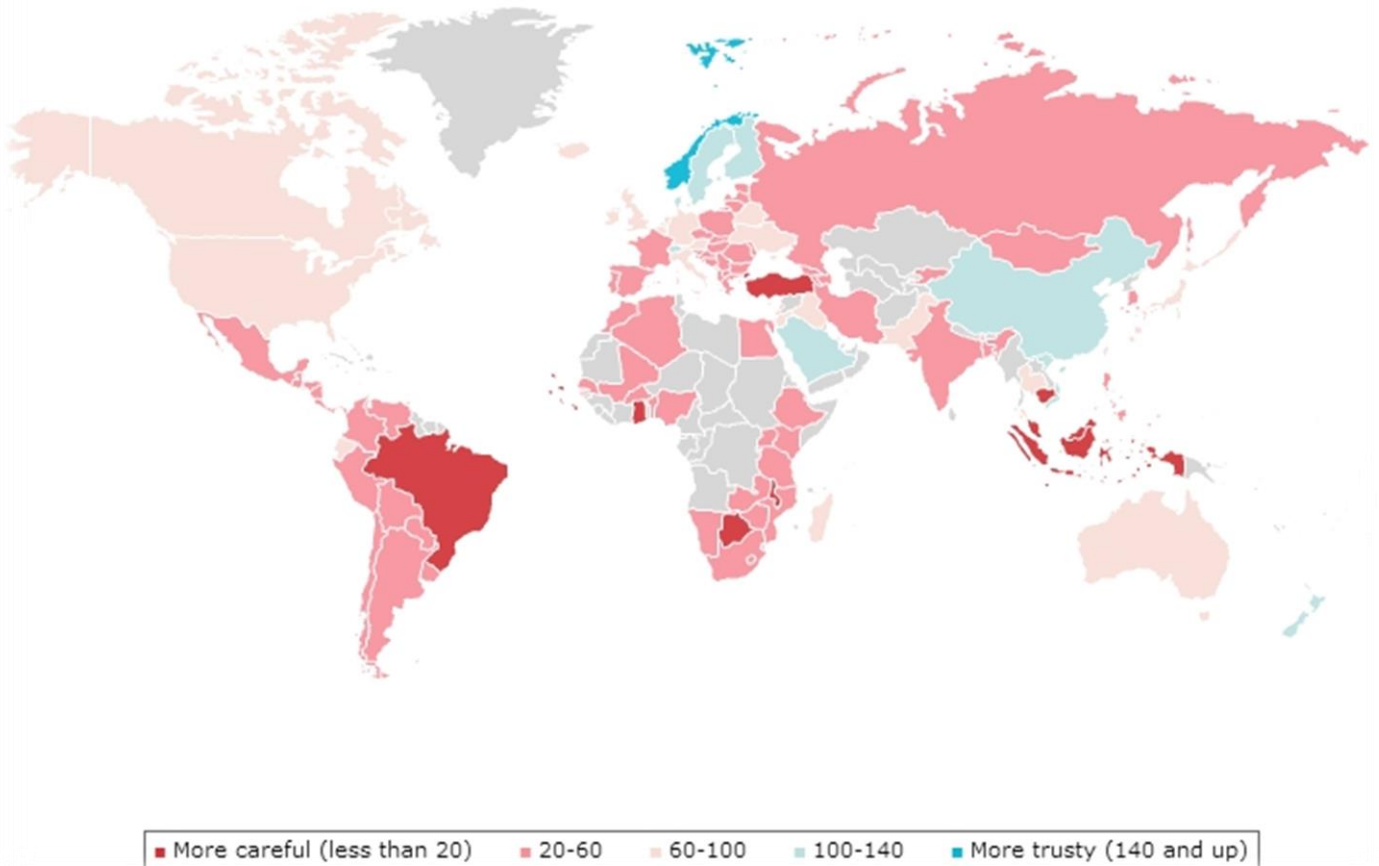
The question most often used in international comparative surveys, for instance the World Value Survey (WVS) and European Values Survey (EVS), to find out whether or not trust is generally high or low in a country is the general interpersonal trust question: “Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?”. There are two possible answers to this question: “Most people can be trusted” and “Need to be very careful”. Even though there is a problematic dichotomy to these answers, which I will also discuss further on, these surveys have the penetrating power of being conducted in many countries over a long period of time and must therefore be considered a comparable operationalization of trust (World Values Survey, 2014) (European Values Survey, 2014).

From the look of a trust index map which is a compilation of the latest data for each country from the social science database ASEP/JDS in cooperation with the WVS, it is obvious; people rarely trust other people. Apart from the Northern European countries Sweden, Norway, Finland and Denmark, and six other countries where the amount of people trusting is almost equal to that of the distrusting, the remaining countries fall under the index equilibrium.

For this trust index the following formula has been used:

$$\text{Trust index} = 100 + (\% \text{ of } \textit{“Most people can be trusted”}) - (\% \text{ of } \textit{“Need to be very careful”})$$

This means that in those countries that have a higher index than 100, there is a majority of people that trust others, while in countries with indexes under 100, there is a majority of people thinking that one can never be too careful when dealing with others. Sweden gets a 134,5 result in this index, and can therefore be considered a trusting country.



(Source: JD Survey, 2014)

While Sweden is considered a high trust country, both for measures of general trust as well as for the confidence for institutions, as we have seen the high trust image is not entirely perfect. Sweden is a modern Western society where a high degree of individualism and a low degree of religiosity challenges the theories of social trust that underpins unity and cohesion between people. Rather, the social contract in Sweden is strongly connected to the norms of equality, equal opportunities and Nordic family values (Svedberg et. al, 2013: 12). Sweden do not only have high social trust, but prioritize for instance personal freedom, great tolerance for divorce, homosexual rights and young people’s autonomous status. (Svedberg et. al., 2013: 65ff.).

Sweden must also be viewed as a relevant case considering the election coming up in September 2014, where social policy is widely debated and therefore the question of trust of new arrivals is relevant. Not least, since what used to be a government built on strong Social Democratic tradition well-known for the inclusion of the welfare system and the taking care of vulnerable groups, is now led by the liberal Moderaterna in favour of increased privatizations and a decreased public sector, thus the strengthening of individualism (Andersson, 2007: 6). Studying one of the perceived out-groups of a high trust Swedish society, close to the election, is especially relevant since it is done from the perspective of the perceived outsider, and not the usual insider.

1.3.3 Why Malmö?

What does the local picture mean to a generally high trusting environment? Even though there is strong evidence to suggest that Sweden is a generally high trusting society, growing diversity and segregations challenges this view. So, why Malmö? Malmö has a history of great economic, political and social development. It was one of the leading industrial cities in Sweden after the Second World War with high welfare expenditures. Despite this there were divisions in the city in the 1960's. Researchers even began to use the new term: segregation. Segregation got worse when industries were forced to shut down during the 70's and 80's. The city council was no longer as stable, there were several shifts in political power and Malmö was divided into ten self-ruling enclaves (Stigendal, 1999: 18). Today Malmö is a segregated city where people of many cultures and socioeconomic statuses live. Because of the diversity of the city, Malmö is a relevant case in the investigation of social trust where low and high trust cultures meet (Miun, 2014).

Local trust in Malmö was considered beneath the general trust value in Sweden, concluded due to high levels of income inequality and a big part of the population being born outside Sweden (Miun, 2014). This was the case, even though the city council was very early to, in 1999, admit an action plan to support the integration in Malmö, because of the huge differences in work, economic resources and social networks between people. The integration was considered to be made more difficult by the ethnic and socioeconomic segregation between enclaves. The purpose of the plan was to embrace the different cultures that existed in Malmö, to make visible negative attitudes and make active choices to improve them. This was considered a long term project that demanded help from all instances of society, so that people from different backgrounds could meet and respect each other (Integrationsrådet i Malmö, 1999). All in all, I think this history makes Malmö an interesting case for my study, as it could be considered a "least likely case scenario" for a new arrival to build high trust, as the support for the Swedish Democrats is especially high in Malmö and Skåne, alongside high criminality (SVD, 2014) (Regionfakta, 2014).

Also, the local society research has somewhat been neglected in favor of the country based trust measurements (Svedberg et. al., 2013: 15). Therefore, choosing Malmö as a case fulfils both the socioeconomic and ethnic diversity challenges to trust and may give more dynamic answers about trust than Sweden as a country would do.

1.4 Limitations – The danger of generalizations

One of the greatest problems with studying new arrivals in reference to the perception of out-groups in Malmö or in any society is the possibility that it per se will be viewed as a statement of the existence of such out-groups just from conducting the research. Thus by studying people in a vulnerable state and asking them questions about their situation, they already seem to be generalized into a place of distrust. However, this is not the purpose of this study. The purpose of this

study is not to state any group of people as an out-group, it is important to underline that it is the perception of these out-groups, which is kept alive in daily conversations and media, which is of interest to this study. Here, there has to be a distinction between appearance and reality. Whatever our senses tell us belongs to the mind of the observer and is in the philosophy of social sciences referred to as a phenomena (Greek for “appearances”). Reality, in contrast, refers to whatever causes the phenomena (Hollis, 1994: 29). The phenomena, which is appeared and sensed, is in fact a great part of what I intend to study: the perceived out-group feeling. I do not, in any way, wish to enforce any generalizing structure by discussing such generalizations. In contrast, the aim is to show that there are a number of ways in which a new arrival can think and trust in a new country of residence. Everybody certainly have their own story.

Furthermore, while I will refer to the people I interview as interviewees or new arrivals, in the theoretical framework I sometimes need to refer to immigrants in a more general sense since that is the focus of most research on social trust and ethnic diversity. I critique this phenomenon as it is problematic to speak of immigrants in any generalizing way, and I believe that the research of social trust and diversity not always questions the way that may enforce such generalizations. I will also refer to the countries the interviewees come from as their countries of origin, and not as is in many circumstances referred to as their home countries, as that might suggest in any way that Sweden is not their home. However, during the interviews, the interviewees themselves sometimes refer to the countries of origin as their home countries.

1.5 Material and structure

This paper will contain a critical literature review which aims at pinpointing the results of social trust research on ethnic diversity and an in-group versus an out-group perspective. To my knowledge there exist no such review on the subject. The review will proceed into a theoretical discussion.

Firsthand material will be gathered from the interviews that are to follow, for which the selection, questions and settings are discussed in a methodological chapter. I will thereafter present the interviewees and their stories. I will analyze the results in accordance with my research questions to explore how people from a low trust background build or erode trust in a high trust country. I will return to the presentation of statistics to determine the differences between Sweden and the new arrivals’ countries of origin in order to be able to discuss the impact their transition from one environment to the other may have for trust-building.

2 Social trust and ethnic diversity

In this chapter I will first discuss the definitions that will be used throughout the paper, and explore the literature on social trust and ethnic diversity. For the theoretical framework of this paper, I will also explore the concepts of bonding and bridging trust, the possibility of an in-group collective thinking and what this may mean to building trust as a new arrival in Malmö.

2.1 Discussion on definitions

Before moving on, it is crucial to draw some conclusions about the definitions that will be used in the continuation of this paper. While considering the wide range of research on social trust, only a minority of studies really go in-depth. It has simply become popular to refer to trust, as it surely does penetrate many areas of the social sciences (Grosse, 2009: 68f.). Paradoxically, researchers argue that an exact definition of trust cannot be agreed upon. The human being know intuitively what it means to trust somebody and to be trusted, but to operationalize trust is difficult since it is part of everything we do (Aronsson and Karlsson, 2001: 19). However, some distinctions can be made and have been so by many researchers.

Social trust may be boiled down to synonyms as confidence, faith and reliance. The opposite would be distrust, disbelief, suspicion and fear. The concept is vague, because it stipulates the feeling of risk-taking and the expectation in other people's future actions – it exists as a subject (*there is* or *there is not* social trust) but it is also directed towards someone or something according to the following line of thought (Blennberger, 2009: 19ff.): "I do this for you now without immediately expecting something in return, relying on the fact that you or someone else will pay back the favor sometime in the future" (Blennberger, 2009: 31).

Social trust and social capital are sometimes mistakenly used as synonyms. Bo Rothstein makes a distinction between the two. *Social trust* or interpersonal trust is trust at its most personal level. If other people consider you a trustworthy person they are more likely to share information with you, help you and show their support. In turn, if people trust you, you are more likely to show them the same type of help and support. This forms a virtuous cycle which becomes part of the wider *social capital*. Social capital is the trust between people in a group or a society and is dependent on the scope of people's social networks (Rothstein, 2010: 77).

Putnam argues that social trust is strongly connected to the reach of social contacts. The definition of social trust is thus linked to a well documented argumentation of causality used by Putnam, stating that it is the bottom-up

interpersonal aspect of trust that causes high social capital also in institutions and the social state, rather than the opposite way around (Putnam, 2000: 18f.).

To political science the subject of social capital is often debated in a general sense, in reference to confidence in authorities and the state. As many researchers have shown, the top-down social capital approach is strongly connected to the bottom-up for social trust. Where there is high social trust both tend to function well, while the opposite is often true for societies with low trust. It is not apparent whether or not the increase of these start on the "bottom" or on the "top", but it is crucial that both exist. Therefore, with a political science approach, this study will be concerning both, yet focus on social trust as I believe that the mentality of people and the social scene is better understood from a bottom-up perspective. This means I will make use of Putnam's definition of social trust and consider the interpersonal relations of trust. Social capital is to be discussed as an important result of such trust.

2.2 A growing literature – wide in scope

To put the question of social trust and ethnic diversity in focus, one need to know something about social trust research in general. James Coleman and Robert Putnam in the United States and Pierre Bourdieu in France were the first ones to establish the concept of social trust, even though the feeling of a collective reliance had long been important, for instance to intellectual thinkers such as Max Weber, Émile Durkheim. Karl Marx and Ferdinand Tönnies who worried about the social cohesion in a changing society (Svedberg et. al., 2013: 9).

While Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1990) focused on the influence of family and group relations, Putnam in his longitudinal study *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (1993) extended the thought of social trust being built from interpersonal relations and networks (Helve, 2007: 103). Putnam refers to social trust as "*connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them*", which is thus the social trust definition for this study (2000: 18f.). He points to a connection between active membership in organizations and civic society, levels of social capital and a functioning democracy. The civic society refers to informal efforts in the household, the meeting with neighbors or locals and with friends (Grosse, 2007: 29).

Bo Rothstein has tried to turn this causality around, claiming that it is rather the power of institutions and a strong welfare state that creates social trust among people. Thus it is social capital that causes social trust. This, even though he claims that the understanding of the causality is complex (Rothstein, 2010: 77).

Halpern combines these two standpoints into one, putting the importance of the civic society and interpersonal trust together with the role of the state. The core of this argumentation is social trust versus self-interest, and illustrates how nations such as Sweden settle into a stable pattern of collective investments in public goods and welfare, which in turn stimulates community and withdraw to positive policy

outcomes such as low crime, better health, low transaction costs, economic growth and low civil unrest. The people prepare to pay taxes and to re-elect the government to further stabilize the spinning of the wheel. In the very same way this virtuous cycle might spin the other way and become difficult to get out of – a society which has low interpersonal trust generally fails to build trusted institutional structures. Halpern has later stated that his model was too much focusing on the macro-level, partly neglecting the micro- and meso-levels (2005: 276). It was also, like most models, a simplified version of the truth as one thing did not as tidily lead to another – yet, it was an attempt to describe the complexity of building social capital and trust.

It is less obvious and less studied what happens on a local level: in a region, city or neighborhood. Even though there seems to be a unison advantage to cooperation and to trust one another in a society it is not necessarily illogical not to cooperate, much similar to the dilemmas of game theory and the tragedy of the commons. Even though, at the most basic level, humans appear to have a tendency to cooperate it is never certain that this tendency cannot be overridden by contradictory aspects of our nature, such as the will to compete or to form hierarchies (Halpern, 2005: 279). Rothstein speaks of the “social trap” as a determinate of how an individual acts. It is the expectation of what others will do that decides our actions (Rothstein, 2011: 14). This is part of what makes social trust so mysterious and hard to pinpoint: it is a floating concept which does not exist beyond people’s understanding of it. No one can really be set out to concretely build social trust; we may build strong systems, organize social networks and strengthen interpersonal relations, but not trust in itself (Feldstein and Putnam, 2003: 269).

There nevertheless is a positive connection between a functioning welfare state and high levels of social trust. If we trust others to pay their fair share of taxes and contribution we are more likely to contribute ourselves, and the more extensive the welfare state the more likely are the high levels of social trust (Crepaz, 2008: 3).

2.2.1 The impact of an increased ethnic diversity

So, does ethnic diversity erode social trust? Putnam has studied the reach of the American welfare model, the symbiosis between ethnically diverse societies and social trust and found that increased ethnic diversity, often through increased immigration, in the long run is likely to have important developmental benefits to a society. Yet, in the short run evidence suggest, at least from studying the U.S., that residents of ethnically diverse neighborhoods tend to “hunker down”; trust seems to be lower, even trust towards one’s own race, cooperation and altruism rarer and friends fewer. In the long run successful immigrant societies tend to overcome these obstacles and create new forms of social solidarity. There is a decrease in negative effects of diversity in the face of a construction of new, more including identities and thus a broadening of the concept of “we” (Putnam, 2007: 137f.).

Hjerm and Schnabel argues that empirical research on the impact of heterogeneity is inconclusive. While ethnic heterogeneity in the U.S. has resulted

in a downward spiral for trust and a lack of support for redistributive measures, there is little support for this relationship elsewhere (2012: 172).

Crepaz, who have studied the relationship between trust, the welfare state and immigration, argues that the trusting European welfare state is built on a social homogeneity which is not as present in the United States. This is because while welfare states were constructed in Europe people were relatively homogenous, while the U.S. social safety net was developed where there was already ethnic diversity. Therefore social trust in the U.S was underpinned by an already diverse society, while the European welfare states were faced with heterogeneity later on (Crepaz, 2008: 9). Wallman Lundåsen supports this by stating that the high trust values in Sweden and the Nordic countries could be because of their fairly homogenous societies and therefore that lower trust could in fact be a sign of something positive: a more pluralistic society (Miun, 2014).

The causality of trust and immigration is complex, Crepaz continues to argue, depending on whether trust is seen as an enduring *trait* or a rapidly changing *state*. If trust is seen as a trait, the more trusting a society is, the less “we” perceive the immigrants as “others” – which in practice would mean that the more trusting a society is the less xenophobic the majority population would be and the smaller chance there is for radical right wing parties to break through (Crepaz, 2008: 3). This perception is supported by Crepaz, even though the rising xenophobia through increased support for right wing parties in Sweden suggest otherwise. If trust is instead thought of as a state, increased diversity will undermine its stability, hollow the sense of community and affect the support for the welfare state (Crepaz, 2008: 4).

Agreeing with Crepaz last point, some researchers claim that there are considerable evidence that social and ethnic heterogeneity causes lower levels of social capital. The greater the distance between people concerning social and cultural differences, the more difficult it is to make social connections both between and within groups. Meanwhile there is an absolute increase in prejudice and conflict. On the other hand, if these groups would not come in contact with each other there would be no so called bridging or bonding (over-boundary) trust. The face-to-face contact and the pursuit of common goals is often missing in the daily life of different groups, even though it was considered by Gordon Allport already in 1954 in his contact hypothesis constructed to decrease prejudice. Rather, people tend to be pulled towards the perceived pictures of societal groups in relation to “representative” events in media. These groups may be drawn to so called protected enclaves, places where one sort of social or ethnic group may socialize together (Halpern, 2005: 261).

In a study of trust in Swedish municipalities, socioeconomic factors and ethnic diversity was considered to have a large impact. The differences between people were seen as the cause of this, where those who earned the least money trusted the least. This connection between low income and trust was strengthened alongside the feeling of inequality. A weak status in the labor market was also seen as a factor that contributed to low trust, so that it could be concluded that different forms of diversity or inequality lead to less trust (Svedberg et al., 2013: 138ff.).

While Svedberg et al. have studied the occurrence of trust in different municipalities and found that it was the feeling of injustice that could explain the distrust where socioeconomic diversity was relatively high and that the same goes for ethnic diversity, which lowered the occurrence of local trust, these two factors are connected only partly (Svedberg et. al, 2013: 150). This means that it would be a simplification for instance to say that segregated areas are also socioeconomically challenged. These are two separate contributing factors of distrust, but there are negative effects of inequality even in a fairly equal country such as Sweden (Svedberg et. al., 2013: 150ff.).

Is trust then at war with equality? Do we all need to have what others have in order to feel trust? Social capital, which often binds us with others like us, somewhat reinforces social stratification. Norms and networks that serve some groups may destroy others, especially if they are discriminatory or segregating; “A recognition of the importance of social capital in sustaining community life does not exempt us from the need to worry about how that ‘community’ is defined – who is inside and thus benefits from social capital and who is outside and does not”, Putnam states (2000: 358).

2.2.2 Bonding and bridging social capital

To build social ties among those who already share a common culture, history or personal experience is, nevertheless, very different from building ties among those who do not. It is not done in the same way, as often or consequently with the same result. Also, high levels of in-group trust is indisputable to most societies. It is common that people who are ”inside” a society, who have a job, a family, speaks the majority language, have not committed any crimes and so on, trust those who are similar to themselves (WVS generalizing trust). For this reason it is helpful to distinguish between bonding social capital and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital refers to the ties that link individuals or groups who have much in common, while bridging social capital refers to the ties between individuals or groups across a greater social distance. Both kinds are important to the individual, yet bridging social capital is considered especially important trying to overcome the challenges of ethnic diversity, even though it is also harder to build (Feldstein and Putnam, 2003: 279f.).

Both bonding and bridging trust are potentially made more difficult facing the increased segregation which has been a part of Sweden over the last years. While ethnically segregated areas have become the residence of relatively more immigrants, the increased ethnic heterogeneity seems not to be strongly related to a general decrease in trust in Sweden. Swedes seem to be more tolerant and accepting when it comes to immigration, while at the same time there is an expectation that immigrants should work hard to be assimilated and integrated if they want to be accepted. Accordingly, a study shows that even though a general sense of trust in a country increases, social trust on a local level may decrease in ethnically diverse areas (Svedberg et. al, 2013: 155).

2.2.3 The collective mind of the "in-group"

Rothstein talks about the downward sloping spiral which may be started when a social trap arises, that is when something happens that disturbs the stable levels of social capital in a country. He considers cases of corruption to be an example. Possibly, the debate of an increased number of out-groups or an increased immigration can be seen as other examples. If so, this can be considered the start of a mechanism which puts people in the situation of deciding if most people are not contributing to the situation getting worse (most people are not corrupt, most politicians do not want to increase the out-groups etc.) or if most people are in fact doing just that. Here the collective mind is of great importance – if a person considers "everybody else" to follow the rules, he or she will also follow the rules (Grosse, 2009: 75).

It has sometimes been stated that wars – which would be the extreme of "something happening" – causes solidarity and community to grow and social capital to be extended. The September 11 attacks have made it possible to study this phenomenon. Social capital surveys shows that the interest in public affairs grew alongside the confidence in the federation and in the people running the country after the attacks. The extension of trust was the largest shift ever detected, and brought the government to levels not seen in decades (Halpern, 2005: 209). This can be said to speak to an in-group extension of social capital, yet a greater distance and alienation to those on the outside, when something extreme happens to a society.

The idea that society needs some sort of collective identity, a *demos*, to shape trust among its citizens is seen as undisputable within political philosophy. There seems to be an agreement also that to some extent this *demos* needs to overlap with an *ethnos*. It is not obvious, however, exactly to what extent that is. Is it enough for citizens to have a common understanding of democracy to trust each other, or do they need a common ethnic background (Ervasti and Hjerm, 2012: 155)? A critique of social capital research is that it tends to overemphasize the positive sides of networking and strong ethnic groupings, while overlooking power relations and hierarchies within groups (Zontini, 2011: 75). Are the in- and out-groups of society formed randomly, or is there not a strong sense of community and "likeness" that constitutes a society? Does not the idea that there is such a "likeness" strengthen the idea as such? Tove Livfendahl states that the story of the weak immigrant really creates the weak immigrant (2003: 192)

2.2.4 Hypotheses of in-group reactions towards a perceived out-group

There are a few hypotheses to contribute to the understanding of the in-group collective mind towards a perceived out-group – in this case the new arrivals – which I think is crucial to be able to discuss also the perceived out-group experiences. To confirm this Stubbergaard notes: "inclusion in a constitutional sense is one thing; true inclusion in society is another" (2014: 222). Being included as a citizen in a society is therefore to have equal rights and duties to that of others

in society, and also experiencing having these rights in practice (Stubbergaard, 2014: 215).

The anti-solidarity hypothesis states that as immigration increases the native resident's reactions towards immigrants as a group are more or less negative and that the social trust among the residents of the country is disturbed. The ethnic heterogeneity undermines the support for redistribution measures in the electorate, considering the welfare state as redistributors of gathered taxes in the form of social security benefits and services. This is due to the unwillingness of the native residents to share resources with people with whom they cannot identify, and is much connected with the proposition that competition over scarce resources is a major catalyst of antagonistic in-group attitudes (Ervasti and Hjerm, 2012: 153ff.). There is an exclusion of those who are not allowed the collective, being a volatile concept – “‘we’ is constructed relative to ‘them’, defining what ‘we’ is not” (Stubbergaard, 2014: 218). The question of who belongs becomes critical. Social homogeneity is seen as crucial to the perception that it is easier to give up social benefits to people who look like you and behave like you (Crepaz, 2008:2). The unwillingness to redistribute would in turn potentially undermine the core to the welfare system and the social trust which surrounds its institutions. The problems to interpersonal trust would in that way spread vertically in the power structures (Ervasti and Hjerm, 2012: 153ff.).

However, there are two major theoretical criticisms towards the anti-solidarity hypothesis: contact theory and the compensation hypothesis. Contact theory embraces the fact that many countries do have stable social developments despite ethnic diversities and therefore the anti-solidarity hypothesis cannot be said to speak the whole truth. Contact theory rather suggest that increased contact with out-groups increases tolerance and decreases prejudice throughout the population, which as a whole contributes to a more accepting and less sensitive society. As immigration increases, the number of contacts between in-groups and out-groups is likely to increase alongside societal tolerance levels. However, such contacts may be both positive and negative, and contacts which are considered voluntary, for instance contacts with friends, are more likely to reduce prejudice than the involuntary contacts from work or neighbors (Ervasti and Hjerm, 2012: 157f.) (Svedberg et. al, 2013: 174).

The compensation hypothesis questions the second part of the anti-solidarity hypothesis, arguing that increased immigration may stimulate support for the welfare state rather than to violate it. Throughout Europe there is a continued support for the welfare state, despite increased immigration and ethnic diversities. Even the radical right in many countries support a strong welfare state. According to the compensation hypothesis, it is likely, due to the increased competition for jobs, benefits and housing, that immigration would in fact increase demand for welfare benefits and redistribution policies. Social trust is also more likely to be affected if jobs are threatened than if social benefits are. Hjerm and Nagayoshi (2011) show that people are more aversive to immigrants if they experience a threat towards their position in the labor market, whereas they do not get more aversive when the threat concerns only the social benefit system (Ervasti and Hjerm, 2012: 158f.).

2.3 Building trust as a perceived out-group

The theories which I draw from the prior research on social trust to use in this paper are the bonding and bridging trust theory and the in-group and out-group dynamics that has already been mentioned. This section will start with the assumption that there is both a bonding and bridging social trust as studied by Robert Putnam, which has separate effects on in-group and out-group trust. Many of the social trust researchers talk about how to go from distrust to trust, but do not mention how individuals that come from a low trust environment get shaped in a high trust environment. I think that the discussion of bonding and bridging trust is the closest social trust research comes to discussing the building of trust between people who are “unlike” and who experience social exclusion.

Building social capital is often seen as abstract, because no one really sets out to do it. People do set out to give food to homeless, improve integration or make more people vote, and social capital is all of those things, yet it is not a strategy for one person to build trust in a new society. However, theoretically there are some connective strategies that are important for any of the actions to indirectly build social capital. One of these strategies is that size and scope matters. Researchers have repeatedly found that smaller settings react positively with social capital – smaller schools, smaller cities, smaller countries etc. – because the smaller setting forges and sustain connections. This is why Malmö, one of the biggest cities in Sweden, is an excellent case to study to explore social trust change. The big city is not in favor of this theoretical statement, and therefore it may be considered as a ground for founding people who experience trouble building trust.

To overcome the difficulties to build social trust in diverse communities it is important to use bridging social trust in order to find, emphasize and create a new dimension of similarity where bonding can occur (Putnam, 2003: 269ff.).

Bonding and bridging social trust are, as mentioned before, good for different things, and many groups certainly bond along some social dimensions and bridge across others (Putnam, 2000: 23): “Strong ties with intimate friends may ensure chicken soup when you’re sick, but weak ties with distant acquaintances are more likely to produce leads for a new job” (Putnam, 2000: 363). Assuming that it is more likely that people who come from another ethnic background than Sweden do not have the same networks of contacts that someone who was born in the country has, these ethnic groups are also less likely to experience little amount of bridging social trust which in turn would make it more difficult to get a job etc. This would be likely to cause a vicious cycle for social capital within these groups and a lowering of trust (Putnam, 2000: 322). Putnam underlines the importance of such bridging social trust for those he calls the “disadvantaged” of society, while their already weak ties to other groups of society bring the segregated bonded groups closer together (Putnam, 2011: 197). Having extensive networks is very lucrative in theory, he even mentions a study that shows that each employed person in one’s social network increases one’s annual income by \$1,400 (Putnam, 2000: 322).

Yet, that values, identity and ethnicity are crucial to the understanding of people’s minds and their social world, also in social trust research. All these things

matter to the maintenance of trust. Networking and family building are also essential to forming this identity, and one must consider the complexity of such relations when considering networking and social trust (Zontoni, 2011: 80).

Solheim talks about “relational capital”, where the value of a person’s resources have direct or indirect results for the relations one have to other people. There are three types of such capital of relations. Positional capital is about optimizing ones investments in social relations. To increase networking it is important to be active in several networks at the time, instead of having a few social contacts in one network. Confidence capital is rather the capital which can be activated or used from the reputation one have of being a reliable person. Commitment capital is the value of commitment in a social relation and what promises of common interest can give to a relation (Solheim, 2009: 147).

The binding social trust and a feeling of community or belonging within one’s ethnic group is important for integration: there needs to be respect for one’s cultural identity. Empowerment in organizations, even within the ethnic group, may withdraw to creating greater confidence for people in Sweden and the overall perceived mentality of a country. People that are organized in ethnic organizations are more likely to have also national friends and be a part of national groupings. There is evidence to suggest that if one trusts one’s own ethnic groupings it is more likely that one also trusts national groupings. The same goes for the opposite situation, if one do not trust one’s “own” groupings one is also more likely not to trust a perceived insider or majority population.

However, binding social trust may also have a negative effect as it may work as isolating from integration. If a group of people are only networking with each other they will be isolated from the world around them, in risk of what is called the Hells Angels’ syndrome. The social trust of a group may also work negatively in relation to other groupings, stated by Rothstein and Kumlin. Such organizations may be built on the distrust towards other groups, and may be compared to the groupings of society where a sense of “we” and “them” is very strong (Kuusela, 2009: 221f.). In that way, bonding social trust, “by creating strong in-group loyalty, may also create strong out-group antagonism”.

The complexity and dynamics of in-group and out-group trust, and of binding and bridging social trust, will be my theoretical ground in the continuation of this paper. Thus, this theoretical go-through will guide the empirical parts of the paper and the analysis.

3 Methodology

To be able to conduct research on trust it is important to know how to estimate trust and what implications such estimations might have. As have already been stated, in political science the research on social trust is in fact often research directed towards confidence. Much of the research considers confidence in political institutions and politicians on the one hand and the civic society on the other. Researchers often draw from what is considered the general trust question, again: "Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?" (WVS, 2012: 3). This is a general question with two dichotomic answers drawn to the extreme of: do you trust people or not? There are sometimes variations in the wording of the question and also in the number of answers. Sometimes alternatives such as "Agree with both" and "Agree with none" are included, yet the question is most commonly accompanied by the two answer possibility.

Julia Grosse critiques the validity of the conclusions drawn from this single question, mostly because it is bold to try to measure social trust when in fact most of the research are individual evaluations of the answers given. Also, the two answers are too black and white to catch any nuances of the respondent's experiences as the questions and answers may be subjectively interpreted by each respondent. To be "very careful", for instance, is a stronger statement and more emotionally binding than being "careful".

3.1 Type of interviews and sampling method

My methodology for collecting material will as a result of my explorative research design and the critique of quantitative measurements of trust rather be conducted through qualitative interviews, to try to catch as many nuances as I can and fill a gap of such "lost dynamics". My aim is to explore and to maximize the possible viewpoints that can be collected in the scope of this study. I wanted my interviewees to be of different ages, but all adults, so that they have an understanding of how it is to deal with authorities in Sweden and in their countries of origin. They could be both men and women, and from different ethnic backgrounds. However, I wanted them to have come to Sweden recently, within the last two years, to be able to speak of and remember their first time experiences and what it is like to build or erode trust in a new country.

I will make use of a theoretical understanding of *intensity* and *maximum variance*, in order to do so. Intensity means that I attempted to find interviewees that corresponded to the qualities of my research aim: they should be living in

Malmö and be new arrivals to Sweden. I also wanted them to be adults. All of these qualities I have found in my interviewees. Maximum variance means that I tried to find interviewees that differed as much as possible beyond the qualities they have in common and that are compatible with the research aim, for instance in age, gender, occupation and ethnic background (Esaïasson et. al, 2007: 292ff.). I wanted not to show the experiences of one particular ethnicity, but to, again, show a variety of perspectives from the viewpoint of a new arrival.

3.1.1 Locating interviewees

To locate interviewees in Malmö I contacted several different instances. Firstly, I contacted people at Lund University and Malmö Högskola, who in any way have been concerned with similar areas of interest or could have any guidance for me. Unfortunately, I got the answer that interviewees for in-depth conversations are hard to find, so my search had to go on. I talked also to representatives from Malmö Stad and different organizations in enclaves of Malmö where there is a high ethnic diversity. These, though, were organizations for people with the same ethnic background, such as Svensk-Iranska föreningen (Swedish Irani Organization). These organizations would not be able to provide me with interviewees that would fit the maximum variance criteria, as they share a similar ethnic background. An alternative would have been to pick only one or two people from each organization. However, I did not get that many answers from different organizations. I also contacted language cafés and libraries that offered homework help groups, yet I got no affirmative answers from them.

I was also in contact with representatives for “I Malmö möts vi!” which is a contact forum for Swedish people and people with other ethnic backgrounds who want to meet. From talking to people there I got in contact with Språkcaféet Ung in JobbMalmö which is a meeting place and a café where young people of different ethnic backgrounds come to speak Swedish and hang out. I was luckily invited there and got to introduce my work to the people there during one of their meetings.

At the meeting there were eight men and one woman. All of them accepted to participate in an interview, and I was pleased since it had been difficult to find interviewees. However, as I emailed these people hindsight the meeting, only a few of them answered. This could be because of the fact that in a group where everyone else was signing up for the interviews they as well felt obliged to do so, or that they felt obliged to me in any way meeting me in person. I respected that not all of these people answered me and had to look for more interviewees elsewhere, not at least because of the fact that there were so few women. If I would not integrate more women into the study it could possibly be considered a limitation not to account for the fact that men and women might give different answers to how they trust people – especially considering that situations of gender equality might differ between some of their religious cultures and the situation in Sweden.

Therefore, I got in contact with Språkcafé Nobel, which is another café of equal measures but for people over 25 years of age, also located at JobbMalmö. There another three women and one man wanted to sign up for my interviews. Yet, again

some of them did not answer my emails and I had to return to find two more interviews. The interviewees at last turned out to be six men and four women. Since the aim of this thesis is to examine the thoughts about trust of some new arrivals in Malmö, I consider the gender division not to be equal, but fair enough to suite the purpose.

The number of interviewees also corresponds to the methodological assumption of theoretical fullness, meaning that one will continue to conduct interviews as long as new results are given. After conducting half of the interviews I felt that I had quite a clear view of some of the problems a new arrival to Sweden might face. However, I wanted more stories and wanted to hear the variety in how these were told, as the stories might tell me not only what the interviewees have in common but also what differs between them. When having talked to six men and two women I felt I wanted more input from women, even though the answers given to me started to be repetitive. I interviewed two more women, so that all in all I had ten interviews recorded. Then I felt I had a lot of material from a varied group of interviewees in terms of country of origin, age, gender, profession and so on. Also I had to consider the trade-off between quantity of interviews and the quality of analysis. According to Esaiasson et. al. ten interviews is a sufficient number to be able to make an interesting analysis (2007: 292). However, this must be considered for each study, and as I had the number ten in the back of my head I still searched for new answers and angles to approach my research questions. After having conducted ten interviews I did feel that I had more than sufficient material to analyse in the scope of my study, also having felt that some of the stories or answers were similar in kind and reoccurring – which is a sign of theoretical fullness. However, the interviewees should not be considered a representative selection, as with the explorative research design the purpose with the interviews is to generate ideas rather than to come to generalizable conclusions (Esaiason et. al., 2007: 214).

3.2 Interview questions

Interviews are, as opposed to questionnaires, a better chance at receiving qualitative answers which were not expected by the researcher. This is because during an interview it is possible to interact and to ask new questions to follow up unexpected answers. Therefore my interviews was also be semi-structured (Esaiasson et al., 2007: 283f.). Striving towards keeping a “normal conversation” also increases the likelihood that the interviewees will feel comfortable enough to answer honestly.

When forming the question sheet (Appendix 1) it is important to consider the order of the questions so that the conversation does not jump from one area of interest to another. It is important to think of both content and form of the questions. The content of the questions should respond well to the aim of the study. The form is important to consider, so that the questions are short, easy to understand but still creates a dynamic and live conversation. The interviewees must feel curious and encouraged to share his or hers experiences. The most lucrative interview situation

is where the questions are short and the answers long (Esaiasson et. al., 2007: 298). This I have tried to accomplish with the questions of this study.

When conducting the interviews, I started by some warming up questions about the interviewees' *backgrounds*. This is important to create a good contact and to make the interviewee feel comfortable. Following were questions according to themes, which are the most common questions in most interview situations. These are questions of an open kind that the interviewee will answer with as little interference from the researcher as possible (Esaiasson et. al., 2007: 298f.). For instance I ask them to tell me about their first time in Sweden and about what they do when they wake up on a normal day in Malmö. From this I can draw stories on how their first time impressions of Sweden and how they interact with people.

The themes for the questions, which will also function as a ground for the analysis, is: *first impressions*, *daily life in Malmö* and *networking*. I mix the thematic questions with follow up questions, to get a more in-depth answer where appropriate and where the interview welcomes it. The semi-structured nature of the interview makes that possible. In the end, to round of, I ask more direct questions about *trust and integration* (Esaiasson et. al., 2007: 298f.). All in all, I try to concern both informal and formal contacts in a new country, as well as the experienced inclusion of the new arrival, as done also by Stubbergaard in her study of experienced citizenship (2014: 236).

While constructing the question sheet I considered the questions in a study made by Spännar on the experiences of people with different cultural backgrounds (2001: 229). Also I considered the World Value Survey trust questions, as I still think it is important to look to the validated research in the field of social trust. Since I was looking for a more in-depth analysis than these general questions I remade them to suit my purpose, as will show from some of the questions. Except for the general trust question, there are two which considers interpersonal trust. The first one is: "I'd like to ask you how much you trust people from various groups. Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all?" with the different "groups" being family, the neighborhood, people you know personally, people you meet for the first time, people of another religion and people of another nationality. Since I did not want to guide the interviewees in any direction or to point out any particular groups, I decided to remake this question into concerning wider groups such as authorities and people in Sweden: "Do you trust them (authorities) to do their job?" and "Would you say that you generally can trust most people? In your country of origin? In Sweden?". This would also be the focus of the general trust question of this study, concerning the individual (are you generally trusting?) rather than the people (can people generally be trusted?), which I think is more suitable to the research aim, and in reference to the second World Value Survey question on social trust: "I see myself as someone who is generally trusting" (World Value Survey, 2012: 3ff.).

Some of the questions may seem a bit simplified in their nature, as I am asking for whether or not the new arrivals feel in- or outside of the society, or whether or not people they meet in Sweden seem cold or hard to get to know – however, this speaks exactly to the kind of generalizations I want to study and to be able to pinpoint whether the interviewees hold such "facts" of groups or qualities of people

as true, I must ask for them. The perceived image the interviewees have of the society or of the “Swedish people”, I think, will be crucial to the way their trust is built. For instance, if they believe that Swedish people are cold maybe they are less likely to speak to them, no matter if it is true or not. This, in turn, will affect the way they build trust.

3.3 Network charts

I have asked my interviewees to fill out a network chart, as a demonstration of the people they meet in their daily life in Malmö. I explained that in the middle of the chart the interviewee was illustrated by a “ME” surrounded by six categories: friends, family, relatives, formal contacts (authorities), work/education and spare time/organizations. I asked them to fill in the people they meet on a daily basis, and to put the ones that they considered closer to themselves closer to the middle of the paper. Some interpreted the task freely as people they talk to on a daily basis and included family members they talk to via Skype etc.

I wanted this element to be located in the middle of the interview, so that the interviewees did not get passive. As a method filling out a network chart is a way to focus the interview and portray in a concentrate what is sometimes hard to explain with words (Skårner, 2001: 34). The charts would also provide me with a greater understanding of their bridging and bonding networks. While considering the charts, I asked the interviewees the thematic questions on networking: “Can you tell me something about what people you most often meet in your daily life?”, “Approximately, how many of these are people come from the same country as you do and how many are Swedish people or from another ethnic background?”, “Are you involved in any activities or organizations on your spare time?” and so on. I asked them to tell me which network is the most important to their life in Malmö and also to compare the chart with how it would have looked if they would have made it in their country of origin.

3.4 Interview settings

Most of the interviews were conducted in a closed room at JobbMalmö, where Språkcafé Nobel and Språkcafé Ung are located. One of the interviews, though, was conducted in a café at JobbMalmö and two of them were conducted in an open office area after most employees had gone home. One of the interviews, on a day when JobbMalmö was closed, was conducted in a park nearby to the place where the interviewee lived. Both the café and the park were environments chosen by the interviewees themselves. My only criteria was that I wanted to meet at a place where we would not be disturbed, and that was not too personal (like the interviewee’s home, even though no one suggested this) as I would like to keep a

professional yet comfortable atmosphere between me and the interviewee. I think that all of these places were suitable for my interview sessions, as they all were familiar to the interviewees.

My goal for the interviews was to speak for about an hour with each person, and from that thought I have constructed the question sheet. As people are more or less talkative some of the interviews were a bit longer, while some were shorter.

3.4.1 Recordings and transcriptions

I recorded all of my interviews, after being granted permission to do so by the interviewees. This was in order to be active during the interviews and to not have to write all that was said down, which also would have been untenable, because of the length of the interviews. It was also for validity reasons, to be able to listen to the recordings in the future. From the transcriptions of the interviews (Appendix 2) I will use quotations in the analysis section of the paper. For those interviews that were held in Swedish I have also made translations into English, so that the quotations would be uniform.

For whomever may read this, however, it should be taken into account that it is always better to read the original transcription if possible, as some nuances may get lost during a translation process. It should also be added that the interviewees do not speak neither Swedish nor English as their mother tongue. Any linguistic errors on my or their part have been included, and not corrected, when conducting the transcriptions for the sake of keeping the authenticity of the conversation. When translating I have tried to translate what I remember as the intention of what was said, where there has been any problems of understanding. I have made both the transcriptions and translations soon after conducting the interviews, so that I would remember as much as possible from the conversations during that process. The presentation of the transcriptions I consider crucial for validity reasons, since a study with qualitative interviews can never be replicated. Even though one might speak to the same people again, it is not certain they would give the same answers.

3.5 Moral considerations

When interviewing people in a sometimes vulnerable situation – some of which do not yet have a stable life situation, a job, a permission to study or sufficient language skills – to have an ethical discussion is important. I always underlined, while trying to find people to interview and while conducting the interviews, that they are voluntary and that any answer they may give to my questions are good enough. Some of the interviewees were worried that their answers were not interesting to my research, but I told them that I wanted their story.

As I mentioned, I also offered the interviewees to conduct the interviews in either Swedish or English to enhance the fact that the communication of their story

was what is most important. I did not think that this was a major problem, though, as they were all very skilled in Swedish or in English.

Furthermore, I offered the interviewees anonymity. Even though none of them asked me for this at first I still decided to take away their last names, their exact age, any information on their place of residence where mentioned and also I censored what I considered to be sensitive information, since I think that such information would not be important to the study itself and also would possibly be harmful to the interviewees. Even though the interviewees do not consider that a problem, it is my responsibility as a researcher to see the consequences any publication of this kind could have and therefore I choose to censor these parts. These parts are marked according to a system explained in Appendix 2.

Lastly, I sent around all of the transcriptions from the recordings for the interviewees to read, to correct any misunderstandings and to tell me if there was anything else they wished to censor, as it is crucial to the intersubjectivity and validity of this research for it to be as correct as possible meanwhile the anonymity of the interviewees is perceived. They all agreed to having the texts in this thesis, after taking part in the censoring process.

3.6 Limitation of method

The new arrivals whom I have interviewed all come to Språkcaféet or Språkcafé Ung, and may therefore be considered active in the sense that they try to learn Swedish and try to connect to other people. This could be considered a limitation, since there are people who may be even more on the perceived “outside” than these interviewees and that have such low trust that they might not even show up to such events. Those people would therefore not even be considered as possible interview persons for my study. Also, the fact that the interviewees agreed to be interviewed by me already says something about their trust in Swedish people. However, as a researcher, such limitations are difficult to get passed. The importance lies in knowing their existence, and in this case to consider the interviewees as new arrivals who all have a story to tell.

For this study it was also most important to get to conduct qualitative interviews in an environment where the interviewees would feel comfortable to tell me about their situation. Therefore it was more important to me to talk to people that I could reach out to and build confidence with, even though this might mean that they are considered “active” or part in an organization. Through Språkcaféet I got to introduce myself in front of the group, an opportunity I would not have had if trying to reach people less active via their home or enclaves of Malmö, which have been the way to conduct similar research by for instance Muhammad Azzam who studied young people in Rosengård (2013). Språkcaféet also gave me the opportunity to talk to people from very varying backgrounds and countries, which I think is of great value to this study and to the exploring of different experiences of coming to Sweden from a low trust environment. Taking into account also, that some of the interviewees would not at all identify themselves as active. Therefore, even though

it might be considered somewhat a limitation to have gone through an organization to get in contact with all of my interviewees, I think it might also be considered a strength. In any case, I have included many quotations in the actual analysis so that the reader can make up his or hers own opinion about the stories.

3.6.1 My role as the interviewer

It is impossible when conducting interviews not to consider my role as a researcher in the interview setting. The fact that the interviewees are answering to me, a Swedish person by name and tongue, may in several aspects appear to affect the study. In general, though, I felt that the interviewees were very happy to talk to me and open to discuss my questions. They never rejected any of them or seemed at all unwilling to answer them. As I explained my background and my aim for this paper, they never seemed to oppose my intentions. Sometimes I felt that they might want to help me a bit too much, or that they felt indebted to give me “good” answers about Sweden as if I would in any way take offence if they would not. However, I think that I was clear about the fact that I wanted to hear their stories and overall I think that their openness is a sign of them feeling comfortable with the situation.

3.6.2 Different backgrounds, different answers?

My interviewees come from very different backgrounds, and they have come to Sweden for very different reasons as do most new arrivals. All have unique stories, and while some had to flee their country because of violence, others come to study, work or start a family in a new environment – which actually represents the variety of reasons why new arrivals come to Sweden (Migrationsverket, 2014). For the interviewees who have a background of violence and trauma their perception of the Swedish society and their trust towards people in this country may of course be affected negatively by that, as they may have a hard time to trust. Yet, it is not entirely obvious whether or not they will feel more or less trust, as even the worst case scenario in Sweden may seem better than the violent circumstances from which they have come. I cannot stress enough that it is in fact these *different answers* and this complexity I am looking for, as a mean of approaching my research aim – to understand the dynamics of how new arrivals can build trust in a high trust country. To some extent though I have expected common answers, and therefore I have also searched the reoccurrence of similar answers.

3.7 Analytical approach – Finding the stories

Given the fact that the essential material of this study is the interviews and the stories that are given to me by the interviewees, I have chosen to make use of a narrative analysis. In a narrative analysis, it is the stories themselves that are in the

focus of attention. Narratives is the gathering of expressed human agency and imagination, a way for the human being to make sense of the world. If looked at in this way, narratives may tell us something about the social world that we live in; they can be said to reflect both reality and perceived identity (Reissman, 2000).

How narrative analysis is used differs between disciplines. Yet, a narrative is always distinguished by temporal ordering and sequencing. There is usually a story of how something happened involving a number of events, a turning point and a resolution. Narratives can be seen as the expressed themes of performing a social identity (Reissman, 2000). When studying the possibility of perceived groupings of society, such stories may help understand the way they are imposed.

I have chosen to look at the narratives as they are specifically told in response to my question themes, which are my operationalization to estimating social trust: background, first impressions, daily life in Malmö, networking and trust and integration. In any analysis the decision of where these stories start and end will have to be interpreted by me as a researcher and therefore shaped by my theoretical interests (May, 2011: 153) (Reissman, 2000). However, being aware of my role as an interpreter of the results, I can to a greater extent take that role into account when analysing my results and try to walk around it.

The analytical work has been conducted parallel to the process of transcribing the interviews. This was a circular process, more than something happening step by step. When writing down and reading the interviews I marked sections of interest, either because they seem to reoccur from different interviewees or because they seemed like unique stories that could widen the understanding of how new arrivals may experience the transition from a low to a high trust environment.

4 Interviewees

In this chapter I will present my interviewees. I have met with ten new arrivals to Sweden who all live in Malmö and who come from Syria, Croatia, Iran, Kyrgyzstan, Kenya, Argentina, Pakistan and Turkey. One of the interviewees have a censored country of origin, yet I have the permission to state that this is one of the Middle East countries. Keeping in mind the fact that a general trust level can be seen as a rather static view of a country where great inner divisions may exist, I may still present the general trust levels also for the countries of origin of these people as I have done for Sweden. This will be done after the presentations of each person below. The presentations will come in the same order as the interviews were conducted.

4.1 Presentation of interviewees

- *Samer* is a man in his 30's. He comes from a country in the Middle East. His parents, wife and children are still living there. Samer came to Sweden two years ago, and has since then been studying SFI (Swedish For Immigrants) in order to complement his education. He is educated within the field of health.
- *Petar* is a man in his 30's. He came to Sweden two months ago from Croatia, where all of his family including his wife still lives. In Croatia he worked as a teacher, but since he has to validate his degree in Sweden he cannot take a job as a teacher here. He is currently applying for other jobs.
- *Maurice* comes from Syria. He is a man in his 30's. His father still lives in Syria, but his mother, brother and sister is living in Sweden. He has worked in the restaurant business in Syria and also in Gothenburg when he first moved to Sweden two years ago. In Malmö he is applying for a job.
- *Fariborz* is a man in his 20's who comes from Iran. One year ago he came to live with his mother who had already moved to Sweden. In Iran he was an industry student and in Sweden he is studying Swedish to be able to go to the University.
- *Lara* is a woman in her 30's, and she comes from Kyrgyzstan. She came to Malmö two years ago. In Kyrgyzstan she worked as a journalist with two master degrees. Now she is studying Swedish and applying for a job.
- *Purity* is a woman in her 30's who comes from Kenya. Before moving to Sweden eight months ago she had been living in Denmark for twelve years. She is married and has one child, and is educated within the field of health. She is currently applying for a job.

- *Jose* is an Argentinean man in his 30's. He has lived in Spain for seven years, but moved to Sweden five months ago with his Swedish girlfriend. He used to work with technology but is now studying Swedish in SFI.
- *Muhammad* is a man in his 20's who comes from Pakistan. He moved to Sweden with his Danish girlfriend after residing in Denmark for a short while. This was fifteen months ago. He is educated within the financial business, but is currently waiting for a Swedish social security number so that he can study SFI.
- *Derya* is a woman in her 30's who comes from Iran. She moved to Sweden to stay with her Danish husband two years ago. She has one daughter. She worked within the medical business in Iran, yet is now studying a basic program so that she can later continue her studying.
- *Saba* is a Turkish woman in her 40's who came to Sweden one year ago. There she had been working with woman's rights. Now she is studying Swedish in SFI. Saba's daughter still lives in Turkey, but her sister lives in Sweden.

4.1.1 General trust levels of interviewees' countries of origin

To prove that the countries which the new arrivals come from are lower trust environments, at least statistically, compared to Sweden, I will here present the general trust levels of these countries. Remembering that Sweden got 134,5 in the trust index presented in the beginning of the paper, where 100 means that there is an equal number of people answering "Most people can be trusted" and "Need to be very careful" to the general trust question and that any number above indicates that there is a majority choosing the first alternative and a minority choosing the second, and vice versa, the statistics will be presented.

The statistics for these countries is gathered in a compilation of data from the World Value Survey, European Value Survey, Global Barometer and Latino Barómetro. I will present the databases within brackets alongside the year when the data was collected.

Sweden – 134,5	(WVS, 2006)
Pakistan – 65,0	(EVS/WVS, 2001)
Argentina – 40,6	(Latino Barómetro, 2008)
Croatia – 38,7	(EVS/WVS, 1999)
Kyrgyzstan – 33,7	(EVS/WVS, 2003)
Iran – 21,8	(WVS, 2005)
Kenya – 20,0	(Global Barometer, 2005)
Turkey – 10,5	(WVS, 2007)

Even though these statistical surveys are performed in many countries and over a long period of time, for some countries, like Syria, there unfortunately is no data at all. This is a limitation to my study, since I cannot simply assume that Syria is a country with a lower general trust level than Sweden. However, it is likely, considering the political climate in Syria and the fact that there has not even been a

study in this area, that the general trust level is lower than Sweden. In any case, the interview material from Maurice and also from Samer, who comes from a country I have censored, must be considered in the light of them as new arrivals to Sweden. They have in any case experienced two different trust environments, and also the situation of being new in a foreign high trust environment. Furthermore, the general trust levels must mostly be considered as a stepping stone in reference to the research aim of this paper, illustrating the transition from one (likely lower) trust environment to another (likely higher) trust environment.

From these statistics it is clear that the countries that can be mentioned as the interviewees' countries of origin must not only be considered lower trusting environments than Sweden, but also *distrusting* environments (<100) as opposed to Sweden which is a *trusting* environment (>100).

5 The stories

The first thing I react to, while conducting my interviews, is that several of the interviewees while asked to tell me a bit about themselves at once tell me where they are from even though I have only asked for their name and age. This could obviously be because they feel that such information is important to my study, as they knew a bit of what it was going to be about, yet it could also point to the importance of ethnic identity – especially in a new country.

This could also be a way of explaining to me, as a Swedish person, why they are here as if I would in any way oppose to their reasons for being so. While it should be considered natural to identify with one's ethnicity and for the interviewees to explain the situation that some of them find themselves in, as it is such an extensive part of their everyday life, this could also speak to a perceived feeling of being an outsider in need of "approval" by the perceived insider. Again, it is not the point whether or not they or I are *really* outsiders or insiders of society, but rather what they perceives us to be, which is important to remember throughout this analysis.

5.1 Background – Arriving to Sweden

Even though the interviewees come from very different backgrounds, they all have in common some kind of difficulty to either get a job, to start education or to speak the language. Some of the interviewees are well educated, for instance Samer that used to have a big responsibility working with health in hospitals and Lara who has two master degrees. Leaving their career and sometimes family behind, they are still positive in arriving to Sweden. For others it is extremely emotionally difficult to leave their countries of origin. For Saba coming to Sweden has affected her health, as she could not take her daughter with her.

I decided to go to Sweden. That's why I'm here, but it was really sad for me all of last year. Throughout the years. I cried a lot, I had many problems with my health. My stomach, my heart, my heart, my head (...) There was no choice for me. (p. 201)

The new arrivals spend much time overcoming the obstacles that comes from being new in any country – they have to validate their University degrees, get a Swedish social security number, learn the language, find new friends and so on. Petar describes the stay in Sweden as something almost put "on hold" for the distant future. To be able to have the job and life he desires there are things that needs to

be done “in the beginning” and “before” being able to work with what he is educated to do:

In the beginning I would probably need to get a job in a kitchen, because I need to validate my diplomas and papers. And also before I learn really good Swedish I don't think I can get a job. (p. 77)

This could be considered a trap for social trust as the new arrival would not only have to adapt to living in a new country, but would perhaps also have to reeducate or get some other job. That could be a source of dissatisfaction and a setback for identification with what one do.

5.1.1 ”I will say I’m Swedish”

When asked about their reasons for coming to Sweden, the interviewees have very different stories. Some come to meet up with their family members who have moved earlier on, some come for work or to leave the low salaries in their country of origin, some come for political reasons and others to escape their situation in a violent conflict. Not all of them plan for a future in Sweden. Maurice is one of those who are not sure:

I came here because there is a problem with my home country. And if I had no problem in my country, I can come here as a visitor to Sweden and then go to back to home country. (p. 92)

The feeling of not being sure if he is staying or not would perhaps influence on the motivation to be active in changing his situation. Maurice is torn between calling Sweden his home or not.

And then I think, everyone in Sweden this is your home. Not for me (...) If the Swedish people want me outside okay, I'll go outside (...) At the same time I think it is my homeland and Sweden, I think homeland, I do not know. (p. 98)

Samer, on the other hand, is eager to stay in Sweden, even though he may have to go abroad to finish his education. If so, he would consider to come back.

I want to try, yes. Sweden is a beautiful country. The system is different than in [country]. My problem is that we lived in [country] and we lived in [country] with different tradition. So you could decide everything, families decide everything, you always think about tradition, and old tradition, but here in Sweden you could do anything. So I decided I want to start to change. Like Swedish people. (p. 65)

Samer feels that he has already started to adapt to the Swedish culture, because of the fact that in Sweden everything seems possible. This seems to be an active

choice of his, as he "decided to want" to change. He further demonstrates this by referring to himself as Swedish:

Sweden to me is a paradise, because I like Sweden with all my heart. If I should go to another country and they will ask me what country I'm from, I will not say [country], I will say I'm Swedish. (p. 65)

5.1.2 What to expect?

The interviewees seem to have a generally good idea about the Swedish welfare system and the generous social security system before coming to Sweden. Samer explains:

They help me with the Social Services, money and to study, everything, a place to live. They are very nice people. They have very nice values. And I want to work to pay taxes and live normally. Do everything. (p. 66)

This suggests a feeling of having been given the opportunity to start a new life, there is gratitude but perhaps also a feeling of being "indebted". Samer wishes to "do everything" and thus to be part of a normal life in Sweden, where he is not only given rights but also performing duties. That is the only way, the story suggests, that he could feel that he gives back.

Other interviewees are not as clear about Sweden before arriving, they are not entirely sure what to expect. Muhammad describes his coming to Sweden like this:

The thing is, at the start when you come here, you got a limited interaction, you have no friends, you have no one to interact to. You're just alien to the city, you know nothing about the city and the rules and the people. (p. 173)

The new arrival is almost "blank" and open to any new impressions. These impressions will of course then be very important to the new arrival's future stay in Sweden, as it seems that the impressions are rare and waited upon.

5.2 First impressions

5.2.1 "Here one can do anything..."

Most of the interviewees describe their first impressions of Sweden with positive connotations, they feel that the society is more open than their countries of origin and that people are friendly. And little things seem to matter.

Fariborz describes how, when having been in contact with an institution in Sweden there was a rule to say that the personnel must answer him within one month. In Iran, where he comes from, that never happens, he says. So this early

impression of order and responsibility seems positive to him. His coming to Sweden he describes like this:

It was colourful (...) I feel that people here are really good compared to in Iran. They can, they can do what they want. So it's good. (p. 106)

The comparison to his country of origin says something about the possible start of change in social trust, as this story might symbolize the transition from one distrusting environment to a trusting environment it is almost black and white: in Sweden people are “really good”, while in Iran they are not.

In general, that Sweden is a place where dreams come true is mentioned by several of the interviewees. They underline that in Sweden one “can do anything” and fulfil one’s goals. Even though Saba experiences big troubles in her life, she still got hope:

Now I feel I can do everything I want. Yes, but it's hard, it's really difficult for immigrants who live in another country. Everything is new, we have problems with the economy, in the apartment, job, but yes. We have many problems. But there is hope, I think. Yes, there is hope. You have to fight. If you want, you can go. You can find. (p. 201)

5.2.2 “... As long as one is active”

As Sweden is perceived as an open country with many opportunities, one of the things the interviewees repeatedly stress as particularly difficult is making friends. The number of contacts is not only important to feel satisfaction in one’s social life but also important considering that the extension of one’s networks increases the chance to be integrated and to get a job according to the bridging social trust theory. Fariborz explains his trouble making friends:

It is difficult in Iran too, but here it is not so good. To find friends (...) Here in Sweden, people are really nice when you meet them for two to three minutes. They say: “Hey! How are you? How are you today?” but when you have to, when you want to create a relationship it's hard”. (p. 106)

This points to a general feeling that as a new arrival people seem even harder to get to know, but also that as a new arrival one have to be active. If one do not have such a personality or outgoingness it will be difficult. This is also portrayed by several of the interviewees referring to age as an obstacle to finding new friends and thus to create bridging trust. It seems that one has to fit the “right” criteria of being young and socially talented, or otherwise one will be punished for not being so. Maurice tells a story of distrust:

The first time there is a new culture, new values, new people, new language. Everything is new for me. Everything. And I'm old, [age], if I came here when I was

*15 or 16. For young people, no problem. Now I have no friends from Sweden (...)
And I have a lot of problems, I cannot talk with any person. (p. 92)*

To ask the interviewees if they had in any way encountered the cliché in real life that Swedish people are seemingly a bit closed or hard to get to know, we discussed this in relation to how difficult it could be to get new friends. Several of the interviewees also identified with it being especially difficult to get Swedish friends and to find people whom they may speak Swedish to. When Jose was asked if he missed Spain, where he lived before moving to Sweden and where he knew the language, he says:

Maybe I miss the easy part, it was easy for me. Here I have to constantly try and try and try to understand. (p. 166)

5.2.3 “I trust Swedish people more than immigrants”

Even though Swedish people are portrayed as distantly friendly, being a bit cold and closed, both Jose and Samer describe how they do rather trust “Swedish” people than immigrants in Sweden. This statement comes from Samer:

I like to meet Swedish people and trust them more than immigrants. It's true. Because Swedish people, they are, you can, they are more true. They won't trick you as much as an immigrant. (p. 73)

In that way the new arrival could be said to adapt to the growing mentality in Sweden to not trust the foreigner or the “other”, even though the new arrival could still be perceived as an outsider him- or herself. Jose describes a situation where he does not trust immigrants.

Yes, a bike shop, everyone there is from Syria or Arabic people who I don't trust. Because, they say, a price, and I say: “No, less” (...) They know that if you are Swedish, you pay if they say a price, you pay or not. But you say nothing, you would never say: “No, less”. But that does not work. I just say: “No” and they say “No” and I: “Why?”. I do not trust them. (p. 164)

5.2.4 ”Swedish people are naïve”

Jose describes the trusting quality of Swedish people to sometimes be naïve, as it can be taken advantage of. Going to SFI, he has met a friend who says he does not want to finish SFI as he gets money from the municipality to go there and also because while going there employers will receive a higher contribution from the state. It seems to make no sense that he should finish his education as it is not obvious that it would benefit him in language skills as much as a concrete job would do.

Also, Jose takes the example of him, if he would have wanted to, being able to skip buying a ticket while taking the bus or the train, since it is “normal” that people in Sweden pay for their tickets – and therefore he will not get caught. Suggesting that “it is not us who trust to little, it is you that trust too much”.

I can do bad things, I can do the not so good things, I can take the bus and don't pay. I can take the subway, or the metro does not exist here but... Train. I can take the train and don't pay (...) there are many that do that, but sometimes it is Swedish so they don't think like that. Because you have to pay. It is normal for you to think that, but for us, it is not. We can think differently. (p. 157)

The bringing of one mentality into a new environment will seem to define what is “normal”, also underpinning the sense that the “other” has different values and will act differently. At the same time Jose does not want to take advantage of this naivety. He goes on to tell the story of him coming to a job interview in Sweden, being honest telling the recruiter what he is not very good at.

I say: "I'm not very good at it" when they ask, because I was afraid that if I say yes (...) I have to do it and I'm not so good at it, and then I would do wrong for them and for me too. But (...) I think the Swedish people trust you if you say they can trust you. (p. 165)

The impression that the Swedish system is so dependent on everybody telling the truth and keeping to the rules, rather makes the new arrival cautious – perhaps even more cautious than a person born in Sweden would be.

5.2.5 ”Mañana, mañana, tomorrow, tomorrow”

As I did ask a couple of questions about the formal contacts and authorities, the interviewees also came to talk about social capital and confidence in institutions and authorities. I asked them whether or not they trusted the Swedish authorities they had been in contact with. Some of the interviewees describe the trust for institutions to be dragged down by inefficiency. Samer who has lived in Spain describes the situation in Sweden as similar to that, even though he do not wish to compare the countries otherwise.

I trust the Migration Board, the Employment Service, I trust everything, everybody. But there is only one problem here in Sweden. The time. Time is, you have to take it slowly (...) Maybe it's the weather. That people are cold. Understand? Not like in [country]. So I liked the way I lived in Spain during a year, in Alicante, and they always said “Mañana, mañana, mañana”. If I would say “Tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow, then I will do this for you”. And then they will say: “When are your papers ready? When? Mañana, mañana, tomorrow, tomorrow” (...) So, I think Spain have this system because they are not the same as Sweden, but there is no difference. (p. 67)

Also, since the high trust qualities of the Swedish welfare system are well-known, some of the new arrivals have also built expectations to what the Swedish system “should” be like, expecting good welfare and well-managed help. Muhammad tells the story of his preconceived image.

There’s a perception for a person from out of the Europe that comes in the first world country, there’s a perception that everything will be organized systematically and well-managed. So when I, there was messy, but I had to stand in the queue and when I got to the reception I asked things the lady was very rude and she was not helping me a lot. (p. 167)

This also underlines the impact one person or the experience of one situation might have to the trust in people and in institutions. One meeting can erode the feeling of trust, considering the story of Jose:

Even when I come here. I went to the job interview, it was not very good people there too. They say something, and then they do something else. So I felt, “Am I in Sweden or?”, so there are bad people everywhere. (p. 164)

From this one can see the perceived image of Sweden as a place where people keep their promises. Also, it is interesting to reflect over the fact that a person that considers himself not to trust others may see that there are “bad people” everywhere, while a trusting person rather see that most people are good. While both can see exceptions to these two extremes, it is a matter of approach, which also possibly will affect the first encounter with other people.

The lack of information also causes a lack in trust for Jose:

But you know those things from talking to other people, not when you look at the home page, you receive no information from the Employment Service. It’s okay, there are many people who ask for help. I don’t think, they’ll find a job for me. I will get myself. (p. 160)

The comparison is often made to the new arrivals’ countries of origin. Sometimes the feeling that a corrupted environment also has rules is strong, even though the rules are very different from those in Sweden. Things can be easily fixed if one has the means and contacts to do it, Samer says:

For example, if I’m doing my passport and then (...) I can talk to the boss and he will call them and he said to them: “We need passport now”, and they can’t say no in [country]. If I have a problem with the police we can stop the problem with the police. (p. 73)

Purity also describes a situation where “money talks”, which is described as both “good” and “dangerous”. The system works, but it is not trustworthy.

My country don't have system, we are so corrupt in my country and there money talks even if you shoot somebody. The police comes, you give him money and he shuts up. So, it's so corrupt. And I don't like that kind of things because it's good and it's dangerous. Because anything works there, you don't trust people there. (p. 137)

5.3 Daily life in Malmö

5.3.1 The wait

Some of the interviewees describe the waiting coming to a new country as exhausting and as putting life on hold. Since they cannot study or work, because of not having the permission to do so, a social security number, for not finding a job or for any other reason, they do not receive much money and are limited in their contacts with people. This affects not only the interviewees but their entire families, if they too are in Sweden. Purity tells the story of her teenage son who has had trouble entering school in Sweden, since he had to stay at home for many months before he was permitted to go there, yet has finally started to make friends. Since Purity's family might have to move when they are out of a contract she is scared that he will be depressed having to move again:

So my worry is like maybe we have no house, out of money and my son now have just been trying to have colleagues and is now going to school again. And now I have to move again. You know. And he is going to be 13 in August and that age is really really dangerous and I maybe destroy all his life because of this chaos. (p. 127)

5.3.2 "You have to start from zero"

Purity goes on to tell the story of her living in Denmark, which could be considered quite a similar high trust and welfare based country as Sweden. She then had employment, but got to work hard to build a good life. This could not be compared to the conditions in her country of origin, she says.

People think: "Oh, Europe", everybody want to come here, to sell their lands and everything, but when they come here even if you do really well and work nice job there, you come here you start from zero. And they don't get it. This will work so hard. In Denmark I don't have makeup, I don't make my nails, I'm just waking up and work work work every day. So when I go to Africa I have much money in my bag, but I look like a mess. And you say them that there is chaos, they don't have that much money. Then you tell them how much you owe, and they: "Wow, that's a lot of money". I tell, they have no idea I pay rent. (p. 133)

5.3.3 Passing time

Even though having troubles to get into an education or to find a job, the interviewees mostly try not to be isolated at home but try to go out and to meet people. Samer describes a typical day like this:

When I end the class I will come to Malmö to Språkcafé. I meet Swedish people and talk to them. Then I go to the City Library and meet Swedish people, read books and sit at the computer. And then I got to Aq-va-kul and swim with Swedish people. And then I go to Arbetsförmedling or to Garaget Språkcafé. I want to go to many places every day so that the time will pass quickly. Because you know in Sweden there is problem that life is not social and the weather is not nice and so if you will sit and do nothing, in the future you will be sick. Because I have met with many people who are stressed and worried and I say: “You live here for 25 years, 35 years, and you haven’t done anything here in Sweden. Why?” (p. 68)

Again, to be active is considered important to pass time and to possibly reach faster the future where “anything is possible”. Samer also describes the fear of becoming sick or excluded, like the people who “haven’t done anything”.

5.4 Networking

5.4.1 The importance of family

The network charts tell the stories of different networks that the new arrivals have in Malmö. For most of them family is the most important network, even though their family may not even live in Malmö but even still be in their country of origin. This could be a sign of a very strong in-group bonding trust. The bonding that is essential to the existence of a family is more valuable than the bridging networks in the sense that it is “always there”. For some of the interviewees the family is therefore pointed out as the most important people in their lives in Malmö, even though they might only be able to contact them online. The distant love and understanding of the family is crucial, even when expressly asked to tell which category is the most important in their lives in Malmö.

Also, work/education, spare time/organizations and friends are important to the new arrivals, which points again to the importance of making contacts to feel inside of a society and to be integrated. Particularly those whom the interviewees may have a chance to speak Swedish to are considered valuable.

5.4.2 Language skills and social contacts go hand in hand

To find a situation or a person to speak Swedish to is important. Answering to if there is anything he would currently want to change with his life situation, Maurice answers:

Many things. I don't know, but if I had a person to help me speak Swedish, or walk with. That would be good. (p. 95)

Derya describes her living in an apartment, trying to get in contact with her neighbours in order to practice Swedish.

I live in an apartment, in my buildings live two Swedish family. They are really nice. I have not annoyed them. Once my husband told them: "My wife needs to meet Swedish, if you want to visit us and we offer coffee". No, they were like: "No, no, I do not have time to time". Yes, yes [laughter]. When I meet them in the elevator, they are really nice. (p. 189)

Saba tells a story that concerns quite a similar situation, but concerns Swedish people outside of Sweden coming to Turkey for vacation.

When I met others, travel to Turkey, Istanbul, Alanya or Antalya, met Turkish family. Maybe you met twice, in direct contact with each other: "Hey, where do I get?". They talk fast. They contact. They quickly make contact. Not the wait, wait, wait. "We do not know, I cannot". Not in the same way. Really really easy Turkey, because I heard a lot of (...) people or (...) they looked the first time Turkey and they were in Turkey, perhaps two years. Turkish you learn really really hard than Swedish. Really really hard. They learn Turkish fast. I asked them: "Why? Why you learn this fast Turkish?". They told me that they met his Turkish friends often, they offer, they talk, they tell, they help. (p. 190)

From these stories the making of contacts in Sweden and Turkey appear very different. In Sweden people are nice, but they do not make "quick contact", they are rather defined by the "wait, wait, wait".

Lara further notes another language issue while living in an enclave of Malmö with a high ethnic diversity and where few Swedish speaking people live. People there mostly speaking Arabic to one another.

I live in [place of residence], I don't know what people who live [place of residence] immigrants or Swedish. I said the first time, [place of residence], ah, immigrants, speak only Arabic. It is strange to me (...) bad. Sometimes good, I heard the first time other languages, other cultures (...) But 50 % good, 50 % not good. To hear many times in other languages, I will have a hard time learning Swedish. (p. 184)

She says that she has started to study Arabic, but the story does not tell if this is for the reason of her neighbours being Arabic. She says it is mostly to pass the time. If that would be the case, though, then the local bonding trust would be strong, as Arabic would be perhaps even more appealing to learn than Swedish in order to receive no friends.

From the network charts it is apparent that the new arrivals meet both with Swedish people and people of other ethnic backgrounds. However, several of the interviewees express the “50 % good, 50 % bad” feeling of mostly knowing people who have the same mother tongue.

5.4.3 “Networks are more important than doing a good job”

To be able to express yourself and to be social and active, Jose describes how important the networks have been for him when applying for jobs facing being rejected. Here he tells the story of talking to the recruiter:

And he said (...): "You must form a network". I hate that word, because now you have thought of forming a network. Thinking it is better to form a network that, or become good worker. Or do great job. It is better to have good networks. (p. 161)

5.5 Trust and integration

5.5.1 ”All people are the same”

The next story comes from Samer who talks about his dream to meet the Swedish king.

There are first people, second people and third people. First people decides everything. But here in Sweden no. The king is the same as all Swedish people. Everybody is the same (...) I want to talk to him and meet him. Because all people are the same (...) I have met my president. (...) Also, many prime ministers while working. So, important people, I always meet them. Yes, I hope to meet the king. Why can't I meet the king? (p. 76)

He believes that since “all people are the same”, he should wish to meet the king of Sweden as an ultimate test of that theorem. Thus, if someone as prominent as the king is “the same”, then all must be. This would speak against there being an insider- outsider problematique.

5.5.2 Multiple identities?

The view that all are equal is problematized by Purity who have lived in Denmark for twelve years after coming from Kenya. She portrays herself as being torn between identities:

They say: "Oh, you come from Denmark, you speak Danish, you can write Danish so we don't give you any Swedish SFI", but I cannot get job because I don't speak Swedish (...) Maybe they can help me if I come direct from Africa, if I don't know anything about Sweden, maybe they could help me more." (p. 124)

Since she is considered "too good" in Danish she is not given the opportunity to learn Swedish, thus she is caught "in between" being Danish in Sweden and being a "real" new arrival. These different identities shape her situation and seem to be valued unequally:

The system they tell me: "You are Danish, because you cannot have SFI" but you are still black and African. But I'm married with Danish, so it's not utlänning [immigrant]. (p. 138)

5.5.3 The comparison

The comparison is not only made between Sweden and the countries of origin, considering the feeling of one's own multiple identities, but the sense of inequality is central also in the comparison with other people. To see what one does not have in comparison to others will have an impact on trust. Samer tells the story of a man and woman he knows, who moved to Sweden as new arrivals:

Man and woman came to Sweden, when man and woman come they have neighbours. Neighbours. Man and woman (...) She said to her: "My husband bought a car for me, my husband bought gold for me, my husband helped me get a hospital card". Okey? Her husband is a rich man, but they who come new to Sweden don't have a lot of money, so the trouble starts with the first woman and her husband. And after they will be divorced. (...) So, you don't know how the problem got to you. You didn't know, from the window, from the door. (p. 73)

5.5.4 Racism and discrimination

Also the occurrence of discrimination on ethnical and racial grounds can be seen as a strong deciding factor of trust. Fariborz tells one story:

Yes, I want to tell you about an event that happened to me seven months ago. I went to a little town near Malmö. Three more people were with me and we would swim in the sea. On the way down to the sea there were many villas. At one of the

villas there was a tree. A man came up to us while we were about to pick some fruits and then he said: "You idiots can't pick fruit here" and then he said many things I didn't understand. Then he showed us his finger. The same thing happened with my mom at the City Library. (p. 110)

When asked if he thinks that the people that have discriminated him, his friends and his mother are exceptions to the normality in Sweden, he says yes. Even though this has happened to him, he still trusts most people.

Purity also experienced racist discriminations when she was living in Denmark, and she is perhaps not as forgiving.

There is club, big club that comes everybody. But you are black, my dear, you don't go inside. They close, they put this band. You're standing in the line, like there's so many people standing in the line, when you come to the thing that will open, then exit. Then "Why?", "Because it's private party", but it's not a private party. (p. 136)

5.5.5 Trust or not? Insider or outsider?

Whether or not the new arrivals generally consider themselves as trusting people, or at least more trusting compared to in their country of origin, differs. To some it is rather a feeling of being excluded from a social life and therefore simply not having many people to trust. Purity states she does not feel distrust against other people, but rather a low self-esteem. Saba also describes a feeling of exclusion and not feeling at home, contributing to a current low feeling of trust.

Slowly, slowly, it might be better (...) Yesterday I cried a lot, because all I know is behind it, when I look behind the window. In the window I see the city, everything is so nice, there are many fine parks, fine buildings, nice people, nice street. But I think, I don't know (...) Perhaps, after a few years. (p. 207)

6 From low to high trust?

The new arrivals which have been interviewed in this study have come from a low trust environment into the Swedish high trust environment. Yet, they have most likely gone from being an insider in the countries of origin, knowing the language, having a job and social contacts, to becoming the perceived outsider because they are sometimes in lack of those things that the collective possess.

Despite this, many of the statements made by the interviewees who come from low trusting environments, even from war, witness of the fact that they to *some extent* seem do adapt to a Swedish mentality and a generally higher trust – even in a city like Malmö where segregation and violence have been apparent. I experience the first impression of calmness, of tolerance, of being helped financially by the state and so on to be of great importance to this instant feeling that here “everything is possible”. However, this feeling might soon come to change as the new arrivals will have to deal with authorities, try to get a job, an education, a place to stay and so on. The contact with formal authorities and social contacts give mixed responses, it is harder to trust on a more interpersonal level.

If I was to draw any general conclusion from the new arrivals whom I have interviewed and who are only a sample of the many people who come to Sweden as immigrants every year, I would say that they repeatedly indicated to me that they try to feel greater trust in Sweden and that sometimes they do. There is a silent agreement that the system in Sweden is more trustworthy than the ones in their countries of origin. They try to feel hope, and are grateful for their opportunity, yet it is hard to fully adapt to a new trusting environment and forget about what distrust conditions have sometimes marked their lives. I think it is apparent that this depends on the fact that trust is very personal, in the end it is formed by the experiences of the individual.

The general feeling is that two things affect the way the new arrivals improve trust or not: being able to learn the language, which will affect the networks and number of friends one get, thus the bridging trust, and also the ability of getting a job or education. These two things will help one feel included in the new society, and if there are any problems with these two factors there will likely enough come a disappointment.

I also gather from the interviews that time is an important aspect. This can be seen from two of the interviewees, Purity and Jose, who have both lived in other fairly trusting environments after moving from their countries of origin and before moving to Sweden. They can be seen as more knowing of the new trust circumstances and therefore more likely to experience a feeling of being the outsider. Therefore it is very important that people who come to Sweden, or any country, are quickly helped to receive those things that will seem to determine their future trust for the system and for people surrounding them.

7 Epilogue

When, if ever, does the disappointment come? From talking to Purity, who has newly arrived to Sweden but has been living in Denmark, in many aspects a similar country and high general trust environment to Sweden, I hear stories of disappointment. She is able to compare, and is not satisfied with the system. For that reason I would recommend for future research to look into people who have immigrated to Sweden, yet can no longer be considered new arrivals. Even though being new in a country will give you stories of the immediate impressions which will be very crucial to the containment and building of trust, as has also been considered a key to trust building in this thesis, conducting research focusing on people who have lived and tried to integrate for a longer period of time, perhaps five or ten years, may tell completely different stories.

Also, a comparison to other perceived out-groups of society, such as unemployed or people on sick relief would perhaps show interesting parallels. Does the trust of one perceived out-group correspond to that of another? Can the distrust a new arrival that lacks a job or an opportunity to get an education and sufficient social networks, be compared to that of people who have lived their whole lives in Sweden but have lost their jobs or become sick, so that they experience a transition from a perceived in-group to a perceived out-group? Are the concepts of bonding and bridging trust and an in-group versus out-group perspective applicable?

If one do consider trust as something that impacts on a wider social capital, as has been done in this study in accordance with Putnam's definitions of trust as an interpersonal and relational phenomena, there is an immediate influence of bonding and bridging trust. Considering instead Rothstein's assumption that it is rather social capital that gives social trust, perhaps another theoretical framework should have been used which in turn could have given other dynamic answers.

8 Bibliography

- Andersson, Ulf, 2007. *Tystnaden och det sociala kapitalet*. Stockholm: Konsultgruppen 4F.
- Aronsson, Gunnar & Karlsson, Jan Ch., 2001. "Tillit och tillitsproblem" i Aronsson, Gunnar & Karlsson, Jan Ch. (ed), 2001. *Tillitens ansikten*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Azzam, Muhammad, 2013. "Att växa upp i Rosengård är ganska nice!" – *Socialt kapital – ett annat perspektiv att betrakta unga vuxna i Rosengård*. Lund: Lunds Universitet.
- Blennberger, Erik, 2009. "Att tolka tillit – begrepp och grundfrågor" in Trägårdh, Lars (ed.), 2009. *Tillit i det moderna Sverige – Den dumme svensken och andra mysterier*. Stockholm: SNS Förlag.
- Brå, 2010. *Hatbrott 2009 – Statistik över polisanmälningar där det i motivbilden ingår etnisk bakgrund, religiös tro, sexuell läggning eller könsöverskridande identitet eller uttryck*. Accessible 2014-05-20 at: http://www.bra.se/download/18.744c0a913040e4033180006038/2010_12_hat_brott_2009.pdf
- Castelfranchi, Christiano and Falcone, Rino, 2010. *Trust Theory: A Socio-Cognitive and Computational Model*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Crepaz, Markus M. L., 2008. *Trust beyond borders – Immigration, the Welfare State, and Identity in Modern Societies*. Michigan: The University of Michigan Press.
- Ervasti, Heikki and Hjerm, Mikael, 2012. "Immigration, trust and support for the welfare state" in Ervasti, Heikki, Goul Andersen, Jørgenm Fridberg, Torben and Ringdal, Kristen (ed.), 2012. *The Future of the Welfare State – Social Policy Attitudes and Social Capital in Europe*. Cheltenham, UK; Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.
- Esaiasson, Peter, Gilljam, Mikael, Oscarsson, Henrik and Wängnerud, Lena, 2007. *Metodpraktikan – Konsten att studera samhälle, individ och marknad*. Tredje upplagan. Stockholm: Norstedts Juridik.
- European Values Survey, 2014. *Participating countries*. Accessible 2014-05-21 at: http://www.europeanvaluesstudy.eu/frmShowpage?v_page_id=3256487407031894
- Feldstein, Lewis M. and Putnam, Robert D., 2003. *Better together*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Grosse, Julia, 2007. *Nordisk tillitsforskning – En kartläggning och värdering av det vetenskapliga läget*. Stockholm: Ersta Sköndal högskola.
- Grosse, Julia, 2009. "Forskning om tillit i Norden – innehåll, särart och tomrum" in Trägårdh, Lars (ed.), 2009. *Tillit i det moderna Sverige – Den dumme svensken och andra mysterier*. Stockholm: SNS Förlag.

- Gustavsson, Magnus and Jordahl, Henrik, 2006. "Inequality and Trust in Sweden: Some Inequalities are More Harmful than Others" in *IFN Working Paper*, no. 673.
- Helve, Helena, 2007. "Social capital and minority identity" in Bynner, John and Helve, Helena (ed.), 2007. *Youth and social capital*. London: The Tufnell Press.
- Hjerm, Mikael and Schnabel, Anette, 2012. "Social cohesion and the welfare state: how heterogeneity influences welfare state attitudes" in Ervasti, Heikki, Goul Andersen, Jørgenm Fridberg, Torben and Ringdal, Kristen (ed.), 2012. *The Future of the Welfare State – Social Policy Attitudes and Social Capital in Europe*. Cheltenham, UK; Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.
- Hollis, Martin, 1994. *The philosophy of social science – an introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Intergrationsrådet i Malmö, 1999. *Åtgärdsplan för att främja integration i Malmö Stad*. Malmö: Malmö Stad.
- JD Survey, 2014. *Interpersonal trust*. Accessible 2014-04-12 at: <http://www.jdsurvey.net/jds/jdsurveyMaps.jsp?Idioma=I&SeccionTexto=0404&NOID=104>
- Kuusela, Kirsti, 2009. "Invandrare och socialt kapital" p. 211-222 in Rønning, Rolf and Starrin, Bengt (ed.), 2011. *Socialt kapital - i ett välfärdsperspektiv*. Malmö: Liber.
- Lifvendahl, Tove, 2003. *Vem kastar första stenen: om stenkastning och utlänningar på Rosengård*. Malmö: Timbro.
- May, Tim, 2011. *Social Research, Issues, Methods and Processes*. 4th edition. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Migrationsinfo, 2014. *Sverige*. Accessible 2014-05-07 at: <http://www.migrationsinfo.se/migration/sverige/>
- Migrationsverket, 2014. *Fakta om migration*. Accessible 2014-05-07 at: <http://www.migrationsverket.se/Om-Migrationsverket/Fakta-om-migration.html>
- Miun, 2014. *Svenskarnas sociala tillit*. Accessible 2014-02-24 at: <http://www.miun.se/sv/press/aktuellt/nyhetsarkiv/Svenskarnas-sociala-tillit/>
- Putnam, Robert D., 2000. *Bowling alone: the Collapse and Revival of American*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Putnam, Robert D., 2007. "E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century – The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture" in *Scandinavian Political Studies*, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 137-174.
- Putnam, Robert D., 2011. *Den fungerande demokratin – Medborgarandans rötter i Italien*. Andra upplagan. Stockholm: SNS Förlag.
- Regionfakta, 2014. Anmälda brott per 1000 invånare 2013.
- Reissman, Catherine, 2000. *Analysis of Personal Narratives*. Accessible 2014-05-03: <http://alumni.media.mit.edu/~brooks/storybiz/riessman.pdf>
- Rothstein, Bo, 2003. *Sociala fällor och tillitens problem*. Kristianstad: SNS Förlag.
- Rothstein, Bo, 2010. *Mellanmänsklig tillit och statsfinansiella kriser*. Accessible 2014-03-06 at: http://www.som.gu.se/digitalAssets/1339/1339063_077-082-bo-rothstein.pdf

- Sifo, 2014. *Väljarbarometern april 2014*. Accessible 2014-05-13 at: http://www.tns-sifo.se/media/508868/vb_apr_2014_svd.pdf
- SKOP, 2014. *SKOP:s väljarbarometer 15 januari 2014*. Accessible 2014-02-23 at: <http://www.skop.se/main/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/SKOPs-v%C3%A4ljarbarometer-15-januari-2014.pdf>
- Skårner, Anette, 2001. *Skilda världar? En studie av narkotikamissbrukares sociala relationer och sociala nätverk*. Doktorsavhandling. Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet.
- Solheim, Liv Johanne, 2009. "Marginalitet och socialt kapital" p. 145-160 in Rønning, Rolf and Starrin, Bengt (ed.), 2011. *Socialt kapital - i ett välfärds perspektiv*. Malmö: Liber.
- Spännar, Christina, 2001. *Med främmande bagage – Tankar och erfarenheter hos unga människor med ursprung I annan kultur eller Det postmoderna främlingskapet*. Lund: Lunds Universitet.
- Standing, Guy, 2011. *The Precariat – The new dangerous class*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Stigendal, Mikael, 1999. *Sociala värden i olika sociala världar – Segregation och integration i storstaden*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Stubbergaard, Ylva, 2014. *Making citizens: Theories and practices of constructing citizenship identities*. Accessible 2014-05-22 at: http://www.svet.lu.se/uploads/kurser/ht2011/resurser/ht2011_Forska_yst_2.pdf
- SVD, 2014. *Här är SD störst – och minst*. Accessible 2014-05-20 at: http://www.svd.se/nyheter/inrikes/politik/valet2010/har-ar-sd-storst-och-minst_5366905.svd
- Svedberg, Lars, Trägårdh, Lars, Wallman Lundåsen, Susanne and Wollebæk, 2013. *Den svala svenska tilliten – Förutsättningar och utmaningar*. Stockholm: SNS Förlag.
- World Value Survey, 2012. *WVS 2010-2012 Questionnaire 2012-06*. Sixth Wave. Accessible 2014-03-06 at: http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs/articles/folder_published/article_base_136/files/WVS_2010-2014_Questionnaire_v2012-06.pdf
- World Value Survey, 2014. *What we do*. Accessible 2014-05-20 at: <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSContents.jsp>
- Zontini, Elisabetta, 2011. "Enabling and constraining aspects of social capital in migrant families: ethnicity, gender and generation" p. 68-83 in Reynolds, Tracey (ed.), 2011. *Young People, Social Capital and Ethnic Identity*. Oxon: Routledge.

9 Appendix 1 – Question sheet

9.1 In English

Presentation:

Could you tell me a bit about yourself?

Your name?

How old are you?

Where do you live?

What is your occupation?

Background:

What was your occupation before you moved to Sweden?

When was that?

From where is that? (What country?)

Why did you come to Sweden?

Did you come here alone?

Why Sweden?

First impressions:

What did you think about Sweden then? What did you know?

Can you tell me about your first time here?

What was difficult? (E.g. language, meeting friends, work, living)

What authorities have you been in contact with?

Do you trust them to do their job?

Is that any different from your country of origin?

Daily life in Malmö:

Could you describe to me a normal day in your life here in Malmö?

Would you change anything about your current situation?

Networking:

Assignment: Explain to interviewee how to fill in the network chart.

Can you tell me something about what people you most often meet in your daily life?

Approximately, how many of these are people from the same country as you do and how many are Swedish people or from another ethnic background?

Are you involved in any activities or organizations on your spare time?

Which of these networks is most important to you when living in Malmö?

How do these networks compare to those you had in your country of origin?

Trust and integration:

Would you say that you generally can trust most people? In your country of origin? In Sweden?

Do you ever feel that Swedish people are closed or hard to get to know?

When do you not feel trust?

Do you ever feel unsafe or afraid to walk home alone at night?

Do you feel that people here trust you?

What do you think decides whether or not you feel inside of this society?

How long time does that take?

Do you feel inside of this society? Do you feel at home?

9.2 In Swedish

Kan du berätta lite om dig själv?

Ditt namn?

Hur gammal är du?

Var bor du?

Vad är din sysselsättning?

Vad var din sysselsättning innan du kom till Sverige?

När var det?

Varifrån? (Från vilket land?)

Varför kom du till Sverige?

Kom du hit ensam?

Varför Sverige?

Vad var dina tankar om Sverige då? Vad visste du om Sverige?

Kan du berätta om din första tid i Sverige?

Vad var svårt? (Ex. språk, träffa vänner, jobb, boende)

Har du varit i kontakt med några myndigheter?

Litar du på att de gör sitt jobb?

Är det annorlunda från i ditt ursprungsland?

Skulle du kunna beskriva en vanlig dag i ditt liv?

Skulle du vilja ändra något med din nuvarande situation?

Uppgift: Förklara för intervjupersonen hur han eller hon fyller i nätverkskartan.

Kan du berätta lite om vilka människor du träffar oftast i din vardag?

Hur många av dessa är landsmän med dig och hur många är svenskar eller av annan etnisk bakgrund?

Deltar du i några aktiviteter eller organisationer på fritiden?

Vilket nätverk är viktigast för dig i ditt liv i Malmö?

Hur ser dessa nätverk ut i jämförelse med i ditt ursprungsland?

Skulle du säga att du kan generellt sett kan lita på människor? I ditt ursprungsland? I Sverige?

Känner du någonsin att svenskar är svåra att lära känna?

När känner du inte tillit?

Känner du dig otrygg om du går hem ensam på natten?

Känner du att människor här litar på dig?

Vad är det som bestämmer om du kommer in i samhället?

Hur lång tid tror du det tar?

Känner du dig hemma här?

10 Appendix 2 – Transcriptions

The interviews are transcribed from listening to the recordings. They are written down word by word and as exact as possible, even though this includes spoken mistakes and grammar errors. Only a few times per interview have I not been able to distinguish what was said on the recordings, which is demonstrated by a “(...)” in the transcriptions below. In those cases one or a couple of words are missing.

Some of the interviews were held in Swedish and some in English. I gave both options to the interviewees. Those interviews that were not held in English I have translated to the best of my ability, in order to be able to use the quotations in the same language in the paper and to provide all gathered material in English. The translations are also given below. Yet, in order to get the most exact understanding of what was said in the interviews I encourage anyone who may read this to read the original versions if possible, since the translations may lose some of the nuances that make the conversation authentic. Also, where there have been grammatical errors I have tried to translate what was intended in the situation.

To keep my interviewees anonymous I have left out some information in accordance with their wishes: their last names where mentioned, information on their exact age, sometimes information on their work, their place of residence and any other sensitive information. This is marked by [information on why this has been taken away] or simply [censored information]. Also, when something happened during the time of the interview, for instance when the network charts were being filled out, I have marked this according to the same system.

10.1 Interview with Samer

10.1.1 Original

- Om du kan börja med att berätta lite om dig själv, vad du heter, hur gammal du är och så där.
- Okej. Jag heter Samer [last name] och är [age]. Jag kommer från [country in Middle East]. Jag kom till Sverige än två år ungefär. Men jag har träffas mycket i Sverige [censored information].
- Och hur gammal är du?
- [Information on age]
- Det sa du kanske. Och var bor du nu i Malmö?
- [Information on place of residence in Malmö]
- Precis, just det. Ja. Och vad är din sysselsättning? Alltså, vad gör du för något? Jobbar du?

- Ja, jag jobbade innan som [information on work]. På morgonen jobbar jag för sjukhuset för Ministry of hälsa har de kontroll för hela sjukhuset i [country] och kliniker, kliniker. Och jag var som kontrollerar dem från många sjukdomar som finns i [country], från smitta. Från smitta. De är många som gjort hjärta, och sedan de har influensa och sedan de dör och jag måste utreda vilken typ av smitta de har att smitta patienter med andra sjukdom dom har som dödar patienter. Så det är sjuk... Sjuk, sjuk... Ministry hälsa som kontrollerar för hela sjukhuset i [country]. Och innan kom en professor från Tyskland som hittar (...) och han är en från sju person som jobbar med ISO. ISO, vet du ISO?
- Nej?
- ISO dom som kontrollerar sjukhuset i hela världen, så min regeringen fråga honom att komma, erbjuder honom för att komma till [country], för att vi ska höja nivå om sjukhuset för att det blir bättre. Den professor har mycket lön. För en timma får han, fick han ungefär 1000 euro. Om han ska lämna Tyskland.
- Ja, det förstår jag.
- Så jag jobbade med honom ungefär en månad för att kontrollera hela sjukhuset i [country]. Också jag jobbade med kvinnor för att höja hälsa i [country] för att vi har många länder som de har (...) som de vet inte hur ska de bli bättre med hälsa. Så vi besöker dem, till exempel norra [country], södra [country], östra [country], västra [country]. Alltid det var med UNESCO-program. UNESCO-program?
- Ja, det vet jag.
- Så de har speciell program och vi samarbetar med dem för att höja hälsa i [country] med patienter.
- Vad spännande. Det låter ju som ett jättestort ansvar?
- Ja, det var mycket spännande. Och jag gillar mycket att jobba med dem. [Censored information] och jag kunde inte stanna mer för att varje dag i sjukhuset så kommer många, många människor, som de skjuter på i huvudet och de stod på källarn i sjukhuset och deras familjer kan inte komma och hämta dem för att gräva dem.
- Nej, precis, begrava.
- Så jag kände mig orolig, och stress, för jag bor på i plats som människor inte vill stanna mer och jag jobbar med (...) på samma tiden så jag hade omständigt i [country].
- Så då bestämde du dig för att komma till Sverige?
- Ja.
- Och det var två år sedan?
- Ja.
- Det förstår jag. Och vad gör du nu i Sverige?
- Jag studerar svenska för att jag vill komplettera min utbildning som [profession]. Socialstyrelsen sa att jag måste studera svenska och sedan kan jag ansöka ett university till Karolinska Institutet eller, i Stockholm, eller Göteborg University [censored information]. Men mitt problem att de ska välja 15 elever i Stockholm och 12 elever i Göteborg University varje år och ungefär det finns 259 [profession] som ansöka. Så de ska göra intervju nästa månad (...) och sedan de ska bestämma sig. Men om jag inte kan hitta en chans att få en plats

vill jag åka till Romania eller till andra land som EU och pröva komplettera utbildning dit där och sedan komma tillbaka till Sverige. För att jag vill inte förlora tiden utan att stanna till nästa år.

- Nej. Så det klart du vill jobba med det som du är utbildad till?
- Ja, jag vill jobba...
- Precis. Men du vill ändå bo i Sverige, så du vill försöka?
- Jag vill försöka, ja. Ja, Sverige är jättefint land. System är olika än [country]. Mitt problem är vi bodde i [country] och vi levde i [country] olika tradition. Så man kan bestämma allt, familjer kan bestämma allt, man tänker alltid på tradition, och gamla tradition, men här i Sverige man kan göra allt som man helst. Så jag kände mig att jag börjar att byta. Som svensk människor. Förstår?
- Mhm. Börjar anpassa dig kanske eller?
- Anpassa ja, anpassa mig. För vi har dåliga system och tradition i [country]. Du kan inte göra den, för att människor ska hitta dig. Du kan inte göra den, för att människor ska säga en sak. Varför, varför? Här i Sverige man kan göra allt. Vad tror han, vad tycker han, kan han göra.
- Vad visste du om Sverige när du kom hit? Visste du att det var så eller vad trodde du?
- Jag tror att Sverige är för mig ett paradise, för att jag gillar Sverige från mitt hjärta. Om jag ska åka till andra landet de ska fråga vilket land kommer du, jag ska inte säga [country], jag ska säga att jag är svensk. Jag kommer från Sverige. För att de gillar mig som jag är inför andra. De hjälper mig med Socialen, pengar och studera, allt, boende. De är mycket skona människor. De har mycket fina värden. Och jag vill jobba för att betala skatt och leva normalt. Göra allt.
- Det förstår jag. Men när du kom till Sverige, var det ingenting som var svårt? Var det svårt med språket kanske? När du först kom till Sverige? Din första tid?
- Ja, ja, det var svårt med språket. Jag kunde inte tala bra, stava som de vill, och också det finns skillnad med engelska för att jag kan prata spanska och engelska och arabiska. Det finns också skillnad om du ska skriva uppsats, uppsats, de har, du kan inte översätta från engelska till svenska. De har olika. Till exempel, in english du kan säga "You live in my heart", men på svenska du kan inte säga "Du bor i mitt hjärta". På arabiska du kan säga [Arabic expression], samma engelska. Svenska de har olika uttryck. Så när du ska skriva, min lärare alltid rätta för mig: "Översätt inte från engelska till svenska, översätt inte från arabiska till svenska. Du måste tänka hur vi..."
- Man måste lära sig de svenska uttrycken?
- Svenska... Om jag är 30... För att jag är [age] så blir det jättesvårt för mig att bli som ungdomar som de kommer till Sverige, som de är 17 eller 16 så kan de lära sig svenska mer.
- Du pratar ju jättebra svenska.
- Jag förstår, men jag kan inte prata som svensk människor. Kanske för att jag är stress. Jag har många saker att fixa i [country]. Förstå? Så jag kan inte göra ingenting. Till exempel min fru i [country] kan inte komma till Sverige, för att hon jobbar med regeringen. Och mina barn är med henne. Och om hon tänker att lämna regeringen så dom kan skjuta henne eller sina familjer.
- Så du har kommit helt själv till Sverige?

- Ja. Så jag kan inte tänka vad ska bli, hur kan jag, om jag ska gifta här med andra kvinna eller jag vet inte vad jag ska. [Censored information] Jag frågade mina föräldrar om jag kan resa till [country] och se mina barn. Men mina föräldrar har rätt, om jag ska åka dit de kanske ska döda mig i [country]. Jag är stress och jag kan inte göra, och jag kan inte se mina barn på tre år. Två år. Totalt. Därför att det var, innan jag kom till Sverige var jag i Kiev i Ukraina.
- Jaha, okej.
- Kiev är bra land, men fattiga människor, de har ingenting. Människor kunde inte jobba bra, som svensk medborgare för de tjänar mycket pengar. De tar pengar under bordet, de kan köpa polisen med pengar, man kan köpa människor med pengar. Allt, som [country]. Här i Sverige det finns lag, alla måste respektera andra. Man måste tänka att här kan man göra dream och framtiden om du kämpar och tiden går snabbt. De som förlorat allt kan börja från början i Sverige.
- Mm, det är så. Hur var det då i början? Att träffa vänner, att hitta någonstans att bo? Var det svårt, det också i början?
- Att hitta boende i Malmö är jättesvårt, men du kan hitta bara, men i Sverige du kan hitta om du vill. Men jag bor i varm land. Och jag gillar varm plats, och i [country] kanske 30 och här. Så. Problem med mig är kallt, köld. Alltid jag är förkyld. Alltid. Men jag åker varje dag till Aq-va-kul och simmar. Men varje dag, jag bor här två år och åka två år till Aq-va-kul och alltid när jag vaknar varje dag känner jag förkyld. Och har ont i hälsan.
- Är det så? Gud vad hemskt.
- Alltid. Om jag ska bo i norra Sverige kan jag inte. Jag har varit innan i Norway, i Christiansand, Stavanger, i Bergen.
- Ja, det är långt.
- Mycket. Jag kunde inte stanna dit. Malmö är bättre och också för att få ett socialt liv. Du kan träffa vänner, men jag gillar att få svensk människor som vänner för att lära mig svenska och tradition och hur de bygga. Men problem i Malmö är att många pratar arabiska varje dag.
- Så man pratar inte svenska om man hörs?
- Alltså, jag vill prata svenska för att jag bor nu i Sverige så man måste lära svenska perfekt.
- Mm. Jo, det har du redan pratat lite om kanske men om du har varit i kontakt med myndigheter eller så? Du sa ju Socialstyrelsen och kanske när du vill plugga och så? Och känner du att du litar på dem och att de gör sitt jobb, hjälper dig?
- Ja.
- Ja?
- Ja, jag känner jag litar på dem. På Migrationsverket, jag litar på Arbetsförmedling, jag litar på allt, alla. Men här bara ett problem i Sverige. Tiden. Tiden är, du måste du ta det lugnt. Förstår du?
- Mm, det tar lång tid?
- Det kanske är från vädret. Att människor blir kallt. Förstår du? Inte som i [country]. Så jag gillar som jag bodde innan i Spanien för ett tag sedan i ett år, i Alicante, och de sa alltid ”Manaña, manaña, manaña”. Om jag ”Imorgon,

imorgon imorgon, då ska jag göra till dig”. Så de ska säga: ”När ska mina papper sluta? När? Manaña, manaña, imorgon, imorgon”.

- Ja.
- Så, jag tänkte att Spanien har denna system för de är inte samma som Sverige, men det finns inte skillnad.
- Det är samma [laughter].
- [Laugther] Ta det lugnt, ta det lugnt.
- Det är långsamt här också?
- Ja.
- Ja, det kan jag förstå. Men du tycker ändå att det är annorlunda från [country], när man pratar med myndigheter och så? Det går kanske inte likadant? Att du inte kan lita på dem på samma sätt?
- Ja, till exempel min president var [name of president], du vet?
- Mhm.
- Min chefen i kontroll, han heter [name], han var vän med [name of president] så jag kom till hans office och sedan ringde telefon: ”Hallå, du måste göra den”. Och sedan han måste göra. Förstår? Så när de ringde honom de, vad säger man, castle, castle...
- Castle?
- President som bor.
- Jaha ja, ett slott menar du. Ja.
- Ja, slott, slott. Och kanske en person som jobbar i slott måste ringa honom och: ”Du måste göra den, du måste ringa”. That’s what från denna person till andra. ”Du måste stänga detta sjukhuset”. Så människor bestämmer, så det finns övermänskliga så när de ska ringa honom och säga: ”Du måste göra den”, så han måste göra den. Han är chefen men när de pratar med honom han måste göra den.
- Ja.
- Förstår?
- Ja.
- Och de är miljonär människor. Du kan hitta som är 30 år gammal och de har kanske 35 miljarder euro i Geneve bank. Ja, ja, de har mycket makt och om du ska inte lyssna på dem kanske de ska ta dig till fängelse eller under jorden, så du måste göra vad de säger. Här i Sverige nej.
- Nej, inte så?
- Nej, det går inte. Här i Sverige när jag har rätt att gå med ett jobb eller denna jobb eller denna skola eller den University vill jag åka dit. Ska jag gå. För att jag har rätt. Det finns inte skillnad mellan... I [country] det fanns skillnad mellan människor. Det finns förstmänskliga, andra människor och tredje människor. Förstmänskliga de bestämmer allt. Men här i Sverige nej. Kungen har samma svensk människor som alla. Alla är samma. Så därför jag respekterar detta land och jag hoppas att inte byta i framtiden situation i Sverige. Jag hoppas. För att den som Russia, om du åker till Russia Vladimir Putin bestämma om Ukraina, om allt, om Russia, om människor. Men här nej, alla är samma. Samma. Så därför att jag respekterar denna, detta land.
- Mhm mm.

- Och jag litar på dem, med mina papper, att jobba, framtiden, allt.
- Mm. Då går vi vidare lite då. Skulle du kunna beskriva en vanlig dag, alltså vad händer en vanlig dag när du vaknar?
- När jag vaknar?
- Ja, vad gör du när du, går du liksom, vilka människor träffar du? Vart går du när du ska studera eller liksom?
- Jag åker till skolan med buss nummer åtta varje dag till högskolan, och sedan träffar mina lärare, börjar lektionen och sedan när jag slutar lektionen ska jag komma till Malmö för att göra Språkcafé. Träffa svensk människor och prata med dem. Sedan jag ska åka till Stadsbiblioteket och träffa svensk människor, och läsa bokar och sitta vid dator. Och sedan jag ska åka till Aq-va-kul och bada med svensk människor. Och sedan jag ska åka till Arbetsförmedling eller till Garaget språkcafé. Jag vill att åka flera plats varje dag för att jag vill att tiden går snabbt och slutar snabbt. För att du vet i Sverige det finns problem att livet är osociala och vädret är inte mycket fint och så om du ska sitta och göra ingenting ska du bli sjuk i framtiden. För att jag har träffat många människor som har stress och orolig och jag säger bara: "Du bor här i 25 år, 35 år, och du har inte gjort ingenting i Sverige. Varför? Du får pengar från Socialen under 25 år. Du vet, om jag var, om du kan studera i University kan du få fem utbildningar under 25 år och du kan göra allt som du... Om du har fast jobb du kan köpa villa, kan du köpa bilen, kan du åka till Mexiko, till Spanien, du kan göra allt, men om du ska säga 'Sverige inte bra, inte bra, för att de tar sina barn, de tar, man kan inte hitta jobb. Många är arbetslösa'". Men jag sa till henne: "Om du ska åka till Dubai, och du ska tänka på denna sätt också kan du inte leva bra. Om du ska åka till Amerika du kan inte leva bra. Varför måste göra? (...) Du måste tänka att den två år, vad har jag gjort under den två år? Tre år? Vad har jag gjort? Om jag planerar inte bra kan jag inte hitta lösning på nya blandning, göra (...)". Jag måste byta själv först, sedan jag kan bli bättre. Men du kan inte säga ingenting funkar i Sverige, för att Sverige är för alla, de hjälper alla människor.
- Mm.
- De har alla, du har alla, du har många sätt att bli bättre. Om du studerar i ditt hemland, hade inte chans innan, du får denna chans här. Men du måste bestämma, du måste göra, ingen fara.
- Man måste vara aktiv kanske och..?
- Aktiv, ja, aktiv. Så du kan inte säga Sverige är inte bra under 25 år eller 30 år. Jag vet, jag vet om du har problem med kvinnor i Sverige så kvinnor kan bestämma sig. Du kan bo med denna kvinna och du kan icke bo med denna kvinna. Lämna henne och hitta andra. Du kan inte säga: "Okej, jag, de tar sina barn och de tar mina barn" till exempel. Nej, du kan börja från början, jag sa till dig, det är många som de kommer. Det finns många människor i [country] som de har förlorat allt [censored information], inte hus, inte lägenhet, inte jobb, inte familja, inte föräldrar, inte bror, inte syskon, alla bort. Så om du tänker, om denna sida och denna sida du blir bättre. Men om du ska tänka människor i Amerika och andra land, och så vill du bli disappoint, så du vill bli inte bra. De rika människor, vad händer med dem? De har bättre än dig och sedan en dag

förlorade de allt, familja, pengar. Så man alltid måste tänka att byta själv först och sedan kan man...

- Det handlar om inställning kanske, hur man tänker?
- Ja, ja. Och så människor kan inte, om du vill flytta till Sverige, du ska respekta land. Okej, det finns olika tradition, här kvinna bestämma. Men till exempel, kvinnor de bestämma om de har rätt för att vi är muslim, jag är muslim, på min (...) säger Mohammed att vi måste ta hand om kvinnor. Ta hand om kvinnor, du måste tänka som du tänker på dig själv måste du tänka att den är hel. Mina är hel. Du måste också respekta vad han tänker. Om du tänker på henne också blev du glad, men om du inte tänker på själv ska det bli inte rätt. Ska inte, det är inte min religion som muslim säger. Bara den är själv, och du har ansvar för den själv. Om du har katt, till exempel katt, hur ska du behandla henne? Du ska behandla henne bra och du ska respektera henne, så om du har kvinna också du måste lyssna för henne. Kanske hon har problem, du kan hjälpa henne och sedan hon ska älska dig och hon ska hjälpa dig och så.
- Får man tillbaka det man tar?
- Ja, känslor. Känslor. Du måste respektera, men vi har olika tradition i [country]. Man bestämma allt. Kvinna vill inte bestämma. Hon vill inte gå där. Du är muslim och islam säger att man måste respektera. Så om andra människor som inte är muslim ser vår du behandla kvinnan så vill de säga: ”Nja, jag vill inte bli muslim, jag vill inte, jag varken vill ha relation som kvinnor kan inte få rätt”. Så, nu måste bli bättre. Jag kom till Sverige för att lära från dem. Bra saker för att jag kan byta till bättre.
- Ja.
- Men om jag ska tänka nej, det ska jag själv, då ska jag köpa en biljett och åka till andra land. Bättre på det. För du ska inte bo här. Du kan inte bo i...
- Nej, jag förstår. Så om jag förstår rätt då, det som du skulle vilja ändra... Eller finns det någonting med din situation som du skulle vilja ändra? Det kanske är mest det, alltså, att det är svårt med jobb och att din familj inte är här, eller vad är det du skulle ändra med din situation idag?
- Min situation, jag vet inte. Vad det betyder. Men jag tänker bara min situation som tandläkare i Sverige, och [censored information] kan jag besöka mina familjen. [Censored information] jag vet inte vad jag ska göra. Men också, jag respekterar mina föräldrar för att de har rätt om mig, om jag ska åka till [country] kanske dör jag. Sedan de ska bli ledsen hela livet. Så jag måste respektera dem och tänka på dem. Och första, hitta jobb och jobba och bli som svensk, och sedan allt kommer. Jag tror allt kommer till mig.
- Det hoppas jag.
- Ja.
- Nu ska jag be dig och göra, då har jag en sådan här karta. En nätverkskarta. Så ska jag visa, då har jag en penna här. Du är här i mitten. Och sedan så har du, ser du familj, släkt, formella kontakter kan man säga är myndigheter, arbete/utbildning, fritid/organisationer - här kan du till exempel språkcaféet vara, och vänner. Och så vill jag att du placerar ut personer som du har i din närhet. Och de som du tycker står närmast dig placerar du närmast här [pointing

at the middle] och långt bort så sätter du de här [pointing at the outer area of the chart]. Och så får du sätta ut som du vill.

- [Filling out the network chart: family] Ja, men här till exempel föräldrar?
- Precis. Om de står nära så sätter du här [pointing at the middle]. Jättebra.
- Och släkting, jag har inte släkting. Jag har i Göteborg och Köpenhamn.
- Precis, men inte...
- Och min bror i Norway.
- Jag tänker inte nu geografiskt nära. Inte hur långt de är, utan hur närma de är dig. Som du känner till exempel en nära vän är här [middle] och här [outer area] borta en bekant, som du träffat precis.
- Ja, ja.
- Så du förstår hur jag menar? Inte hur långt de... Om de bor i Malmö utan...
- Jag ska skriva name om vänner?
- Ja, du kan skriva, ja, precis. Personer som du träffar här i din vardag, här i Sverige kan man säga. Så om du känner att det är nära vänner så är de närmare dig.
- Ja.
- Precis.
- [Filling out network chart: family] Och bror...
- Han bor inte i Sverige?
- I Köpenhamn.
- I Köpenhamn, mm.
- [Filling out network chart: friends] Vänner. Vänner...
- Mm, var har du träffat dem? Här i Sverige?
- Ja.
- Det kan vara som du nämnde förut, Språkcaféet.
- [Filling out network chart: spare time/organizations] Och Aq-va-kul. Språkcafé.
- Dit går du och tränar då kanske?
- Mm.
- [Filling out network chart: work/education] Träffar du mycket folk genom utbildningen då som du tycker att du..? Många vänner?
- Ja, jag har gjort två olika praktik, två privatklinik.
- Ja, okej. Just det. Det är ju myndigheter om du känner att du träffat någon.
- [Filling out network chart: formal contacts] Sudana, Dimitris. Träffat Arbetsförmedling. Det finns speciellt program för Arbetsförmedling.
- Mm?
- De hjälper akademiker att jobba. Snabbt i Sverige. International matching, du vet inte international?
- Ja? Och henne känner du att du gillar och att du litar på?
- Jag gillar. Jag gillar.
- Det är de här personerna som du känner finns i ditt liv här nu i Malmö.
- Ja.
- Mm, vad bra. Jättebra. Då ska vi se. Och hur många, du berättade ju lite här, hur många skulle säga kommer från [country] också? Eller är det många som är svenskar av de personerna?
- De är från Irak, Palestina.

- Till exempel dina vänner?
- Ja, de är från Irak, Palestina.
- Så du kanske träffar svenskar, ja, någon på Språkcaféet och här, att du träffar och får prata svenska med dem och så?
- Ja, Magnus. Shirin.
- Men annars är det många som kanske pratar arabiska också?
- Ja, mm.
- Men du försöker ju ändå att ha... Du har ju många aktiviteter som du sa? Att du är aktiv och gör många olika saker? Åker till biblioteket och..?
- Ja, biblioteket (...), Aq-va-kul, bibliotek.
- Mm. Jättebra. Vilket nätverk, om du ska välja en del, vilket känner du är viktigast för dig?
- Föräldrar.
- Mm. Och hur ser, om du skulle gjort den här när du bodde i [country]? Hur ser de här nätverken, hur är de annorlunda i Sverige?
- Ja. Vänner jag har kanske 2000. Eller 3000 vänner i [country].
- Mm, jättemånga vänner.
- Mycket, mycket. Det är alltid plats, skolan, SFI, olika platser jag har vänner som jag bor. För att du vet, om du är [information on work] många patienter ska komma och besöka dig varje dag och sedan ska du få många vänner. Många vänner varje dag.
- Man lär känna alla som kommer?
- Ja, du vet det. (...) Ja, det är inte samma i [country] som till exempel i Sverige. Kanske ska du träffa varje dag 100 patienter eller 150 patienter varje dag. För att population i [information on population in country], vi i Sverige är tio miljon så. I [capital in country] bara finns ungefär tio miljon som i hela Sverige. Så träffar du många människor varje dag. Och också sjukhuset jag kan träffa varje dag 500 människor. Och centralsjukhuset, alla som bor de ska till Stockholm ska komma till Malmö och undersöka, för att centralsjukhuset.
- Ja, precis.
- Så vi kan träffa många människor.
- Saknar du att du inte får träffa så många olika människor?
- Ja. Ja, precis. Jag var glad i [country], walla, jag var mycket mycket glad. Du vet, livet är lätt i [country]. Lätt. Människor är fattiga, men de är lätt. Lätta människor. Exempel, de har inte pengar men om du ska besöka dem, de du känner lämnar allt på bordet.
- Ja?
- Och ger till dig. Men du kan inte köpa de med pengar.
- De har gästfrihet?
- Inte köpa med pengar. De är snälla, de är lätt. Lätt människor. Till exempel, när jag besöka jag ska åka till norra [country] och besöka en plats för att ge dem många nya saker och hälsa hur de ska göra i framtiden, så till exempel om de har en ungefär som parkhus, de tar och skjuter till exempel sextio kyckling, de ska laga för dig denna sextio kyckling.
- Va?
- För att du kom för att besöka dem.

- Ja, gud vad fint.
- Alla ska lägga på det. Och sedan de ska sätta på jorden och äta tillsammans som en grupp.
- Så alla är liksom... Man vill vara vän med alla?
- Ja, så. De är mycket glada, de är fattiga men de är mycket glada att du besöker dem.
- Känner du då att svenskar är lite kalla, eller kyliga personer? Att de kan vara det?
- Försikt. De är försiktiga. Kanske för att invandrare göra, har mycket problem med denna. Till exempel om Amerika de öppnar emigration, ska de välja höja utbildningar, människor, höja pengar de som har mycket pengar för att flytta till Kanada eller Amerika för att få green card. Förstå? Så de kan inte ta alla människor. De ska välja special människor. Men här alla människor som har problem från kriget, om de förlorade allt, och kanske de har inte gjort utbildning. Så när invandrare kommer här så de tänker det försvinner mycket pengar så de ska lura regeringen, göra olika saker för att ta pengar. Så, så, här är olika. Svenskar har fått många problem från flyktingar innan. Därför att de blir försiktiga. Om de ska träffa nya invandrare. Så men ändå, till exempel, min morfar... Morbror, han kom till Köpenhamn 1990, så det var inte många flyktingar. Han bestämde sig att åka till Amerika från Danmark. Men danska sa till honom: "Varför ska du åka till Amerika? Du kan söka asyl här". De hälsa på honom att stanna. Så de var olika innan. Men efter många problem från flyktingar börjar danska, norska och svenskar att bli försikta.
- Försiktiga.
- Ja, försiktiga. De var innan olika.
- Ja, så kan det vara. Mm, okej. Skulle du säga att du generellt är en person som litar på andra människor? Alltså, på de flesta människor du möter?
- Jag kan inte lita på dem. Jag ska träffa dem, träffa dem flera gånger och tänka ifall jag gillar dem. Sedan kan man lita på dem. Inte direkt. Inte direkt du kan lita på dem.
- Känner du att det är olika? Skulle du, litar du mer på personer i [country] än vad du gör här?
- I [country] det finns olika situation. Till exempel jag jobbar med viktiga människor och när jag har fått problem jag ringde för en person jag känner med dem, och sedan de ska hitta lösning direkt för mig. För att sluta problem. Förstå?
- Ja.
- Så till exempel om jag ska göra mitt passport och sedan de ska (...) så jag prata med chefen och han ska ringa dem och han sa till dem: "Vi behöver passport nu", så de kan inte säga nej i [country]. Om jag har problem med polisen kan vi stoppa problem med polisen om det finns...
- Så de löser snabbt?
- Ja, men här i Sverige till exempel du träffa en person som pratar med dig men till exempel du kan inte hitta lösning.
- Nej.

- Så man måste inte lita på många människor och också den problem ska komma till dig i Europa måste du springa. Springa, och göra inte problem. För att lagen är mycket stark.
- Ja, absolut.
- Mycket stark. Och du kan inte, kanske ibland ska bli inte min fel. Andra gör fel. Men kanske jag ska bli inga problem.
- Att man blir anklagad?
- Ja, anklagad, ja. Så man måste försikta mycket i Europa, lagen stark. Stark. Man kan inte hitta lösning.
- Nej, precis. När skulle du säga att du inte känner tillit när du är här i Sverige? Att du kan lita på människor? Är det någon speciell situation du känner att du inte kan lita på människor?
- Lita på människor i Sverige?
- Mm.
- Jag gillar att träffa svensk människor och litar på dem mer än invandrare. Det är sant. För att svensk människor, de är, du kan, de är mer sant. De lurar inte mycket som invandrare. Men finns svensk människor som de göra, men inte många. Om vi ska göra percent till exempel. Inte många. Förstå? Men invandrare gör många problem, så jag kan inte lita på alla invandrare. Jag vill säga till dig en sak innan.
- Mm?
- Man och kvinna kom till Sverige, när man och kvinna kommer så de har grannar. Grannar. Man och kvinna. Så kvinna träffade andra kvinna. Den andra kvinna träffade första kvinna. Hon sa till henne: ”Min man köpte för mig bil, min man köpte för mig guld, min man hjälpte mig att få sjukkort”. Okej? Hennes man är rik man, men de som kommer ny till Sverige har inte mycket pengar, så börjar problem med den första kvinna med sin man. Och efter de har blivit skilda. Förstå?
- För att hon jämför sig?
- För att hon se på man, varför hennes man hämta bil, varför hennes man köpte för henne guld. Förstå?
- Ja, precis.
- Så du vet inte hur problem kom till dig. Du visste inte, från fönster, från dörren. Förstå?
- Ja, jag förstår.
- Men om du ska träffa familjer, svenska, de inte tänker på samma situation. Man köper för kvinna.
- Nej, nej.
- Till exempel också om du vet när du var liten i Sverige, om du var liten och du till exempel, du var barn och du kunde inte hitta allt som det finns i världen. Du är ung, kan du inte säga: ”Okej, det är nog för mig. Det är nog för mig, jag accepterar”. Nej. Alltid man ska kolla på andra människor och säga: ”Varför du har mer än mig?”. För att när jag var liten jag kunde inte hitta bra skola eller pengar eller fina kläder. Förstå?
- Ja, ja.
- Så alltid man ska tänka på: ”Vad har du?” Förstår?

- Mm.
- Det är farligt om man ska träffa många människor som de har tänker på denna sätt mot dig. Kanske de ska byta dig till (...) eller de ska göra indirekt problem till dina familjer. Sedan kan familjer skilja eller, det är illa.
- Tror du att det blir så för många när man kommer till Sverige? Att man ser att många personer har mer än vad man själv har? Att man vill ha det? Att man blir olycklig när man ser det?
- Ja.
- Mm.
- Och när de var liten, de kunde inte vara som vanligt. Till exempel barn här i Sverige har mat i skolan, har fina kläder, måste. Socialen betalar för dem att köpa. De säger: ”Folk får aldrig, du måste alltid komma varje dag i fina skor, fina kläder”. Så när barn är barn, man har allt. Så när han är ung han tjänar bra, normalt. Mitt liv var normal när jag var liten. Så pengar är definitivt viktigt för mig. Jag ska hitta vilken, hur kan jag lita plats. Förstå vad jag menar?
- Ja.
- Så det är olika.
- Men att man, ja precis. Att man kan känna att det känns orättvist när man kommer? Om man ser att det finns många här som har mycket mer än vad jag har?
- Ja.
- Känna att det är orättvist?
- Ja. I mitt hemland de tänker att samla pengar. Här svensk människor tänker hur de ska betala för att bli glad. De tänker inte att samla pengar.
- Nej.
- I mitt hemland de tänker, som du är kvinna nu: ”Hur mycket kilo guld har du? Vilken kvinna diamant har du?”. Diamant?
- Diamant, ja.
- ”Var köpte du dina kläder?” De tänka: ”Hur många hus har du? Hur många hus har du?” Som du är kvinna. ”Vilken fina (...) har du?” Förstå? De tänker på, till exempel om du ska gifta i mitt hemland så, och du har kompisar, flickvän, så hon ska säga: ”Min man gör för mig en bröllop i Hilton eller Sheraton, min man ta mig en månad till Paris för honey moon”. De tänker som den. Men här i Sverige de tänker inte.
- Jag förstår.
- De stolt. Förstå stolt?
- Ja, stolt.
- Jag har...
- Ja, precis, de är stolta?
- Ja, stolta. Stolta. De är stolta. Kan jag hämta lite kaffe?
- Ja, absolut.
- [Walks away to get coffee, comes back] Vill du ha mer kaffe?
- Det är bra, tack. Vi har inte så många frågor kvar. Nu tänkte jag bara fråga, om det är någon gång, om du till exempel skulle gå ensam hem på kvällen eller så här i Malmö, om du känner dig otrygg? Att det känns, att du inte är bekväm eller att det känns konstigt på något sätt?

- Nej, här du kan åka fyra på morgonen. Tre på morgonen.
- Du känner dig trygg?
- Du kan åka två, tre. Också jag har inte rädd här i Sverige, för jag har gjort military service. Du vet military service?
- Mm.
- [Information on military position] Så jag har inte rädd här. När jag träffar min (...) jag blir normal igen.
- Vad bra.
- Men också, när jag kom till Sverige var jag mer inte rädd. Men nu börjar jag att bli lite rädd. Eller försikt.
- Jaha, varför det?
- Men innan när jag kom till Sverige jag var inte rädd. [Censored information] Men när jag börjar respekta lag, lagor i Sverige blir jag mer försikt.
- Mer försiktig, ja.
- Så jag kan inte göra vad jag innan göra. Förstå? Börjar jag bli som svensk.
- Jag förstår.
- Vi har, så därför man börjar att bli som svensk.
- Ja, då förstår jag. Känner du att personer som du träffar här litar på dig?
- Litar på mig?
- Mm.
- Litar på mig... De respekterar mig om det gäller att prata med mig och träffa med mig. För att jag tror att hur många skrattar du varje dag så bliva du glad och bliva mer. Men om du ska leva utan skratta. Utan och stressa och farlig, så ska du inte bli glad i livet, även om du har fast jobb och allt. Du vill bli inte glad. Du ser ut som du är glad. Ute men inte inne.
- Du försöker vara glad mot dem och de är de oftast glada tillbaka också?
- Ja, du skrattar med dem, du pratar med dem olika saker, diskutera olika saker. Sedan du kan bli glad. Hur många gånger du blir glad du kan leva längre.
- Leva längre... Ett skratt förlänger livet som vi säger.
- Ja, är bra.
- Det är helt sant. Om du gråter för inte allt i livet. För att det finns inget som destroyed, det finns inget som att man vill gråta för. För alla ska sluta. Så du måste alltid bli glad.
- Det är viktigast att vara glad?
- Ja. För att om du ska bli stress, orolig, sjuk, vad ska människor göra för dig? Ingenting. Du förlorar dig själv, men om du är glad – inget. Så du vilja bli bra.
- Vad är det som bestämmer tror du att du har kommit in i samhället? Att du har kommit in i Sverige? På insidan liksom? Vad är det som du tror är viktigast för att du ska göra det?
- Först du måste byta tänk.
- Byta inställning, mm.
- Ny tänk. Om du ska diskutera med dem, nya saker som du har inte diskuterat innan. Och så om du pratar mycket med människor kan de bli sociala. För att jag pratar så känner jag att de behöver prata. Vem ska fråga om dem: ”Hur mår du? Hur känner du?”. De har allt, men de har inte människor som kan ta hand

med dem. Förstår? De har fina hjärtan, men de förlorade ta hand. Kanske livet är svårt för att jobba och studera.

- Ja, precis.
- Så om du ska komma in i samhället måste du tänka vilken dörren kan du öppna för dem och bli med dem. Förstå? Den är viktig sak. De behöver social livet. Till exempel när jag var i [country] och vi har gamla plats. Gamla platser. Till exempel som moské eller café och många tyska människor, från Tyskland människor, åkte till [country] för att gå till denna och dricka kaffe, ta chaite, abbel babbel, spela tictac, så de kom till [country] för att hitta socialt liv.
- Ja, är det så?
- Ja, de kom till att hitta denna social liv. Att laga mat, att smaka [country] mat. Så samhället behöver socialbiten.
- Så det viktigaste tror du är att man är social och att man träffar andra människor?
- Ja, ja, precis.
- Om du skulle säga, hur lång tid tror du, alltså, innan man känner sig liksom inne i ett samhälle? Hur lång tid tror du att det tar? Hur lång tid har det tagit för dig? Känner du dig hemma i Sverige? Och hur lång tid tar det? Tar det lång tid?
- Nej, det tar inte lång tid om du pratar svenska bra och du förstår dem och de förstår dig. Man kan säga, språket är nyckeln för samhället.
- Mm. Om du kan förstå dem... Till exempel om jag åker buss, och börjar, sätter mig och säger: "Vädret är fint idag" och jag hoppas alltid. "Vad gör du?". [Censored information] Så det blir intressant att prata med dem, man eller kvinna. Och sedan: "Ha det så bra, ha det så bra", så om du diskuterar med dem fina saker och skrattar med dem du kan komma till hjärtat fort och samhället.
- Så du känner dig hemma i Sverige?
- Ja, ja.
- Jag hoppas att träffa kungen i Sverige. Min dröm att träffa.
- Jaha, varför det?
- Jag vill snacka med honom och träffa. För här alla människor är samma.
- Du vill se om han också är samma?
- Ja, jag har träffat min president.
- Oj, vad häftigt.
- Också många prime minister, i jobb. Så viktiga människor jag träffar alltid dem. Ja, så jag hoppas träffa kungen. Varför inte man kan träffa kungen?
- Det kan man säkert, det kan man göra.
- En dag kanske. Ska jag skriva brev att: "Jag vill träffa dig och se dig".
- Ja, jag hoppas han säger ja.
- Ja.
- Det hoppas jag att du får göra. Nu har jag inga mer fler frågor.
- Det är allt klart?
- Ja, tack så mycket. Tack så jättemycket för hjälpen.
- Tack. Ha det så bra.
- Du med. Tack så mycket.

10.1.2 Translation

- If you could start by telling me a bit about yourself, your name, how old you are and so on.
- Okey. My name is Samer [last name] and I'm [age]. I come from [country in the Middle East]. I came to Sweden two years ago. But I have been a lot to Sweden [censored information].
- And how old are you?
- [Information on age]
- Sorry, maybe you said that already. And where do you live now in Malmö?
- [Information on place of residence in Malmö]
- Right, okey. And what is your occupation? What do you do? Do you work?
- Yes, I worked before as a [information on work]. In the morning I worked for the hospital in [country] and clinics, clinics. I was the one to control them from many diseases that exist in [country], and if they had the flu or later would die and I had to investigate what type of disease they had to infect other patients with, that would kill other patients. So, it's sick... Sick, sick... The Ministry of health that controls for the entire hospital in [country]. And before there was a professor coming from Germany who found (...) and he is one of seven people who works with ISO. ISO, you know ISO?
- No?
- ISO are those who control the hospitals in the entire world, so my government asked him to come, offered him to come to [country], so that we could improve the hospital and make it better. This professor has a high wage. In an hour he makes about 1000 euro. If he is going to leave Germany.
- I see.
- So I worked with him for about a month to control the hospitals in [country]. I also worked with women to improve health in [country], because there are many countries where there are (...) and where they don't know how to improve health. So, we visit them, for example in the north of [country], south of [country], east of [country], west of [country]. It was always with the UNESCO program. UNESCO program?
- Yes, that I know of.
- So they had a special program and we cooperated with them to improve health in [country], with patients.
- That's interesting. It sounds like big responsibility?
- Yes, it was very interesting. And I liked to work with them a lot. [Censored information] I could not stay there any longer because every day in the hospital people, a lot of people, came in that were shot in the head and they were in the basement of the hospital and their families could not come and dig them down.
- No, bury them.
- So I felt worried and stressed because I live in a place where people don't want to stay anymore and I work with (...) in the same time I had it difficult in [country].
- So you decided to go to Sweden?
- Yes.

- And that was two years ago?
- Yes.
- I see. And what do you do now in Sweden?
- I study Swedish to complement my degree as a dentist. Socialstyrelsen said I have to study Swedish and then I can apply to university, like Karolinska Institutet in Stockholm, or Gothenburg University [censored information]. But they will only choose 15 students in Stockholm and 12 students in Gothenburg University every year and there is approximately 259 [profession] that wants to apply. So, they will make interviews next month (...) and then they will decide. But if I can't find a place I will go to Romania or some other country in EU to try and complement my education there and then come back to Sweden. Because I don't want to lose the time waiting until next year.
- No. So of course you want to work with what you have been educated to do?
- Yes, I want to work...
- Exactly. But you would still like to live in Sweden, so you want to try?
- I want to try, yes. Sweden is a beautiful country. The system is different than in [country]. My problem is that we lived in [country] and we lived in [country] with different tradition. So you could decide everything, families decide everything, you always think about tradition, and old tradition, but here in Sweden you could do anything. So I decided I want to start to change. Like Swedish people. Understand?
- Mhm. Start to adapt maybe or?
- Adapt, yes, adapt. Because we have bad systems and traditions in [country]. You can't do that, because people will find you. You can't do that, because people will say something. Why, why? Here in Sweden you can do anything. What he believes, what he thinks, he can do.
- What did you know about Sweden when you got here? Did you know that it was like that or what did you think?
- I think that Sweden to me is a paradise, because I like Sweden with all my heart. If I should go to another country and they will ask me what country I'm from, I will not say [country], I will say I'm Swedish. I come from Sweden. Because they like me the way I am in front of others. They help me with the Social Services, money and to study, everything, a place to live. They are very nice people. They have very nice values. And I want to work to pay taxes and live normally. Do everything.
- I understand. But when you came to Sweden, was there nothing was difficult? Was the language difficult, perhaps? When you first came to Sweden? Your first time here?
- Yeah, yeah, the language was difficult. I could not speak well or spell as they wanted me to. Also, it's different with English, because I can speak Spanish and English and Arabic. It's different also if you're writing a paper, paper, they have, you can't translate from English to Swedish. They are different from one another. For example, in English you can say "You live in my heart", but in Swedish you can't say "Du bor i mitt hjärta". In Arabic you can say [Arabic expression], the same as in English. In Swedish there are other expressions. So when you write, my teacher always correct me: "Don't translate from English

to Swedish, don't translate from Arabic to Swedish. You have to think about how we..."

- You have to learn the Swedish expressions?
- Swedish... If I was 30... Because I am [age] it is really hard for me to be like teenagers who come to Sweden, who are 17 or 16 and can learn more Swedish.
- But you speak very good Swedish.
- I understand, but I cannot talk like Swedish people. Maybe because I'm stressed. I have many things to fix in [country]. Understand? So I can't do nothing. For example my wife in [country] can't come to Sweden, because she works with the government. And my children are with her. And if she would think about leaving the government they could shoot her or the family.
- So, you came by yourself here?
- Yes. So, I can't think about what will happen, how could I, if I will remarry here with another woman or I don't know what I should do. [Censored information] I asked my parents if I could go to [country] and see my children. But my parents are right, if I go there they will maybe kill me in [country]. I'm stressed and I can't do, and I can't see my children in three years. Two years. Totally. Because before I came to Sweden I was in Kiev in Ukraina.
- Oh, I see.
- Kiev is a good country, but poor people, they have nothing. People could not work well, like Swedish citizens because they earn much money. They take money under the table, they can buy the police with money, you could buy people with money. Everything, like in [country]. In Sweden there are laws, and everybody has to respect other people. You have to think about that here you can make dream and future if you fight and time will move quickly. Those who have lost everything can start from the beginning in Sweden.
- Yes, that's it. How was it then, in the beginning? To meet friends, find a place to live? Was that also difficult in the beginning?
- To find a place to stay in Malmö is really hard, but you can find, you can find in Sweden if you want to. But I live in warm country. And I like warm place, in [country] it is 30 degrees and here. So. The problem for me is that it's cold. I always have a cold. Always. But I go every day to Aq-va-kul to swim. But every day, I live here for two years and have gone for two years to Aq-va-kul and always when I wake up every day I have a cold. And a sore throat.
- Really? That's terrible.
- Always. I can't live in northern Sweden. I have been before in Norway, in Christianstad, Stavanger, Bergen.
- Yes, that's far.
- Very. I could not stay there. Malmö is better and also to get a social life. You can meet friends, but I like to have Swedish people as friends to learn Swedish and traditions and how they build. My problem in Malmö is that many speak Arabic every day.
- So, you don't speak Swedish if you talk to each other?
- Well, I want to speak Swedish now because I live in Sweden so you have to learn Swedish perfectly.

- Mm. I think you already mentioned this a bit, but have you been in contact with any authorities or so? You mentioned Socialstyrelsen and maybe when you wanted to study and so? If you feel that you can trust them and that they do their job, help you?
- Yes.
- Yes?
- Yes, I feel that I can trust them. I trust the Migration Board, the Employment Service, I trust everything, everybody. But there is only one problem here in Sweden. The time. Time is, you have to take it slowly. Understand?
- Mm, you mean it takes a long time?
- Maybe it's the weather. That people are cold. Understand? Not like in [country]. So I liked the way I lived in Spain during a year, in Alicante, and they always said "Mañana, mañana, mañana. If I would say "Tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow, then I will do this for you". And then they will say: "When are your papers ready? When? Mañana, mañana, tomorrow, tomorrow".
- Yes.
- So, I think Spain have this system because they are not the same as Sweden, but there is no difference.
- It's the same [laughter].
- "Ta det lugnt, ta det lugnt" [laughter].
- It takes long time here as well?
- Yes.
- Yes, I understand. But you still think that there is a difference compared to [country], when you talk to authorities and so on? Maybe it's not the same? That you can't trust them the same way?
- Yes, for example my president was [name of president], you know?
- Mhm.
- My boss was in control, his name is [name], he was friend with [name of president] so I came to his office and then the telephone rang: "Hello, you have to do this", so he had to do that. Understand? So, when they call him they, what do you say, castle, castle...
- Castle?
- President lives there.
- Yes, you mean a castle. Yes.
- Yes, castle, castle. And then a person who works in the castle have to call him and: "You have to do this, you have to call". That's what from this person to next. "You have to close this hospital". So people make decisions, so there are top people that will call him and say: "You have to do that", so then he has to do it. He is the boss, but when they talk to him he have to do that.
- Yes.
- Understand?
- Yes.
- And they are millionaires. You can find someone who is 30 years old and have 35 billion euro in the Geneva bank. Yes, yes, they have a lot of power and if you will not listen to them maybe they will put you in jail or in the ground, so that you must do what they say. Here in Sweden no.

- No, not like that?
- No, that doesn't work. Here in Sweden when I have the right to go to a job or another job or this school or that university I will go there. I shall go. Because I have the right to. There is not difference between... In [country] there is difference between people. There are first people, second people and third people. First people decides everything. But here in Sweden no. The king is the same as all Swedish people. Everybody is the same. So that's why I respect this country and I hope that in the future the situation in Sweden will not change. I hope. Because if it would be like in Russia, if you go to Russia Vladimir Putin will decide over Ukraine , about everything, about Russia, about people. But here no, everybody is the same. So therefore I respect this country.
- Mhm mm.
- And I trust them, with my papers, with work, the future, everything.
- Mm. Let's move on. How would you describe a normal day, that is what happens a normal day when you wake up?
- When I wake up?
- Yes, what do you do, do you go to, or what people do you meet? Where do you go when you are studying or?
- I take bus number eight to school every day, to university, and then I meet my teachers, start the class and when I end the class I will come to Malmö to Språkcafé. I meet Swedish people and talk to them. Then I go to the city library and meet Swedish people, read books and sit at the computer. And then I got to Aq-va-kul and swim with Swedish people. And then I go to Arbetsförmedling or to Garaget språkcafé. I want to go to many places every day so that the time will pass quickly. Because you know in Sweden there is problem that life is not social and the weather is not nice and so if you will sit and do nothing, in the future you will be sick. Because I have met with many people who are stressed and worried and I say: "You live here for 25 years, 35 years, and you haven't done anything here in Sweden. Why? You get money from the Social Services for 25 years and you can do whatever you... If you get a stable job you can buy a house, a car, can go to Mexico, to Spain, you can do everything, but if you say 'Sweden is not good, not good, because they take your kids, they take, you can't find a job. Many people are unemployed'". But I said to her: "If you should go to Dubai, and you are thinking this way you cannot live good. If you should go to America you cannot live good. Why must I do this? (...) You have to think that these two years, what have I done during these two years? Three years? What have I done? If I don't plan well I can't find a solution to the new mix, do (...)". I have to change myself first, then I can be better. But you can't say that nothing is working in Sweden, because Sweden is for everyone, they help all people.
- Mm.
- They have all, you have all, you have many ways of getting better. If you study in your home country, and had no chance before, you will get that chance here. But you have to decide, you have to do, no problem.
- You have to be active, maybe?

- Active, yes, active. So you cannot say that Sweden is not good during 25 years or 30 years. I know, I know that if you gave problems with women in Sweden then women can decide for themselves. You can live with this woman and you cannot live with this woman. Leave her and find other. You can't say: "Okey, they will take their children and I will take mine" for example. No, you can start from beginning, I said to you, there are a lot of people coming. There are a lot of people in [country] that have lost everything during the war, no house, no apartment, no family, no parents, no brother, no siblings, everything gone. So if you think about this and that you will feel better. But if you will think about people in America and other countries, and you will be disappointed, and it won't be good. They are rich people, what happens to them? They have it better than you and then one day they lost everything, family, money. So you must always think about changing yourself first and then you could...
- It's about attitude maybe, the way you think?
- Yes, yes. And people can't, if you want to move to Sweden, you have to respect the country. Okey, there are different traditions, here woman decides. But for example, women decide if they have the right because we are Muslim, I am Muslim, in my (...) Mohammed says we have to take care of women. Take care of women, you have to think like you think about yourself and as a whole. Mine are as a whole. You have to respect what he thinks. If you think about her too then you will be happy, but if you don't think about yourself it will not be right. Will not, this is not what my religion as a Muslim says. Only yourself, that you have a responsibility for yourself. If you have a cat, for example, how will you treat her? You will treat her well and you will respect her, so if you have a woman you must listen to her too. Maybe she has a problem, then you can help her and then she will love you and she can help you and so.
- So you get what you give?
- Yes, feelings. Feelings. You have to have respect, but we have different traditions in [country]. Men decides everything. Women do not want to decide. She doesn't want to go there. You are Muslim and Islam says that you have to have respect. So if other people that are not Muslim see how you treat the woman they will say: "No, I don't want to be Muslim, I don't want to, I don't want a relation where the women have no rights". So, now this have to be better. I came to Sweden to teach from them. Good things so that I can change for the better.
- Yes.
- But if I will think no, it's only about me, then I shall buy a ticket and go to some other country. Better that. Because you can't live here. You can't live in...
- No, I understand. So if I get this right from you, what you would want to change... Or is there anything you would want to change about your situation? Maybe it's mostly that then, that it's hard to get a job and that your family is not here, or what would you change with your situation today?
- My situation, I don't know. What it means. But I think of my situation as a dentist in Sweden, and that the war ends in [country] so that I can visit my family. If the war doesn't end, I don't know what to do. But also, I respect my parents because they are right about me, if I was to go to [country] I might get

killed. And then they will be sad for the rest of their lives. So I must respect them and think about them. And first, find job and be like Swedish people, and then everything will come. I think all will come to me.

- I hope so.
- Yes.
- Now I will ask you to do something, I have this chart. It's a network chart. I will show you, I have a pen here. You are in the middle. And then you have, you see family, relatives, formal contacts which is authorities, work/education, spare time/organizations – here could for instance Språkcaféet be, and friends. And then I want you to place out the people that you have in your life here. If you consider them to be close to you, you place them here [pointing at the middle] and more far away you put them here [pointing at the outer area of the chart]. And then you can place as you wish.
- [Filling out the network chart: family] Yes, but for example, here family?
- Exactly. And if they are close to you, you put them here [pointing at the middle]. Very good.
- [Filling out the network chart: relatives] And relatives, I don't have relatives. I have in Gothenburg and Copenhagen.
- Right, but not in...
- And my brother in Norway.
- I'm not thinking geographically close. Not how far away they are, but how close to you. So if you feel for example that a close friend is here [middle] and over here [outer area] an acquaintance, who you just met.
- Yes, yes.
- So you see what I mean? Not how far they... Not if they live in Malmö, but...
- I shall write the name of friends?
- Yes, you can write that, yes, exactly. People that you meet here in your daily life in Sweden, one can say. So if you feel that they are close friends they are closer to you.
- Yes.
- Good.
- [Filling out network chart: family] And brother...
- He doesn't live in Sweden?
- In Copenhagen.
- In Copenhagen, mm.
- [Filling out network chart: friends] Friends, friends...
- Mm, where have you met them? Here in Sweden?
- Yes.
- That could be as you mentioned before, Språkcaféet.
- [Filling out network chart: spare time/organizations] And Aq-va-kul. Språkcafé.
- This is where you go and exercise?
- Mm.
- [Filling out network chart: work/education] Do you meet a lot of people through your education that you think that you..? Many friends?
- Yes, and I have had two different internships, at two private clinics.
- Yeah, okey. Right. That is authorities if you feel that you have met any of those.

- [Filling out network chart: formal contacts] Sudana, Dimitris. Met the Employment Service. There is a special program in Arbetsförmedling.
- Mm?
- They help academics to work. Quickly in Sweden. International matching, do you know international?
- Yes? And maybe you like her and trust her?
- I like. I like.
- So these are the people that exist in your life here in Malmö.
- Yes.
- Mm, that's good. Great. Let's see. And how many, you told me a bit, but how many would you say come from [country] too? Or are many of these people Swedish?
- They are from Iraq, Palestine.
- For example your friends?
- Yes, they are from Iraq, Palestine.
- So maybe you meet Swedish people, yes, in Språkcaféet and here, that you meet them and get to speak Swedish with them?
- Yes, Magnus, Shirin.
- But otherwise there are many people who speak Arabic too?
- Yes, mm.
- But you try to have... You have many activities, as you said? That you're active and do many different things? Go to the library and..?
- Yes, library (...), Aq-va-kul, library.
- Mm. That's great. What network, if you had to choose one piece of the chart, would you say is the most important to you?
- Parents.
- Mm. And how, if you would have filled this out when you lived in [country]? How would these networks look, how are they different in Sweden?
- Yes. I have maybe 2000 friends. Or 3000 friends in [country].
- Mm, very many friends.
- Many, many. There is always a place, school, SFI, different places where I have friends where I live. Because you know, if you are a [profession] many patients come and visit you every day and then you will have many friends. Many friends every day.
- You get to know everybody who comes?
- Yes, you know. (...) Yes, it's not the same in [country] as for instance in Sweden. Maybe you will meet 100 patients or 150 patients every day. Because the population [information on population in country], in Sweden it is ten million, so. Only in [information on population in capital], like all of Sweden. So you meet many people every day. And also in the hospital I meet 500 people every day. And in the central hospital, all that live in Stockholm shall come to Malmö and get examined, because it's the central hospital.
- Yes, exactly.
- So we can meet many people.
- Do you miss not seeing so many people?

- Yes. Yes, exactly. I was happy in [country], walla, I was very happy. You know, life is easy in [country]. Easy. People are poor, but they are easy. Easy people. For example, they don't have money but if you are to visit them, they will leave everything at the table.
- Yes?
- And give to you. But you can't buy them with money.
- They have hospitality?
- Not to buy with money. They are kind, they are easy. Easy people. For example, when I visit I go to north of [country] and visit a place to give them many new things and tell them how to do in the future, so for example if they have a garden house, they will shoot for example sixty chickens, they will cook for you these sixty chickens.
- What?
- Because you visit them.
- Oh, that's nice.
- Everybody will help out. And then they will sit on the ground and eat together as a group.
- So everybody is... You want to be friends everybody?
- Yes, like that. They are very happy, they are poor but they are very happy that you visit them.
- Do you feel then that Swedish people are a bit cold? That they can be that?
- Cautious. They are cautious. Maybe because immigrants do, there are a lot of problems with that. For example if America open for emigration, they will choose to increase educations, people, increase money, those who have much money to move to Canada or America to get a green card. Understand? So they can't take all people. They will choose special people. But here all people that have problems with war, if they lost everything, and if they don't have education. So when immigrants come here they think that a lot of money goes away and they will trick the government, do different things to take money. So, so here it's different. Swedish people have many problems since refugees came here. That's why they are cautious. If they meet new immigrants. But still, for example, my uncle... Uncle, he came to Copenhagen 1990. So there wasn't many refugees. He decided to go to Amerika from Denmark. But Danish people said to him: "Why are you going to America? You can seek asylum here". They tell him to stay. So it was different before. But after a lot of people from refugees Danish, Norwegian and Swedish people start to be cautious.
- Cautious.
- Yes, cautious. They were different before.
- Yes, that could be it. Mm, okey. Would you say that you are generally a trusting person? Do you trust most people you meet?
- I can't trust them. I will meet them, meet them many times and think if I like them. Then you can trust them. Not right away. Not right away you can trust them.
- Do you think it's different? Would you, do you trust people more in [country] than you do here?

- In [country] there are separate situations. For example I work with important people and when I have a problem I call one person I know, and they will find a solution right away for me. Understand?
- Yes.
- So for example, if I'm doing my passport and then they shall (...) so I can talk to the boss and he will call them and he said to them: "We need passport now", and they can't say no in [country]. If I have a problem with the police we can stop the problem with the police...
- So they solve that quickly?
- Yes, but here in Sweden for example if you meet a person who talks to you for example you can't find a solution.
- No.
- So you mustn't trust many people and also when problem come to you in Europe you must run. Run, and not make problem. Because the law is very strong.
- Yes, absolutely.
- Very strong. And you can't, maybe sometimes it won't be my fault. Others make faults. But maybe there's no problem for me.
- That you are accused?
- Yes, accused, yes. So you have to be very careful in Europe, law very strong. You can't find solution.
- No, exactly. When would you say that you don't feel trust here in Sweden? That you can trust people? Is there any situation in particular that you feel that you can't trust people?
- Trust people in Sweden?
- Mm.
- I like to meet Swedish people and trust them more than immigrants. It's true. Because Swedish people, they are, you can, they are more true. They won't trick you as much as an immigrant. But there are Swedish people that will, but not many. If we would make percentages for instance. Not many. Understand? But immigrants make many problems, so I can't trust all immigrants. I want to say something to you.
- Mm?
- Man and woman came to Sweden, when man and woman come they have neighbours. Neighbours. Man and woman. And woman met other woman. The other woman me first woman. She said to her: "My husband bought a car for me, my husband bought gold for me, my husband helped me get a hospital card". Okey? Her husband is a rich man, but they who come new to Sweden don't have a lot of money, so the trouble starts with the first woman and her husband. And after they will be divorced. Understand?
- Because she compared?
- Because she looks at man, why her man go get a car, why her husband bought her gold. Understand?
- Yes, exactly.
- So, you don't know how the problem got to you. You didn't know, from the window, from the door. Understand?
- Yes, I understand.

- But if you are going to meet families, Swedish, they don't think in the same way. Man buys for woman.
- No, no.
- For example also if you know when you were little in Sweden, if you were little and you for example, you were a kid and you couldn't have everything there was in the world. You're young, you can't say: "Okey, this is enough for me. It's enough for me, I accept". No. One always looks at other people and say: "Why do you have more than me?". Because when I was little I couldn't find a good school or money or nice clothes. Understand?
- Yes, yes.
- So always you think about: "What do you have?". Understand?
- Mm.
- It's dangerous when you meet many people that think in this way with you. Maybe they will change you (...) or they will indirectly make problems for your families. Then families will divorce or, that's bad.
- Do you think that this happens to many people that come to Sweden? That you see other people that have more than yourself? And that you want that too? That you get unhappy from seeing that?
- Yes.
- Mm.
- And when they were little, they couldn't be normal. For example children here in Sweden get food in school, they have nice clothes, have to. The Social Services pays for them to buy. They say: "People may never, you must always wear nice shoes, nice clothes". So when children are children, you have everything. So when he's young he makes good money, normal. My life was normal when I was little. So money is definitely very important to me. I will find what, how I can trust a place. Understand what I mean?
- Yes.
- So it's different.
- But that you, yes okey. That you feel that it's unfair when you come here? When you see that there are a lot of people here that have more than what I have?
- Yes.
- Feel that it's unfair?
- Yes. In my home country they think about collecting money. Here Swedish people think how to pay to be happy. They don't think about collecting money.
- No.
- In my home country they think, like you're a woman now: "How much gold do you have? What woman diamond do you have?" Diamond?
- Diamond, yes.
- "Where did you buy your clothes" They think: "How many houses do you have? How many houses do you have?" As you are a woman. "What nice (...) do you have?" Understand? They think about, for example if you are to marry in my home country then, and if you have friends, girlfriend, then she will say: "My husband gave me a wedding in Hilton or Sheraton, my husband took me one month to Paris for our honey moon". They think like that. But here in Sweden they do not.

- I understand.
- They are proud. Understand proud?
- Yes, proud.
- I have...
- Yes, exactly, they are proud?
- Yes, proud. Proud. They are proud. Could I go to get some more coffee?
- Yes, of course.
- [Walks away to get coffee, comes back] Do you want more coffee?
- I'm fine, thank you. We don't have that many questions left. I was wondering, if there is any time, for example when you walk home alone at night here in Malmö, that you feel unsafe? That it feels, that you're not comfortable or that it feels uncomfortable in any way?
- No, here you can go at four in the morning. Three in the morning.
- You feel safe?
- You can go two, three. Also, I'm not afraid in Sweden because I have made military service. You know military service?
- Mm.
- [Censored information] So I'm not afraid here. When I meet my (...) I will be normal again.
- That's good.
- But also, when I first came to Sweden I was more not afraid. But now I start to become a little bit afraid. Or cautious.
- Really? Why is that?
- Before when I got to Sweden I was not afraid. [Censored information] But when I start to respect the law, laws here in Sweden I become more careful.
- More careful, yes.
- So I can't do what I did before. Understand? Because I'm becoming like Swedish people.
- I understand.
- We have, that's why one start to become Swedish.
- Yes, then I understand. Do you feel that people that you meet here trust you?
- Trust me?
- Mm.
- Trust me... They respect me if it's about talking to me or meeting me. Because I think that the more times you laugh every day the happier you will be. But if you shall live without laughing. Without and with stress and danger, then you will not be happy in life, even though you have a stable job and everything. You will not be happy. Maybe you look happy. Inside, but not outside.
- You try to be happy with them and then they are often happy too?
- Yes, you laugh with them, talk with them about different things, discuss different things. Then you will be happy. How many times you are happy and you can live longer.
- Live longer... "Ett skratt förlänger livet" as we say. Yes, that's good.
- That is really true. If you cry not about everything in life. Because there is nothing that is destroyed, nothing that you want to cry for. Because everybody has to go. So you always have to be happy.

- The most important thing is to be happy?
- Yes. Because if you are going to get stressed, worried, sick, what will people do for you? Nothing. You will lose yourself, but if you are happy – nothing. So, you want to feel good.
- What do you think decides whether or not you have gotten inside of the society? That you have come in to Sweden? On the inside? What do you think is the most important for you to do that?
- First you have to change the way you think.
- Change the attitude, yes.
- New attitude. If you will discuss with them, new things that you haven't discussed before. And then if you talk a lot to people they can be social. Because when I talk I feel they have to talk. How is going to ask them: "How are you? How do you feel?" They have everything, but they don't have people to take care of them. Understand? They have beautiful hearts, but they lost the taking care of. Maybe life is too hard to work and study.
- Yes, exactly.
- So if you come into a society you have to think about which door you can open for them to be with them. Understand? This is important. They need the social life. For example, when I was in [country] and we had old place. Old places. For example a mosque or a coffee shop and many people, from Germany, came to [country] to go there and drink coffee, chai, abbel babbel, play tictac, so they came to [country] to get a social life.
- Is that so?
- Yes, they come to find this social life. To cook, and taste [country] food. So the society needs the social piece.
- So the most important thing is to be social and to meet with other people?
- Yes, yes, that's right.
- If you would say how long you think it takes, that is before you start to feel inside of a society? How long do you think that would be? How long have it taken for you? Do you feel at home in Sweden? And how long does that take? Does it take long?
- Mm. If you can understand them... For instance if I take the bus, and start, sit down and say: "The weather is nice today" I always hope. "What do you do?" [Censored information] So it will be interesting to talk to them, man or woman. And then: "Have a good day, have a good day", so if you discuss with them nice thing and laugh with them you can get close to their heart quickly and to society.
- So you feel at home in Sweden?
- Yes, yes.
- I hope to meet the king in Sweden. My dream is to meet him.
- Oh, why is that?
- I want to talk to him and meet him. Because all people are the same.
- You want to see if he's the same too?
- Yes, I have met my president.
- That's exiting.
- Also, many prime ministers while working. So, important people, I always meet them. Yes, I hope to meet the king. Why can't I meet the king?

- I think you could, I'm sure you can.
- One day maybe. I will write him a letter: "I want to meet you and see you".
- Yes, I hope he will say yes.
- Yes.
- I hope you get to do that. Now, that was all my questions.
- It's done?
- Yes, thank you very much. Thanks for helping me out.
- Thank you. Have a good day.
- You too. Thanks.

10.2 Interview with Petar

- Could you start by telling me a bit about yourself, your name, how old you are and so.
- My name is Petar [last name], I come from Croatia and I am [age]. My profession teacher. I worked as a high school teacher three years, also I worked a little bit like an assistant cook. I thought history and philosophy, ethics and logics. And I came in Sweden two months ago. I am married.
- Mm. Where do you... You live in Malmö?
- Yes, yes. I live in Malmö. I have rented a room.
- And where is it?
- [Information on place of residence]
- Yeah. So, what do you do here? Since you have come here?
- I come to look for a job, eventually to move to Sweden. So I plan a longer stay.
- So, you plan to live here from now on?
- Yes.
- And, do you plan to be able to work as a teacher here as well?
- In the beginning I would probably need to get a job in a kitchen, because I need to validate my diplomas and papers. And also before I learn really good Swedish I don't think I can get a job. And also, I need to a little bit of rest from teaching job. It's a stressful job. So I plan to work 3-4 years with something else, in kitchen or.
- So, you're searching for a job right now?
- Yeah.
- How is that working out? Is it hard to..?
- Yeah, it is a little bit hard because employers don't usually give answer when I send emails (...) they usually don't get back to me. I searched job in kitchen almost month and a half, two months. So since it was, I didn't get any concrete answers I planning to get job in cleaning, it's easier to get a job to cover my monthly expenses in the beginning.
- I see. So why did you decide to leave Croatia?
- Because it's... Because of the politics. It's really bad politics in Croatia, politicians don't have strategies or plans. Last 15 years they ruined industry, they don't have answers to get out of crisis, we are in crisis in Croatia since

2000 I think. So it's bad economy, and as a man who went to University and have College diploma I didn't want to be like a social case for the next 15 years. The salaries are low, and they want to lower them more. For example as a school teacher, high school teacher, I had salary like 6000 kronors with full time table. And the expenses are a bit lower than Sweden. It's like 20 percent lower, but you can't save anything at the end of the month.

- So, did you come here with your wife?
- No, my wife is still in Croatia. She works as a psychologist in elementary school, so we planned that she would keep her job until I find something.
- And then she will come?
- Then she will come, yes.
- So, why did you choose Sweden?
- We did a little bit of research. First we thought about Canada. But Canada is too far away and too expensive and too much capitalist. We didn't want to live in capitalist like America, so we did a little bit of research and we found out that Sweden is one of the best countries in Europe to live so we choose Sweden. And we also came last summer like tourists and we volunteered 2-3 weeks to get experience of Sweden.
- And you got a good experience or..?
- Yeah, we were here in Skåne in Maglehem, in the other coast, near Kristianstad. So we volunteered on a little, like, farm. And they had also restaurant, so we liked it very much. The big thing is just the language and the job, everything else is very nice.
- So, what was your... Did you know anything else about Sweden before, I mean, maybe before the research? Or what was your thoughts before you got here?
- Maybe the common things, like great technology industry, Volvo and Ericson, and also that the state is a welfare state, like takes care of the citizens. And I can see on almost any subject that there is reasonable politics. If you could compare the Croatian, if you knew something about Croatia, you would see how it's much more reasonable. In Croatia too many paradoxes in politics, destructive, so destructive politics.
- Okey. So, about your first time here, it's still very new then to you, but you think that the hardest thing then as you said is the language maybe?
- The language and to get a job, yes.
- What about meeting friends?
- Not too much. I have some Croatian friends. I have also friends from other countries, ex-Yugoslavia. I met some Swedish friends when we were volunteering on the farm. A couple of Swedish friends.
- That's good.
- It's not too hard.
- Have you been in contact with any authorities?
- Yes.
- And do you trust them to do their job?
- I was on Arbetsförmedlingen, but I don't think that their function is... That they have big authority to help people. They are just like the statistics and... They can't find you a job, you need to do it by yourself.

- Yeah?
- Just the other day I was at Skatteverket to ask some questions, but I think that's it.
- So your experience is maybe that it is... Or you think, maybe it's hard to say?
- Yeah, it's hard to say. I don't have much experience from institutions.
- Okey. Could you for me describe a normal day here in Sweden?
- Normal day, huh. Well, I get up to get breakfast, then I learn a little bit, translate texts. Swedish maybe newspapers or Swedish book. Then I look at the web page of Arbetsförmedlingen I search for ads that I can maybe send emails or CV, that I can contact. I almost every day come here to Språkcafé except Friday and on Monday I have also in Stadsbibliotek language course.
- Mhm.
- With Bosnian teacher, so we can talk in Bosnian Croatian or else in Swedish.
- Oh, that's good.
- So four days of Språkcafé and Stadsbibliotek and Friday I'm free, Saturday also. Sunday maybe I get out, and also try three or four days a week go out and personally leave my CV in restaurants, hotels, pizzerias where there is an opening job.
- Okey.
- Mm.
- So about the language, this is where you try to learn Swedish then? In the Språkcafé?
- Yeah, and by myself. I learned before by computer programme, Rosetta Stone. And also by web pages. So I studied before I came to Sweden a couple of months.
- That's good.
- So I had some basic knowledge. But still need to improve my vocabulary. My vocabulary is relatively small.
- Yeah? It's hard maybe to... Do you think that you get to talk, I mean, would you want to get to talk Swedish more but people... Is it hard to do that, to find people to talk to?
- It's not hard to find people, but it's hard to find words because of my small vocabulary. So, when I start to talk in Swedish the other person automatically get the impression that I know Swedish very well. And after a couple of sentences I can't understand anymore.
- Oh, maybe we speak too fast? Like I do?
- Maybe, it's gonna be... But also, the amount of new words.
- Is there anything about your situation now that you would like to change?
- I don't think so except getting a job. If I get a job and I would need to get job with many working hours, because Skatteverket doesn't approve (...) so if you have contract for a year and half of working hours at least, like 50 percent. So they need to see that you get pay check regularly a couple of months. That it is not under 7000 kronor, then they allow you personnummer.
- Ah.
- You get it by birth in Sweden, we get it differently.
- I didn't know that.

- Yeah, yeah. I have just some ordningsnummer now, that's like temporary. So I need to have a job, or there is one possibility more. If you have some saved money and you can prove that it's on your account. But it's like minimum 150000 kronor.
- And then you will get a..?
- Yeah, and if you can prove that you are looking for a job.
- Okey.
- So, 150000 kronor plus Arbetsförmedlingen proves that you are looking for a job.
- So they need to know that you are serious or that you are going to stay here.
- Yeah, yeah.
- Okey. Yeah, now I would like you to... I have made this chart for you. It's like... I want you to point out the networks that you have here in Sweden. This is you [pointing at the middle of the chart] and the closer that it gets to you, like have them as far away as you think they are. Like if you have a really close friend it will be really close to you and then different then - family, relatives, formal... This is like authorities, and this is work/education.
- Is this by activity or closeness?
- I don't mean geographically, I mean how close you feel that they are to you. And here spare time and organizations would be like Språkcaféet or so. And you can put it anywhere you like.
- [Filling out network chart: family, relatives] So, I don't have family or relatives here.
- No.
- No. Formal contacts, I don't know, just Arbetsförmedlingen. Work/education, just Spåkcafé, that's spare time.
- Yeah.
- Work/education, nothing for now. Just searching a job. I don't know how, where should I put it.
- No. Put it anywhere you feel is right. You can write it there if you want to... "Searching for a job", you can write that.
- [Filling out network chart: spare time/organizations] Spare time, Språkcafé and just coffee with a couple of my friends.
- Yeah?
- So, friends I could put the closest one there, the closest thing that...
- You can write that, you can write their names if you want to.
- [Filling out network chart: friends] Yeah.
- Is that people that are Croatian too or is it..?
- One of them.
- Is there any Swedish people?
- Yes, my roommate. She's more like an acquaintance.
- Yeah, so maybe then she's more far away? You can out her...
- Because we didn't get to know each other yet, because she works and she is often upptagen.
- Upptagen, yeah.

- So I have four or five friends. And Språkcafé is really helpful, because I get to listen the language and something is going in subconsciously so it's helpful.
- Yeah. So, which one would you say is the most important to you? If you could choose one piece.
- Also my wife, because we hear every day by Skype. So she's psychologically very important although she's not here I talk to her every day, so she's probably, she's most important. For me.
- I understand. That's good. Would you say that most people that you meet or that you have pointed out here are not Swedish, maybe? They are from some other country?
- Yeah, countries like ex-Yugoslavia but also a couple of Swedish friends.
- Yes.
- So I know to Magnus. Magnus from here and Magnus from Maglehem. And Rebecca. They we're the owners of the restaurant that hosted us for three weeks.
- Oh, nice.
- We helped them with the restaurant and garden and we had free stay and food.
- Mm, okay. So, if you would say the organizations or activities that you have in your spare time is Språkcaféet and..?
- And Stadsbibliotek.
- Yeah, you go to the library. Yes.
- I love nothing much because most of the time I have to be on the computer and looking for a job or learning language. So, that's the two activities that take the most time for me.
- If you would to compare, or if you would have done this while you still lived in Croatia - would there be a big difference?
- Of course.
- And what would be the biggest difference? Would there be more people, more..?
- Formal contacts would not be big differences. But maybe spare time, relatives and family. Work/education, mainly work.
- Okay. I have a couple of questions more. Would you say that you generally can trust people? Are you a trusting person?
- Yes.
- Would you say that there is a difference how you trust people in Croatia and how you trust people here?
- I don't know, maybe to those that I've met here, maybe I trust them more.
- Why is that?
- Because of the mentality. I think Swedes are more fair, more honest. The mentality.
- Do you ever feel that, because, yeah maybe you don't feel that then, but maybe some people think that Swedish people are...
- Closed and cold and..?
- Yeah, yeah. Do you think that? Is it hard maybe, to talk to them?
- Eventually I meet some like that, but most people I meet that are Swedish are open and like to talk. So it's individual case. Someone can get an... Just closed people, so if he gets that impression so. I didn't get the impression.

- Okey. When would you say that you don't feel trust in Sweden? Is there any time or situation?
- I was a little bit surprised when I was looking for a job. In a couple of places I was asked how much time I was in Sweden and am I on Arbetsförmedlingen for a long time, because there is a tax privilege that the employers can get if they employ unemployed people on Arbetsförmedlingen for longer time, like one year. And they get tax privileges, like 80 percent of the pay check is paid by the state I think.
- Yeah, yeah.
- So, a couple of times I get rejection and some other people did better. They get better understanding of searching for a job and get a new job, they told me also that so. So I was a little bit surprised by that, but...
- Do you think that there is a lot of formalities or like, maybe to much, to get a job or..?
- Yeah, possibly.
- Maybe it's more here in Sweden than in Croatia?
- Maybe that because of the fact that employers mostly in hotel or restaurant business are not Swedes mostly that I have seen. So they search for some kind of tax cut that they can use.
- Mm. Do you ever feel insecure, or unsafe rather, if you walk home late at night or ever being outside or so in Sweden?
- Well, a couple of times.
- And why is that?
- Because when I see expensive Audi, like jeep, I generally know what that means. Maybe that can be prejudice but I've seen most of that in Croatia. And probably because of the movies and TV shows like Bron or Johan Falk, so I have something back in my mind.
- Like a bad guy or..?
- Yeah, and those I've heard from my friend that is here like a year is that Malmö is like a transition city for some mobsters and trafficking and... Yeah, and also I've heard that Rasmusgatan is like dangerous. They often get there and, the criminals, and they meet and shoot at each other and...
- Yeah, there has been a bit of violence and shootings and so.
- Yeah.
- Do you feel that people you meet here trust you?
- Yeah, mostly. I got that impression.
- What do you think decides whether or not you feel inside of this society?
- Well, the security and safety from the system. Because in Croatia the system often breaks rise of the citizens, it's an unstable system and I feel that the Swedish system is very stable. That there are rules and they are obeyed.
- That is a reason why you feel safe here or?
- Yeah, safe and also if I go to job I will certainly feel more safe.
- How long do you think it takes, approximately, to feel that you are inside of this society?
- Incorporated?
- Yeah, integrated.

- Well, it depends. If I am to get a job maybe I will feel sooner. If I don't get a job I think I would need at least five or six months when I know, or when I learn the language better I will certainly feel more incorporated in the system and the society.
- Yeah. So, do you feel at home here? Would you say that you, yeah?
- There are mixed emotions. Like I'm somewhere in between. When I read the newspapers from Croatia I also feel bad or anger because I've seen societies that are built rational and successful like Sweden or, I was in Holland, so it gets me frustrated when I see what is happening in Croatia. I would say that I'm somewhere in between, I don't feel it yet but probably I will in a couple of months when I feel more incorporated in the society.
- And for that the language and job is..?
- Yeah, language is most important because I'm a teacher, I taught philosophy and history so for me language is one of the most important things, so if I can't express myself it's much harder for me than many labor worker, like builder or.
- Yeah, it's a big part of your job to speak?
- Yeah, big part of my personality.
- Mm. That was my last question. That you very much.
- I was glad to help.

10.3 Interview with Maurice

10.3.1 Original

- Kan du berätta lite om dig själv? Först vad du heter, hur gammal och så.
- Ja. Mitt namn Maurice, kommer från Syrien. Jag är [age]. Ja. Jag kommer till Sverige i juni 2012, jag bor i Göteborg två månader före.
- Innan?
- Ja, innan jag flyttade till Malmö. Jag jobbade som kock. Jag jobbade i Syrien två år som kock. Och två år i Dubai. Och jag jobbade i Göteborg som kock också.
- Mm.
- Och sedan jag flyttade till Malmö, och studerar SFI nu. Jag har praktik också i [name of hotel]. Jag vill, inte jag vill, jag lära nu som svensk mat och europ mat, jag vet inte den, bara svensk mat. Det är samma mat i Syrien eller orientmat. Ingen sås, det finns inte. Bara lite sådan tomatsås med kött, eller bara lite. Och sedan, ja. Jag bor i Malmö [place of residence], i lägenhet. Jag har ingen barn.
- Du kom till Sverige ensam?
- Ja, ja.
- Och varför kom du till Sverige då? Var det för jobbet eller?
- Nej, det första det min syster, min två syster, kommer hit året 2000. 2000 kommer hit. De gifte här. Min mamma kom 2005 här i Sverige också. Och jag bor i Syrien och jobbar där, normal, ingen fara. Jag och min bror och min pappa i Syrien. För två eller tre år det är olika problem i mitt hemland, många person

kom, jag vet inte vad de vill. Och sedan olika person islamian person, jag vet inte vad de vill. Och sedan jag bor i Damaskus, stor stad. Och sedan, min jobba, min restaurant jag jobbade i slutet var lite problem med. Jag vet inte där i slutet, jag stanna hemma och sedan ingen jobba. Mycket mycket problem om jag gått ut, på vägen eller gatan. Mycket problem. Mycket rädd. Afraid.

- Ja, rädd.
- Ja, mycket rädd. Och sedan min syster pratade: "Kan du komma hit?" eller det bla bla, så jag tänker jag kommer. Min och min bror.
- Så din pappa är kvar?
- Ja, min pappa kan inte komma. Han gammal. Han läskar det, han har lilla, vad heter det, garden. Garden.
- Trädgård?
- Trädgård, ja. Lilla trädgård, han läskar vara där. "Jag stanna här".
- Ja, han vill vara kvar?
- Han uppskattar national, nej inte national... Vad heter, natural.
- Jaha, natur?
- Ja, natur. Inte komma hit. Mycket kallt. Och jag kom hit eftersom det är problem med mitt hemland. Och om jag har inget problem i mitt hemland kan jag komma hit bara visitor eller visa Sweden och sedan åka till hemland.
- Du vet inte om du vill... Eller du tror att du kommer fortsätta bo i Sverige, eller du vet inte kanske?
- Första gången det är ny kultur, nya värden, nya person, ny språk. Allting ny för mig. Allting. Och jag gammal, [age], om jag kom hit 15 eller 16. Som ungdomar, inga problem. Nu jag har ingen kompis från Sverige, svensk först. Och jag har mycket problem, jag kan inte språka med någon person. Kompis eller familj. Om jag har Språkcafé. Och Språkcafé, jag lära mig inte mycket. Som du sa förra gång de pratade mycket snabbt. Jag kan inte förstå det allt. Jag bara höra. Höra, höra.
- Kan du beskriva din första tid här i Sverige? Hur det var att komma hit?
- Första tid? 2012?
- 2012.
- Ja, 2012 i juli. Tredje juli.
- Hur var det att komma hit?
- Hur det känna?
- Ja, hur det kändes ja.
- Jag kom hit mitt i sommaren, mycket fint och jag mycket glad. Och sedan jag inte rädd, ingenting, alla människor fritt... Nej, nej, fred? Peace?
- Ja, fred.
- Första gång jag älskade, vad heter det, rus... Om du stanna, om du köra. Vad heter det, rus?
- Kan du säga på engelska kanske?
- Engelska, rus... Jag vet inte. Regel.
- Jaha, regler. Rules! Nu förstår jag. Ja, regler.
- Ja, det är mycket rules och ja, det är bra. Mycket bra. I mitt hemland, det har inte. Ingen rules. Det är bara den "Stanna, stanna". Det bara den köra bil, du

köra bil. Det är mycket bra. Första gång jag ser hela gatan eller vägen clean. Mycket clean.

- Rent, ja.
- Ja, det är första gång jag ser den i Europa också. Det är första gång. Och nästan jag promenera eller åka buss, och person pratar med mig. Jag kan inte prata. Och engelska jag pratade (...) inte mycket bra. Jag har alltid, jag känner. Det första bra, men jag vet inte. Jag vill det förstå, alltid att jag kan. Jag ville lära svenska. Lilla svenska. Och sedan nästa gång, kanske skriv svenska. Också den viktig. I mitt hemland jag skrivde arabiska, från höger till vänster. Och bokstav arabisk. Här första den skrivit a, b, c...
- Annat alfabet?
- Ja, den från vänster till höger. Och sedan vi hade på grammatik, verb, subjekt. Vi hade verb, subjekt, bla bla, jag kan inte översätta själv.
- Det kanske blir fel ordning?
- Ja, ja. Också exempel mitt hemland. Du vet den [pointing at coffee mug], mugg? Du vet mugg?
- Mugg, vet?
- Jag har mugg vet. I hemland nej, mugg vet.
- Ja. Det är svårt med språket?
- Ja. Ja.
- När du kom hit, vad var det mer än språket som var svårt? Kanske att hitta boende, att träffa vänner, hitta ett jobb? Var det svårt?
- Ja, det är svårt. Första ett år. Jag kunde bara "Hej" och "Hej då". Inte "Hur är det?", jag vet inte. Och sedan jag gå till skolan i Göteborg i tre månader, och kan förstå lite. Sedan jag studerade i fjorton år i hemland. Jag har en utbildning också i restaurang och hotell. Ja, och jag jobbar olika svensk betyder i köket. Jag hade ost, skinka. Det hjälper mig. Om jag praktika eller jobba, ja, det hjälper mig.
- Ja. Hur var dina tankar om Sverige innan du kom hit? Vad visste du om Sverige?
- Visste?
- What did you know about Sweden?
- Aha. Bara Ibrahimovic [laughter].
- Ah [laughter].
- Och sedan, för Sverige den, vad heter...
- Flagga?
- Ja, flagga. Yellow and...
- Yellow and blue?
- Yellow and blue, yeah. Och jag höra den för att det är tio ord, att många personer dött. Eftersom de göra allting. Förstår ni den? Många person kill themselves, because they overthink in Sweden and nothing else. Jag hör this, jag vet inte.
- Ja, kanske.
- Om jag kommer hit, eftersom jag mycket stress. Och väder. Inte bra.
- Kallt?
- Ja, mycket kallt. Ja, bara den, jag vet inte om Sverige.

- Sedan du har kommit hit har du varit kontakt med, alltså träffat, på myndigheter – Arbetsförmedlingen eller något annat ställe – och i så fall om du varit det, litar du på de människorna som du träffat där?
- Jag... Om jag träffat eller?
- Om du har träffat myndigheter, när du träffar dem, litar du på dem? Alltså, do you trust these people that you meet?
- Yeah. Arbetsförmedling först den. Ja, bara den, Arbetsförmedling jag har kontakt med. Också Social, lite bara den, hyra lägenhet. Jag hade boende med min mamma. Och Försäkringskassa inte betala för mig, jag går till Socialen. Berättade där, de mycket mycket snäll. Ingen fara, jag betalar det lilla. Ingen fara. Arbetsförmedling betalar mig 6500-7000, jag betalade 300 och bytte faktura els...
- Ersättning?
- Jag betala också. Med telefonen. Jag trust Arbetsförmedlingen mycket bra.
- Vad bra.
- Jag trustar alla människor i Sverige. De säger alltid, alltid truth.
- Sanning?
- Sanning, ja. Alltid. Det är mycket bra. Jag måste lära det. Men jag, om jag träffade människor från Sverige person, kanske jag. Jag vill lära vilken tid gå sova, vilken tid äta, ja mycket mycket bra. Jag älskar den. Jag kan inte fråga, vet inte.
- Är det annorlunda än i ditt hemland?
- Ja.
- Det är inte så där?
- Ja, inte. Om jag har jobba sju morgonen jag inte sova tolv eller ett på natten, jag vaknar och dricker. Ingen, normal. I Sverige, nej. Här måste jag sova klockan tio om man jobbar klockan sju. I min hemland, nej [laughter]. Om jag ska dricka eller spela kort, ingen fara, jobba. Här nej, här du måste äta klockan åtta. Sova klockan tio.
- Då är det bra?
- Nej. Bra och inte bra [laughter].
- Ah, jag förstår [laughter]. Skulle du kunna beskriva en vanlig dag i ditt liv nu när du bor här i Malmö? En vanlig dag, vad gör du då?
- Vad göra?
- Vad du gör på en vanlig dag? När du vaknar?
- Jaha, mycket bra fråga. Nu jag studerar Hotell [name of hotel] här.
- Hotell?
- Ja, här. I min klass.
- Aha.
- Från halv nio till klockan tre börjar jag. Nu april och may jag har praktik från tisdag till torsdag - tisdag, onsdag, torsdag, bara den. Måndag och fredag i skolan. Nu jag slutade min första plats praktik. Och jag började i onsdags, imorgon. Om jag har klass skolan jag vaknar klockan tio i åtta. Jag har nära, hemma. Och komma hit till klockan halv tolv. Lunchtid. Jag går hemma, äter lunch. Och stannar lite, sedan komma tillbaka till här. Sedan sluta klockan tre. Tillbaka till hem. Jag stannar lite. Nu mycket väder och bra, jag går ut och

- promenera eller cykla. Jag gå till Malmö Stadsbibliotek. Eller Sofielund bibliotek. Läser lite, och sedan tar min dator. Och sedan ikväll jag går, inte varje dag, olika...
- Ibland?
 - Ja, ibland, precis. Jag går med min bror och kompis till café. Vi spelade kort. Till klockan tolv.
 - Sent [laughter].
 - Ja [laughter]. Jag åka tillbaka till hemma, sova, eftersom jag har klass. Ibland jag sova lite, cirka 1-1,5 timma. Från klockan fyra till sex, till halv fem. Ja. Jag vill change, men kan inte, måste klara mig. Du vaknar klockan la la la.
 - Det kanske är svårt?
 - Ja, ja.
 - Finns det någonting i din situation nu som du skulle vilja ändra på? Alltså, förändra? Change? I ditt liv?
 - Change what?
 - Antyhing you would like to change in your situation now?
 - Aha. Många saker. Jag vet inte, men om jag hade person hjälpte mig att prata svenska, eller promenera samman. Det är mycket bra.
 - Kanske en svensk vän då?
 - Ja, det är mycket bra. Och sedan du måste lära dig svenska, om jag stannar här tre år, fem år, sex år, tio år, jag vet inte hur lång det tid jag stannar i Sverige. Måste måste lära svenska, det är nyckeln. Om jag jobbade restaurang eller kiosk, jag vet inte, jag vill. Vad heter jag vet inte.
 - Du får peka?
 - Ja.
 - Okej, nu har jag en sådan här till dig [showing the network chart] och då ska du fylla i. Du är här i mitten, sedan har du vänner, familj, släkt, alltså relatives, it's like your family but your uncle or...
 - Aha, andra. Släkt, ja.
 - Formella kontakter, det är som myndigheter eller Arbetsförmedlingen eller...
 - Arbete/utbildning, skola eller jobb, och fritid, alltså och organisationer. Då kan det vara om du är medlem, som när du kommer hit till Språkcaféet.
 - Aha.
 - Då vill jag att du fyller i de personerna som finns när du bor här i Malmö. I ditt liv, och om de är, till exempel om du har en nära vän så är de närmare dig och en inte så bra vän längre bort. Förstår du?
 - Nära vän?
 - A close friend is closer to you in the middle, and this is maybe someone you just met or don't meet him or her very often [pointing at the outer area of the chart]. Förstår du vad du ska göra?
 - Exactly...
 - Till exempel, du berättade ju att din mamma och dina systrar bor här. Då kan du fylla i dem här i rutan för familj. Din mamma kanske står nära dig, det är viktigt att din mamma finns, då är hon nära dig.
 - Aha, aha. Jag förstår. Om jag vill släktet kan jag skriva här, nära? Inte nära?
 - Långt bort. Ja, precis. Så fyll i precis som du vill.

- Vad skriv? Namn eller?
- Du kan skriva deras namn, eller mamma, beroende på.
- Bra.
- Du får börja var du vill.
- [Filling out the network chart: friends] Vänner, det är bara. Min vänner. Har bara två vänner.
- Mm, det gör inget. Du fyller i de du har.
- Aha, okej.
- [Filling out the network chart: family] Mamma, och syster. Bara familj. Hela familj eller?
- Du kan fylla i de du vill, som du tycker står nära.
- Släkt. Ingen släkt. Bara familjen.
- Ja.
- Jag har ingen släkt i Malmö. Bara i Stockholm.
- Är det någon du träffar?
- Nej.
- Nej.
- Jag har bror också.
- [Filling out the network chart: spare time/organizations] Fritid, det är samma? Språkcafé eller?
- Ja, precis.
- Språkcafé. Cykla?
- Mm.
- [Filling out the network chart: work/education] Arbete/utbildning...
- Träffar du många vänner där?
- Ingen viktig. Det är ingen viktig. Det är skola också eller?
- Ja, både skola och arbete.
- Aha. Kan jag skriva praktik här?
- Ja.
- Myndigheter. Är det någon som du har pratat med som du känner?
- [Filling out the network chart: formal contacts] Min luts.
- Ja. Det kan du skriva.
- Jag har mer, men inte träffa. Inte kontakter.
- Okej, nej, men det är bra. Vilka av de här, om du skulle välja en, vilken är viktigast för dig?
- Viktigast för mig? Jag tror skolan. Ja, min vänner och min familj, det finns, ingen fara. Min luts det är nästan tre månader sedan jag slutade. Arbetsförmedling jag också sluta. Språkcafé hela tiden. Ja, bara det. Skolan är viktig. Jag måste lära, lära. Praktiken jag slutade nästa månad det också. Ja, det är viktigt för mig är skolan.
- Mm, vad bra. Hur många, om du skulle säga, av de här kommer från samma land som du? Alltså träffar du många som är från samma land som du, du sa ju det förut att du kanske inte träffar så många svenskar? Finns det svenskar någonstans..?
- Bara det, bara en svensk. Det finns i JobbMalmö. Som person heter Nina, hon jobbade, träffade med mig och svensk människor. Och det är samma. Berätta

och träffa. Igår det var första gång jag träffade med människor som var svensk och pratade lite. Och sedan nästa vecka vi träffa också. Ja, hon säger att jag olika kultur och du olika kultur och sedan träffade kulturen med samma, med mat eller. Mycket bra idea.

- Just det, jag tror jag vet vad det är. "I Malmö möts vi"?
- Ja.
- Så heter det tror jag, Nina ja. Om du hade gjort den här när du bodde i Syrien, en likadan, hade det varit en stor skillnad? Om du hade gjort den..?
- Aha, i Syrien? Ja, hundra procent different. Oh my god.
- Vilken är den största skillnad?
- Första gång jobba. Första gång. Andra gång vänner. Många vänner, min jobb finns inte, och alla familj. Släkt ja i Syria. Ja, definitivt. Olika saker, det är samma här. Träffat i café eller spela eller fest.
- Fest?
- Ja, fest [laughter].
- Går du på mycket fester? [laughter]
- Ja.
- Ja, men det är bra. Okej, skulle du om du fick säga generellt att du kan lita på människor? Alltså, trust people? Om du är en person som kan lita på människor generellt?
- Jag förstår inte?
- In general, do you feel as a person that you're a trusting person? That you trust people mostly?
- Yeah, I think.
- Är det annorlunda i Syrien än vad det är här? Litar du mer på folk i Sverige eller i Syrien?
- Jag tror i Syrien, jag tror. Men jag hade många person också. Jag hade kanske efter två år i Sverige.
- Det tar lite tid.
- Ja, ja.
- Känner du att svenskar, ibland kan ju svenskar uppfattas som att de är lite kalla, alltså stängda, svåra att prata med? Tycker du det? Eller tycker du att de är lätta att prata med?
- Kan du förklara? Jag förstår inte.
- Personer som du träffar i Sverige?
- Ja.
- Tycker du att de är svåra att prata med? Lite closed?
- Ja, svårt. Det är samma du pratade annan gång. Du förstår när jag säger nej, bara nej. Förstår inte den. Han skrattade. Förstod inte. Jag kan inte förstå det lite. Och jag kan förstå, men jag kan inte förklara, men jag förstår kanske. Jag säger "Mm, jag förstår" men jag kan säga ja.
- Ja, ja. Finns det någon gång när du är här som du känner att du inte litar på människor? Alltså, att du inte känner trust? Finns det någon situation?
- Kan du förklara?

- Finns det någon gång när du bor i Malmö som du träffar människor som du inte litar på? That you don't trust? You meet people that you don't feel confidence for? You understand?
- I answer yes or no? Yes I meet? Or?
- Yeah.
- Yes, jag vill träffa många människor. Trust for what?
- Om du träffar personer du inte känner, finns det någon situation?
- Svensk eller?
- Olika.
- Nej.
- Som du inte litar på?
- Aha, nej.
- Nej? Okej. Känner du dig någonsin, om du går hem på natten kanske?
- Mhm.
- När det är sent. Känner du dig otrygg? Rädd?
- Ja, ja. Inte tänker, men känner. Ja, många många gånger, jag tänka på mig. Jag höra det är många många i närheten problemet i Malmö. Jag vet inte det. Jag inte, jag känner lite.
- Mm.
- Inte mycket, bara lite. Eftersom du läser och jag läser i nyheter om Malmö.
- Våld och? Mm. Känner du att människor här litar på dig?
- Lita?
- Trust you. Do you feel that people here trust you?
- Yeah, I think.
- Mm. Vad tror du är viktigast för att du ska komma in i Sverige? För att du ska känna dig hemma här? Vad tror du är viktigast?
- Jag tror viktigt, vet inte.
- Kanske språk eller att man har ett jobb?
- Ja, det är viktigt jobb. Innan jobb eller språk...
- Det är svårt?
- Ja. Men andra jobb det är mycket viktigt.
- Hur lång tid tror du att det tar innan man känner så? Innan man känner sig hemma i Sverige om man kommer från ett annat land som du har gjort? Känner du dig hemma?
- Hemma?
- Hemma i Sverige.
- Aha, hemma här.
- Ja, känner du så?
- Aha. Bra, jag vet inte. Känner?
- Do you feel at home? That this is your home, Sweden?
- Aha. Jag kan säga ja, jag kan säga nej. Olika saker ja. Om jag jobba, ja det är min hem. Sverige, svensk. Och sedan om jag ska tänka, everyone in Sweden this is your hem. Not for me. Många många människor kom till Sverige, inte som hemland. Men måste crash, eller make problem. I think so. Många tid, det inte bra. Ingen är bra. Det Sweden mycket bra government. Give us everything, money and everything, why you do this? If you have any problem, gå hem. Gå

hemland. Not in Sweden. Jag tror den, många människor i Sverige älskar inte det. Om the Sweden people want me outside okey, I go outside. (...) Jag säger, det inte bra. Det är många människor inte bra. De svensk, I tell you, they give us everything. Första gång fred, andra gång freedom.

- Frihet?
- Frihet, ja. Det är mycket viktigt frihet. Och sedan varför du är sådan? Eftersom samma gång jag tror det är min hemland och Sverige, jag tror hemland, jag vet inte.
- Det är både och.
- Ja, det är både och. Ja. Om jag hade lite tid, jag vill inte stanna i Sverige. Jag vill ingenting. Jag vill gå hem, hemland. Andra tid, relax. Ingen fara. Jag stannar här. Om nästan två år eller tre år, jag vet inte, om jag lära svenska eller jobbar eller. Många människor pratar med mig, jag jobbar som kock, mycket bra i Sverige. Första första jobb är kock, andra jag vet inte. Jobba frisör också. Det är första gång jobba, det är mycket bra. Mycket pengar eller mycket jobba det. Jag vet inte. Jag har en (...) jobba här. Kanske om jag jobbade, I change my mind.
- Det var alla frågor.
- Alla? [laughter]
- Tack så mycket [laughter].
- Du förstod den?
- Ja, jättebra, jättebra.
- Tack själv.
- Tack ska du ha.

10.3.2 Translation

- Could you tell me a bit about yourself? First your name, your age and so.
- Yes. My name is Maurice, I come from Syria. I am [age]. Yes. I came to Sweden in june 2012, I lived in Gothenburg two months before.
- Before?
- Yes, before I moved to Malmö. I worked as a cook. I worked in Syria as a cook for two years. And two years in Dubai. And I worked in Gothenburg as a cook also.
- Mm.
- And then I moved to Malmö, and I study SFI now. I have internship also in [name of hotel]. I want to, no not I want to, I learn now about Swedish food and European food, I don't know that, only Swedish food. It's the same food in Syria or orient food. No sauce, there is none. Just a little tomato sauce with meet, or just a little. And then, yes. I live in Malmö [place of residence], in apartment. I have no child.
- You came to Sweden alone?
- Yes, yes.
- And why did you come to Sweden? Was it because of the job?

- No, first, my sister, my two sisters came here in 2000. 2000 came here. They got married here. My mother also came to Sweden in 2005. And I lived in Sweden and worked there, normal, no problem. Me and my brother and my dad in Syria. Two or three years ago there were different problems in my home country, many people came, I don't know what they want. And then different people, Islamic people, I don't know what they want. And then I lived in Damaskus, big city. And then, my job, there were some problems with the restaurant where I worked in the end. I don't know there in the end, I stayed at home and then nobody worked. A lot of problem if I would have gone out, in the streets. A lot of problem. Very afraid. Afraid.
- Yes, afraid.
- Yes, very afraid. And then my sister said: "Can you come here?" or blah blah, so I thought I come. Me and my brother.
- So your father still lives there?
- Yes, my father cannot come. He is old. He loves that, he has a small, what is it called, garden. Garden.
- Garden?
- Garden, yes. Little garden, he loves to be there. "I stay here".
- Yes, he wants to stay?
- He appreciates national, no not national... What is it called, natural.
- Oh, nature?
- Yes, nature. Not coming here. Very cold. And I came here because there is a problem with my home country. And if I had no problem in my country, I can come here as a visitor to Sweden and then go to back to home country.
- You don't know if you want to... Or you think you will continue to live in Sweden, or you don't know, maybe?
- The first time there is a new culture, new values, new people, new language. Everything is new for me. Everything. And I'm old, [age], if I came here when I was 15 or 16. For young people, no problem. Now I have no friends from Sweden, Swedish first. And I have a lot of problems, I cannot talk with any person. Friends or family. If I have Språkcafé. And Språkcafé, I don't learn much. As you said last time they speak very fast. I cannot understand it all. I just listen. Listen, listen.
- Can you describe your first time here in Sweden? What it was like to come here?
- First time? 2012?
- 2012.
- Yes, 2012 in July. Third of July.
- How was it to come here?
- How it felt?
- Yes, what it felt like.
- I came here in the middle of the summer, it was very nice and I was very happy. And I was not afraid, nothing, all people free... No, no, peace? Peace?
- Yes, peace.
- First time I loved, what is called, rus ... If you stay, if you run. What is it called, rus?
- Can you say it in English perhaps?

- English, rus... I don't know. Rule.
- Oh, rules. Rules! Now I understand. Yes, rules.
- Yes, there's many rules and yes, it's good. Very good. In my country, it's not like that. No rules. It's just the "Stop, stop". It's only driving a car, you drive a car. It's very good. It's the first time I see the whole street or road clean. Very clean.
- Clean, yes.
- Yes, it's the first time I see it in Europe too. It's the first time. I almost walk or ride the bus, and a person talked to me. I can't talk. And I talked English (...) but not very good. I always have, I feel. The first is good, but I don't know. I want to understand, to always know. I wanted to learn Swedish. Little Swedish. And then next time, maybe write Swedish. That is also important. In my home country I wrote Arabic, from right to left. And the letters were Arabic. Here the first written a, b, c...
- There's another alphabet?
- Yes, from left to right. And then we had on the grammar lesson, verbs, subjects. We had verbs, subjects, blah blah, I can't translate it by myself.
- Maybe the order is wrong?
- Yes, yes. For example, in my homeland. You know that [pointing at a coffee mug], mug? You know mug?
- Mug, know?
- I have mug know. In homeland no, mug know.
- Yes. It's difficult with the language?
- Yes. Yes.
- When you came here, what was difficult more than the language? Perhaps to find a place to live, meet friends, find a job? Was that hard?
- Yes, it's hard. The first year. I could just say "Hello" and "Goodbye". Not "How are you?", I don't know. And then I went to school in Gothenburg for three months, and I could understand a little. I studied for 14 years in home country. I have an education in the restaurant and hotel business. Yes, and I work with what different Swedish words mean in the kitchen. I had cheese, ham. It helps me. If I have an internship or work, yes, it helps me.
- Yes. What were your thoughts of Sweden before coming here? What did you know about Sweden?
- Know?
- What did you know about Sweden?
- Aha. Only Ibrahimovic [laughter].
- Ah [laughter].
- And then, the Swedish, what is called...
- Flag?
- Yes, flag. Yellow and...
- Yellow and blue?
- Yellow and blue, yeah. And I hear it because it's ten words, that many people have died. Because they do everything. Do you understand? Many people kill themselves, because they overthink in Sweden and do nothing else. I heard this, I don't know.

- Yes, perhaps.
- If I come here, because I'm very stressed. And the weather. Not a good thing.
- Cold?
- Yes, very cold. Yes, just that, I don't know about Sweden.
- Since you have come here have you been in contact with, I mean have you met, any authorities – the Employment Service or any other place – and if so, do you trust the people that you've met there?
- I... If I've met them or?
- If you've met authorities, when you meet them, do you trust them? Do you trust these people that you meet?
- Yeah. Arbetsförmedling first. Yes, only that, Arbetsförmedling I have had contact with. Also, Social, a little, rent an apartment. I was living with my mother. And the Försäkringskassa does not pay for me, I go to Socialen. Told them, they were very very nice. Don't worry, I'll pay a little. Don't worry. Arbetsförmedlingen pays me 6500-7000, I paid 300 and changed the bill...
- Compensation?
- I paid that too. With the phone. I trust Arbetsförmedlingen.
- That's good.
- I trust all people in Sweden. They always tell the truth.
- Truth?
- Truth, yes. Always. It is very good. I have to learn it. But if I met people from a Swedish person, I might. I want to learn what time to go to sleep, what time to eat, yes very very good. I love it. I cannot ask, don't know.
- Is it different than in your home country?
- Yes.
- It is not like that?
- Yeah, no. If I have to work seven in the morning I did not sleep until twelve or one o'clock at night, I wake up and drink. Nobody, normal. In Sweden, no. Here I have to sleep at ten if you work at seven. In my home country, no [laughter]. If I'm going to drink or play cards, no problem, work. Here, no, here you have to eat at eight o'clock. Sleep at ten o'clock.
- Is that good?
- No. Good and bad [laughter].
- Ah, I get it [laughter]. Could you describe a typical day in your life now that you live here in Malmö? On a typical day, what do you do?
- What to do?
- What you do on a typical day? When you wake up?
- Well, very good question. Now I am studying Hotel [name of hotel] here.
- Hotel?
- Yes, here. In my class.
- Aha .
- From half past eight until three o'clock I start. Now April and May I have practice from Tuesday to Thursday – Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, just that. Monday and Friday in school. Now I finished my first place practice. And I started on Wednesday morning. If I have school I wake up at ten to eight. I'm close, at home. And then coming here until half past twelve. Lunch time. I go

- home, have lunch. And I stay there a bit, then come back to here. Then stop at three. And go back home. I'll stay a little. Now very good weather, I go out and walk or cycle. I go to Malmö City Library. Or Sofielund library. Reads a bit, and then take my computer. And then at night I go, not every day, different...
- Sometimes?
 - Yes, sometimes. I go with my brother and friends to dinner. We play cards. Until midnight.
 - Late [laughter].
 - Yes [laughter]. I go back home, sleep, because I have class. Sometimes I sleep a little, about 1-1.5 hours. From four o'clock until six, or half past four. Yes. I want to change but cannot, I have to cope. You wake up at la la la.
 - It's hard?
 - Yes, yes.
 - Is there anything in your situation now that you would like to change? I mean, to change? In your life?
 - Change what?
 - Anything you would like to change in your situation now?
 - Aha. Many things. I don't know, but if I had a person to help me speak Swedish, or walk with. That would be good.
 - Maybe a Swedish friend then?
 - Yes, that's very good. And then you have to learn Swedish, if I stay here for three years, five years, six years, ten years, I don't know how long the time I will stay in Sweden. I must learn Swedish, that's the key. If I worked in a restaurant or a kiosk, I don't know, I want to. What's it called, I don't know.
 - You get to point?
 - Yes.
 - Okay, now I have one of these to you [showing the network chart] that you can fill in. You are here in the middle, and then you have friends, family, relatives, that is relatives, it's like your family but your uncle or...
 - Aha, others. Relatives, yes.
 - Formal contacts, that is that the authorities or the Employment Service or...
 - Work/education, school or work, and spare time and organizations. That can be if you are a member, like when you come here to Språkcaféet.
 - Aha.
 - And then I want you to fill in the people that you meet when you stay here in Malmö. In your life, and if they are, for example if you have a close friend they are closer to you and a not so good friend further away. Do you understand?
 - Close friend?
 - A close friend is closer to you in the middle, and this is maybe someone you just met or don't meet him or her very often [pointing at the outer area of the chart]. Do you understand what you're supposed to do?
 - Exactly...
 - For example, you told me that your mother and your sisters live here. Then you can fill them in here in the box for family. Your mother maybe is close to you, it is important that your mother is here, then she is near you.
 - Aha, aha. I see. If I want to write relatives I can write here, close? Not close?

- Far away. Yes, exactly. And then you can fill out as you like.
- What can I write? Their names or?
- You can write their names, or mother, that depends.
- Good.
- You can start wherever you want.
- [Filling out the network chart: friends] Friends, it's just. My friends. I have only two friends.
- Mm, that's fine. You fill in the ones you have.
- Ah, okay.
- [Filling out the network chart: family] Mom and sister. Only family. The whole family or?
- You can fill out the ones you want, that you think is close to you.
- Relatives. No relatives. Just family.
- Yes.
- I have no relatives in Malmö. Only in Stockholm.
- Is that anyone you meet?
- No.
- No.
- I have brother also.
- [Filling out the network chart: spare time/organizations] Spare time, it's the same? Språkcafé or?
- Yes exactly.
- Språkcafé. Bicycling?
- Mm.
- [Filling out the network chart: work/education] Work/education...
- Do you meet many friends there?
- No one important. It's no one important. There is also school or?
- Yes, both school and work.
- Aha. Can I write internship here?
- Yes.
- Authorities. Is there anyone you've talked to that you know?
- [Filling out the network chart: formal contacts] My luts.
- Yes. That you can write.
- I have more, but not that I meet. Not contacts.
- Okay, no, but it's good. Which of these ones, if you were to choose one, which is most important to you?
- Most important to me? I think school. Yes, my friends and my family, they are there, no problem. My luts I stopped seeing almost three months ago. The Employment Service I quit as well. Språkcafé all the time. Yes, that is it. School is important. I must learn, learn. The internship I stopped next month too. Yes, the important thing for me is school.
- Mm, that's good. How many of these would you say are from the same country as you are? Do you meet many people who are from the same country as you are, you said before that you might not meet so many Swedish people? Are there any Swedish people somewhere..?

- Only one Swedish person. In JobbMalmö. This person's name is Nina, she worked, met with me and Swedish people. And it is the same. Talk and meet. Yesterday it was the first time I met with people who were Swedish and talked a bit. And then next week we will meet as well. Yes, she says that I have a different culture and you have different culture and then you meet different cultures together, with food or. It's a very good idea.
- Right, I think I know what it is. "I Malmö möts vi"?
- Yes.
- That's the name I think, Nina yes. If you would have done this when you were living in Syria, would there have been a big difference? If you had done it..?
- Aha, in Syria? Yes, a hundred percent different. Oh my god.
- What is the biggest difference?
- First, working. First time. Secondly, friends. Many friends, my job does not exist, and all the family. Relatives yes in Syria. Yes, definitely. Different things, it's the same here. We met in a café or through playing or a party.
- Party?
- Yes, party [laughter].
- Are you at a lot of parties? [laughter]
- Yes.
- Yes, that's good. Well, would you say that in general you can trust people? That you are a person who can trust people in general?
- I don't understand?
- In general, do you feel as a person that you're a trusting person? That you trust people mostly?
- Yeah, I think.
- Is it any different in Syria than it is here? Do you rely more on people in Sweden or in Syria?
- I believe in Syria, I think. But I had many people there too. I had that maybe after two years in Sweden.
- It takes some time.
- Yes, yes.
- Do you feel that Swedish people, sometimes the Swedish people are perceived as being a little cold, I mean closed, difficult to talk to? Do you think so? Or do you think they are easy to talk to?
- Can you explain? I don't understand.
- People you meet in Sweden?
- Yes.
- Do you think they are hard to talk to? A little closed?
- Yes, difficult. That is the same as you talked about another time. You see when I say no, just no. Don't understand it. He laughed. Did not understand. I can only understand it a bit. And I can understand, but I can't explain, but I understand maybe. I say "Mm, I understand" but I can say yes.
- Yes, yes. Is there any time when you are here that you feel you can't trust people? I mean, when you do not feel trust? Is there any situation?
- Can you explain?

- Is there any time when you live in Malmö that you meet people who you do not trust? That you do not trust? That you meet people that you do not feel confidence for? You understand?
- I answer yes or no? Yes I meet? Or?
- Yeah.
- Yes, I want to meet many people. Trust for what?
- If you meet people you do not know, is there any situation?
- Swedish or?
- Various.
- No.
- That you do not trust?
- Aha, no.
- No? Alright. Do you ever, if you go home at night maybe?
- Mhm.
- When it's late. Do you feel insecure? Afraid?
- Yes, yes. Not think, but feel. Yes, many many times, I think of me. I hear there are many many problems around Malmö. I don't know that. I don't, I know a little.
- Mm.
- Not much, just a little. Because you read, I read in the news about Malmö.
- Violence and? Mm. Do you feel that people here trust you?
- Trust?
- Trust you. Do you feel that people here trust you?
- Yeah, I think.
- Mm. What do you think are most important for you to get into Sweden? For you to feel at home here? What do you think is the most important?
- I think it is important, don't know.
- Maybe the language or that you have a job?
- Yes, it's important job. Before the job or language...
- It's hard?
- Yes. But other jobs are very important.
- How long do you think it takes before you feel that way? Before one feels at home in Sweden if you come from another country like you have? Do you feel at home?
- At home?
- At home in Sweden.
- Ah, home here.
- Yes, do you feel that way?
- Aha. Well, I don't know. Feel?
- Do you feel at home? That this is your home, Sweden?
- Aha. I can say yes, I say no. Different things yes. If I'm working, yes it is my home. Sweden, Swedish. And then I think, everyone in Sweden this is your home. Not for me. Many, many people came to Sweden, not as homeland. But must crash, or make problems. I think so. Many times, it is not good. No one is good. The Sweden has a very good government. Give us everything, money and everything, why you do this? If you have any problems, go home. Go to

homeland. Not in Sweden. I believe it, many people in Sweden do not love that. If the Swedish people want me outside okay, I'll go outside. (...) I say, it's not good. There are many people not good. The Swedish, I tell you, they give us everything. First time peace, second time freedom.

- Freedom?
- Freedom, yes. It is essential freedom. And then why you are acting like that? As the same time I think it is my homeland and Sweden, I think homeland, I do not know.
- It is both.
- Yes, it is both. Yes. If I had a little time, I would not want to stay in Sweden. I want nothing. I want to go home, the homeland. Other times, the relaxation. No need to worry. I'm staying here. In almost two years or three years, I don't know if I learn Swedish or are working or. Many people talk to me, I work as a cook, that's very good in Sweden. First first job is cook, the others I don't know. I work as a hairdresser too. It is the first time to work, it is very good. A lot of money or a lot of work. I don't know. I have a (...) want to work here. Maybe if I was working, I change my mind.
- It was all questions.
- All of them [laughter]?
- Thank you [laughter].
- You understood it?
- Yes, that's great, great.
- Thank you.
- Thank you.

10.4 Interview with Fariborz

10.4.1 Original

- Om du kan börja att berätta lite om dig själv. Alltså, ditt namn, hur gammal du är och lite så.
- Jag heter Fariborz, jag kommer från Iran. [Information on age]
- Och du bor här i närheten sa du?
- Jag bor i Malmö.
- I vilken del av Malmö?
- [Information on place of residence]
- Vad gör du för någonting..?
- Jag försöker lära mig svenska.
- Mm, SFI?
- Nej, jag...
- Vanlig?
- Dator. Jag study...
- Studera?
- Jag studerade mig i Iran på (...) det handlar om metall.

- Ja, metall? Ja, precis. Okej, så det var det du gjorde i Iran? Du studerade? Student?
- Mm.
- Och du kom till Iran för ett år sedan sa du? Eller till Sverige menar jag så klart [laughter].
- Just det [laughter].
- Varför då? Varför kom du hit?
- Jag kommer, min mamma bor här. Hon kom hit för fem år sedan. Så jag kom hit.
- Till henne.
- Ja, till henne.
- Kom du ensam?
- Ja.
- Vad visste du om Sverige då? Vad var dina tankar om Sverige?
- Det är jättebra om allting. Jag känner mig välkommen här. Jag tycker att man kan utveckla sin själv i många lägen. Field?
- Ja, men precis, områden?
- Ja. Det är bra. Det är något som vi har inte i Iran.
- Vad tycker du, om du kan berätta om din första tid här i Sverige? Nu har du ju inte varit här så länge, men vad tycker du är svårt med att komma till ett nytt land och så?
- Jag förstår inte?
- Om du kan berätta om din första tid när du kom hit. Hur det var? Att komma hit?
- Det var colorful.
- Var det?
- Ja. Men jag känner att folk här jättebra jämfört Iran. De kan, de får göra vad de vill. Så det är bra.
- Vad bra. Vad tyckte du var svårt? Kanske språket eller träffa vänner?
- Att skaffa vänner.
- Svårt?
- Ja, jättesvårt för mig. Det är svårt i Iran också, men här det går inte så bra. Att hitta vänner.
- Varför det? Är det kanske för att det är svårt att prata svenska eller?
- Språket är en anledning. Här i Sverige, folk är jättesnäll när du träffa dem för två-tre minuter. De säger: "Hej! Hur mår du? Hur har du de idag?" men när du ska, när du vill skapa en relation det är svårt.
- Tycker du att folk kanske är lite stängda, eller lite svåra att, vad ska man säga, lite closed liksom? Förstår du?
- Ja, kanske (...) men de är bra de mesta svensk.
- Okej, har du varit i kontakt med några myndigheter? Du förstår vad jag menar? Har du varit i kontakt med någon?
- Jag har varit i kontakt med MKB och HSB och Migrationsverket.
- Tycker du, eller litar du på att de gör sitt jobb? Har de bemött dig på ett bra sätt?

- Ja, de gör på ett bra sätt, på bra sätt, men MKB och HSB känner jag (...) men jag känner inte riktigt, men jag vet att det finns folket som får pengar. Får pengar från folket som ska ha lägenhet. De folket får lägenheter (...).
- Så att de går före i kön menar du?
- Ja, de fuskar.
- Jaha, de fuskar lite. Aha. Och det vet du? Att de..?
- Jag vet att det finns, den system. Jag vet inte vem.
- Nej, okej. Har det varit svårt för dig att få bostad? Eller du kanske bor med din..?
- Ja, nu bor jag med min mamma. Men mamma stanna i den kö för fem år.
- Har det varit svårt för henne att få en lägenhet då? När hon har stått länge i kö?
- Ja, det var svårt.
- Tycker du att du att de här myndigheterna som du varit i kontakt med, är de annorlunda, är det liksom annorlunda från i Iran, hur det ser ut? Stor skillnad kanske?
- Ja, de gör (...).
- Arbete eller?
- Their job.
- Vad sa du?
- Activity.
- Ja, activities?
- Jättesnabb.
- Ja, det går mycket fortare?
- Ja, det går jättefortare. Att använda e-tjänst, det går inte bra. Men, det finns. Det är bara ett namn.
- Okej, jag förstår.
- Så, det går jättefortare. Nej men, man vet när man ska ha sitt jobb. Göra?
- Ja, göra.
- Du vet att i en månad att du ska få svar.
- Precis.
- Du får vänta. Och fråga: "Hur går det?"
- Man får vänta till man får svar? Mm. Okej, skulle du kunna beskriva en vanlig dag här i Malmö? Vad du gör när du vaknar och så?
- Jag vaknar och börjar att lära mig svenska.
- Då sitter du vid datorn?
- Vid datorn. Jag åker till biblioteket, jag sitter vid datorn och lär mig svenska och på kvällen läsa böcker om historia, psykologi and litterature. Sedan kanske se en film (...).
- Bra. Skulle du vilja ändra något med din situation som den är idag eller som den är nu?
- Nej, jag skulle börja studera i universitet. Men jag har väntat på mitt personnummer.
- Ja, just det, precis.
- Så (...) personnummer och att börja studera.
- När tror du att du får det? Alltså, vet du när du kommer få det?
- Vet inte.

- Nej, nej. Nu har jag en grej här. En sådan här som du ska få fylla i. Också har jag en penna. Och då är det en nätverkskarta. Det här är du i mitten, och sedan så har du olika kategorier då: vänner, familj, släkt, formella kontakter kan vara myndigheter, sedan så är det arbete eller utbildning och fritid eller organisation, det kan till exempel vara när du går på Språkcaféet eller sådana aktiviteter. Så ska du fylla i de personerna som du träffar i ditt liv när du bor här i Malmö. Och om de står nära dig så tar du dem närmare dig själv [pointing at the middle]. Till exempel om din mamma, så kanske hon är nära. Och här kanske är en bekant bara [pointing at outer area] och en nära vän. Så du får sätta ut. Du kan skriva deras namn eller mamma eller så där.
- [Filling out network chart: family] Mamma...
- Mm.
- [Filling out network chart: friends] Det finns de som inte är min vän, men som jag bara känner.
- Men det går bra också. Vid kanten, mm.
- [Filling out network chart: family] Vad är mammas syster?
- Moster?
- Moster.
- [Filling out network chart: relatives] Släkt?
- Relatives. Alltså.
- Like family?
- Ja, så det är ju lite samma. Men som inte är den närmaste familjen.
- Jag har bara min mamma och moster i Sverige.
- Ja, men då kan du lämna den.
- [Filling out network chart: formal contacts] Formella kontakter. HSB, MKB, Migrationsverket. Ja.
- Mm.
- [Filling out network chart: work/education] Arbete/utbildning...
- Om du träffar någon genom... Men det kanske du inte gör om du pluggar själv, studerar ensam? Men träffar du, studerar du med någon eller är du ensam när du läser?
- Jag läser ensam, men två gånger jag gick till Malmö högskola och lärde mig en kurs i svensk. Men jag får inte att gå in kursen.
- Nehe, så du gick aldrig kursen?
- Nej, men det var bara en prova.
- Jaha, en prova på?
- Ja, men jag fick inte.
- Du fick inte gå där?
- Ja, fick inte fortsätta.
- Du blev inte godkänd? Nej, okej. Du kan lämna den då om du vill.
- [Filling out network chart: spare time/organizations] Fritid jag går JobbMalmö. Och bio.
- Mm. Går du på svenska filmer då eller engelska?
- Mm.
- Svenska? Eller båda?
- Mm.

- Vad bra.
- Och Stadsbibliotek.
- Precis, skriv det, det är bra.
- Stadsbibblan. Mm, ja.
- Bra, tack. Om du skulle säga, vilken som är viktigast? Om du väljer en av de här som är viktigast för dig i Malmö, vilken skulle du välja då?
- Vad...
- Vad som är viktigast för din situation här? I Malmö?
- Min mamma.
- Så det är den, det är familjen då.
- Jag måste tippa.
- Ja, det kan du göra. Hur många skulle du förresten säga som är svenskar? Eller är det många som kommer från Iran?
- Bara Amir, han från Iran. Förstår Skåne [pointing at Louise and Per]. Ivan från Polen, Anna från Sverige, pratar svenska. (...)
- Var har du träffat Anna, Per och Louise?
- Anna är Ivans sambo så. Jag träffar Ivan i bibliotek, och vi blev vänner och sedan jag träffade Anna. Per är min mammas vän. Louise jag träffade i Stadsbibliotek.
- Och Amir?
- Amir arbetar på bibliotek.
- Vad bra.
- Ska jag skriva?
- Nej, jag har ju det på inspelning, så det är bra. Får hoppas att det hörs. Hur, jag kan tänka mig att det är lite skillnad om du hade gjort den här när du var i Iran, hade det varit stor skillnad på hur många personer och..?
- Ja. Jag känner många (...).
- Ja, många vänner och?
- Jag hade jobb, jag hade min company. Men i Iran, ja entertainment.
- Ja, fritid?
- Fritid. Det var bio, du kan läsa. Men här det finns många alternativ att göra på fritid.
- Du tycker att det finns mer alternativ här?
- Ja. Mycket.
- Mycket mer. Mm. Då ska vi se. Skulle du säga att du generellt sett är en person som litar på andra människor? Skulle du säga att du är det?
- Ja, det är jag. Jag tycker att man bör lita på andra människor annars man kan inte bo på trevligt sätt. Dessutom man kan inte få hjälp av andra om man litar inte på andra och det viktigaste är att man kan inte skapa relation med andra folk.
- Men skulle du kanske ändå säga att det finns en skillnad, eller att du litar på folk mer i Iran eller mindre än i Sverige? Eller du kanske inte kan säga?
- Det finns ingen skillnad.
- Du känner likadant?
- Ja.

- När skulle du säga, det kanske finns en speciell situation, som du inte känner att litar på folk extra mycket? Att det finns någon situation, kanske när du träffar nya människor eller?
- En gång till.
- Om det finns någon situation när du inte litar på människor extra mycket, kan du komma på någon situation?
- Som jag litar?
- Inte litar, mm.
- Det finns många. Till exempel, när jag ska, vill studera. Jag gör det ensam alltid.
- Du litar inte, du vill inte få hjälp av andra?
- Jag tycker inte om att någon stannar bredvid mig och säger något. Det går inte.
- Okej, du vill lära dig själv?
- Mm.
- Okej. Känner du dig någonsin när du är i Malmö otrygg, eller vad ska man säga, osäker om du går hem till exempel själv på natten? Känner du att det är obehagligt eller att du blir rädd?
- Nej, känner.
- Nej? Nej. Känner du att människor här i Sverige litar på dig?
- Ja, men inte alla. Inte ungdom.
- Inte unga.
- Nej.
- Varför tror du inte att de unga litar på dig?
- Jag tror att unga tjejer, de litar inte på människor som kommer från andra landet.
- Ja.
- Vad är det som bestämmer tycker du, eller som är viktigast för dig, för att du ska komma in i samhället här i Sverige? Förstår du vad jag menar då? Att du ska bli... Man kan säga, vad som är viktigast för att du ska känna dig hemma här?
- Språket.
- Språket? Det är det som är viktigast. Hur lång tid tror du att det tar innan man känner sig hemma i ett nytt land?
- För mig bara en månad. Men eftersom jag är inte så duktig på svenska ännu, jag kan inte ta kontakt med folket som jag vill.
- Du önskar att du kunde?
- Ja, jag önskar en person, eftersom jag är inte så duktig på svenska som jag vill.
- Och sista frågan, känner du dig hemma här då? I Sverige?
- Idag? Ja, jag känner mig välkommen. Men de första tre månader jag känner jag att jag kommer hända något rasistiskt med människor. Men efter tre månader det, nej.
- Har du varit med om något sådant? Dålig erfarenhet eller?
- Ja, jag vill berätta om en händelse som hände mig för sju månader sedan. Jag gick till en lite stad nära Malmö. Tre mer person var med mig och vi skulle simma i havet. På väg till havet fanns många villa. Där någon villa låg fanns ett träd. En man kom fram till oss medan vi höll på att plocka några frukter och då sa han: "Ni idioter får inte plocka frukt här" och då sa han många saker som jag

förstod inte. Sedan visade han fingret. Det samma sak hände med min mamma på Stadsbiblioteket.

- Men hur kändes det? Det måste ju vara fruktansvärt. När de sa sådana saker?
- Ja, det känns jättedåligt.
- Men tänker du ändå att de kanske är undantag? Förstår du vad jag menar? Att du tänker ändå bra saker om personer i Sverige, de flesta?
- Ja.
- Mm.
- De är snälla. Jag känner mig välkommen.
- Vad bra. Mm. Okej, då är jag klar. Tack så mycket.
- Det var så lite.

10.4.2 Translation

- If you can begin to tell me a little about yourself. Your name, how old you are and a little bit of that.
- My name is Fariborz, I come from Iran. [Information on age]
- And you live near here you said?
- I live in Malmö.
- In what part of Malmö?
- [Information on place of residence]
- What do you do..?
- I'm trying to learn Swedish.
- Mm, SFI?
- No, I...
- Ordinary?
- Computer. I study...
- Study?
- I studied myself in Iran on (...) it's all about metal.
- Yes, metal? Yes, exactly. Okay, so that was what you did in Iran? You studied? Student?
- Mm.
- And you came to Iran a year ago said you? Or to Sweden, I mean of course [laughter].
- Just that [laughter].
- And why did you come here?
- I come, my mom lives here. She came here five years ago. So I came here.
- To her.
- Yes, to her.
- Did you come alone?
- Yes.
- What did you know about Sweden? What were your thoughts about Sweden?
- It is great on everything. I feel welcome here. I think you can develop yourself in many situations. Field?
- Yes, areas?

- Yes. It is a good thing. It is something that we don't have in Iran.
- Could you tell me about your first time here in Sweden? Now you have not been here for so long, but what do you think is hard to coming to a new country and so?
- I don't understand?
- If you can tell me about your first time when you came here. How was it? To come here?
- It was colourful.
- Was it?
- Yes. But I feel that people here are really good compared to in Iran. They can, they can do what they want. So it's good.
- That's good. What did you think was difficult? Maybe the language or to meet friends?
- Making friends.
- That was difficult?
- Yes, really hard for me. It is difficult in Iran too, but here it is not so good. To find friends.
- Why is that? Is it perhaps because it is difficult to speak Swedish or?
- Language is one reason. Here in Sweden, people are really nice when you meet them for two to three minutes. They say: "Hey! How are you? How are you today?" but when you have to, when you want to create a relationship it's hard.
- Do you think that people might be a little closed, or a bit difficult to, what to say, a bit closed as well? Do you understand?
- Well, maybe (...) but most of the Swedish people are good.
- Okay, have you been in contact with some authorities? You know what I mean? Have you been in contact with someone?
- I have been in touch with MKB and HSB and the Migration Board.
- Do you think, or do you trust that they do their job? Have they treated you in a good way?
- Yes, they do in a good way, in a good way, but I feel the MKB and HSB (...) but I don't know really, but I know there are people who get money. Get money from people who have apartments. The people get apartments (...).
- So they cut the line you mean?
- Yeah, they cheat.
- Oh, they cheat a little. Aha. And you know it? They..?
- I know it exists, the system. I don't know who.
- No, okay. Has it been difficult for you to get a place to stay? Or you may stay with your ..?
- Yes, now I live with my mom. But mom stayed in the queue for five years.
- It's been hard for her to get an apartment? When she has been that long in the queue?
- Yes, it was difficult.
- Do you think that these authorities that you have been in contact with, that they are different from in Iran, what is it like? Big difference maybe?
- Yes, they do (...).
- Work or?

- Their job.
- What did you say?
- Activity.
- Yes, activities?
- Really quick.
- Yes, it goes much faster?
- Yes, it goes really fast. To use the e-service, it does not go well. But, there are. It's just a name.
- Okay, I understand.
- So, it goes really fast. No but, you know when to get your job. Do?
- Yes, do.
- You know that in a month you will receive a response.
- Okey.
- You'll have to wait. And ask: "How are things going?"
- You will have to wait until you get an answer? Mm. Okay, could you describe a normal day here in Malmö? What do you do when you wake up and so?
- I wake up and start to learn Swedish.
- When you sit at the computer?
- At the computer. I go to the library, I sit at the computer and learn Swedish and at the evening read books about history, psychology and literature. Then maybe see a movie (...).
- Good. Would you like to change something about your situation as it is today, or as it is now?
- No, I should start studying in university. But I've been waiting for my social security number.
- Yes, that's right.
- So (...), social security number and to start studying.
- When do you think you get it? Do you know when you will get it?
- I don't know.
- No, no. Now I have a thing here. One of these that you can fill in. I have a pen as well. It is a network map. This is you in the middle, and then you have different categories: friends, family, relatives, formal contacts maybe authorities, and then there is work or education and spare time or organizations, for example, when you go to Språkcafé or such activities. Then you should fill in the people that you meet in your daily life when you live here in Malmö. And if they stand closer to you you will put them closer to yourself [pointing at the middle]. For example, if your mom, maybe she is close. And maybe this is just an acquaintance [pointing at outer area] and a close friend. So you get put them here. You can write their name or mom or so there.
- [Filling out network chart: family] Mom...
- Mm.
- [Filling out network chart: friends] There are those who are not my friends, that I just know.
- But that's fine too. At the outer area, mm.
- [Filling out network chart: family] What is the mother's sister?
- Aunt?

- Aunt.
- [Filling out network chart: relatives] Relatives?
- Relatives. I mean.
- Like family?
- Yes, it's almost the same. But that is not the immediate family.
- I have only my mom and aunt in Sweden.
- Yes, but then you can leave it.
- [Filling out network chart: formal contacts] Formal contacts. HSB, MKB, The Swedish Migration Board. Yes.
- Mm.
- [Filling out network chart: work/education] Work/education...
- If you meet someone when... But maybe you don't do that if you study by yourself, studying alone? But do you meet, are you studying with someone or are you alone when you read?
- I read alone, but two times I went to Malmö University and took a course in Swedish. But I cannot not go to the course.
- So you never took the course?
- No, but it was just a trial.
- Oh, a trial?
- Yes, but I couldn't.
- You didn't go there?
- Yes, did not continue.
- You were not approved? No, okay. You can leave it if you want.
- [Filling out network chart: spare time/organizations] In the spare time I go to JobbMalmö. And the cinema.
- Mm. You go to any Swedish movies then or English ones?
- Mm.
- Swedish? Or both?
- Mm.
- That's good.
- And the City Library.
- Write that, that's good.
- Stadsbibblan. Mm, Yes.
- Good, thank you. If you were to say, which one is the most important? If you were to select one of these as the most important for you in Malmö, which one would you choose?
- What...
- Which one is the most important to your situation here? In Malmö?
- My mom.
- So that's it, it's the family.
- I will mark it.
- Yes, you can do that. How many would you say are Swedish people? Or are there many who come from Iran?
- Only Amir, he's from Iran. Of course, Sweden [pointing at Louise and Per]. Ivan from Poland, Anna from Sweden, speaks Swedish. (...)
- Where have you met Anna, and Louise?

- Anna is Ivan's girlfriend. I meet Ivan in the library, and we became friends, and then I met Anna. Per is my mom's friend. Louise I met in the library.
- And Amir?
- Amir works at the library.
- That's good.
- Should I write?
- No, I have it on the recording, so that's fine. Hope that I can hear it later. How, I can imagine that there would have been a bit of a difference if you would have done this when you were in Iran, it would have been a big difference in how many people and..?
- Yes. I know many (...).
- Yes, many friends and?
- I had a job, I had my company. But in Iran, yes entertainment.
- Yes, spare time?
- Spare time. It was the cinema, you can read. But here there are many options to do at your spare time.
- You think there are more options here?
- Yes. Much.
- Much more. Mm. Let's see. Would you say that you are a person who generally trust other people? Would you say that you are that?
- Yes, I am. I think we should rely on other people, otherwise you cannot live in a nice way. In addition, you cannot get help from others if you do not trust others, and the most important thing is that you can't create relationships with other people.
- So you can say that there is a difference, or that you trust people more in Iran or less than in Sweden? Or maybe you are not able to say that?
- There is no difference.
- You feel the same?
- Yes.
- When would you say, perhaps there is a special situation, that you don't feel that you can trust people? That there is a situation, maybe when you meet new people or?
- One more time.
- If there is any situation in particular when you don't trust people, can you think of any situation?
- As I trust?
- Do not trust, mm.
- There are many. For example, when I want to study. I do that alone always.
- You do not trust, you don't want to get help from others?
- I don't like anyone to stand beside me and say something. It doesn't work.
- Okay, you want to teach yourself?
- Mm.
- Okay. Do you ever feel when you're in Malmö, insecure, or what to say, unsure if you go home by yourself, for example at night? Do you feel that it is uncomfortable or that you get scared?
- No, I feel.

- No? No. Do you feel that people here in Sweden trust you?
- Yes, but not all. Not youth.
- Not young.
- No.
- Why don't you think that young people trust you?
- I think that young girls, they do not trust people who come from another country. Yes.
- What is it that determines your opinion, or that is most important to you, for you to come into the community here in Sweden? Do you understand what I mean, then? You should be... I mean, what is most important to make you feel at home here?
- The language.
- Language? That is what is most important. How long do you think it will take before you feel at home in a new country?
- For me only a month. But since I'm not so good at Swedish yet, I can't get in touch with the people as I want to.
- You wish you could?
- Yes, I wish a person, because I'm not so good at Swedish as I want.
- And last question, do you feel at home here, then? In Sweden
- Today? Yes, I feel welcome. But the first three months I felt that something racist would happen with people. But after three months, no.
- Have you been through something like that? A bad experience or?
- Yes, I want to tell you about an event that happened to me seven months ago. I went to a little town near Malmö. Three more people were with me and we would swim in the sea. On the way down to the sea there were many villas. At one of the villas there was a tree. A man came up to us while we were about to pick some fruits and then he said: "You idiots can't pick fruit here" and then he said many things I didn't understand. Then he showed us his finger. The same thing happened with my mom at the City Library.
- But how did it feel? It must be terrible. When they said those things?
- Yes, it feels really bad.
- But do you think that they might be exceptions? Do you understand what I mean? You still think good things about people in Sweden, most of them?
- Yes.
- Mm.
- They are kind. I feel welcome.
- That's good. Mm. Okay, then I'm done. Thank you very much.
- No problem.

10.5 Interview with Lara

10.5.1 Original

- Först är, kan du berätta lite om dig själv? Alltså, ditt namn, hur gammal, var du bor?
- Aha, okej. Jag... Mitt namn Lara. Jag kommer från Kirgizstan, jag ska skriva till dig om...
- Ja, det kan du göra sedan.
- Jag är [age], mycket gammal [laughter].
- Nej [laughter].
- Jag bor i Malmö [information on place of residence]. Jag var journalist så jag hade fått problem i mitt hemland, och jag har kommit för två år sedan. Det är bra, allt är bra.
- Ja, precis, vad är din sysselsättning? Alltså, vad du jobbar med? Du var journalist?
- Ja, jag var journalist, men jag har jobbat här också lite som säljare. Men jag har nästan tio år jag har jobbat som journalist i mitt hemland.
- Och det var därför du var tvungen att åka?
- Och jag har studerat, jag har masterutbildning i ekonomi, och jag har (...) att lära mig mycket, så jag har gjort några kursen. Kursen för exempel som journalist utomlands och computer science.
- Precis, datorer?
- Ja, och jag har två master så.
- Vad bra. Och det var för två år sedan som du kom?
- Mhm.
- Och kom du hit ensam?
- Jo, jag har kommit ensam.
- Mm. Och varför valde du att komma till Sverige?
- Varför valde jag Sverige? Först så kom jag för att plugga, jag hade fått problem att plugga utomlands. Och efter jag tänkte att jag måste gå ut, och jag var intresserad av Sverige innan också. Så jag har kommit för att också studera. Jag har kommit jättebra, när jag ansökte jag har ansökt för språk. Så, jag tycker om Sverige. Det är mycket öppen land. Öppen land. Jag har en, inte bara folk utan land mycket gästvänlig och känt land som accepterar mycket invandrande. Invandrande, och invandrande. Därför är snäll land. Jag hoppas det, att jag ska ha mycket bra framtiden. Därför att den är ett trevligt land, jag tycker om Sverige.
- Just det, men vad gör du nu? Du studerar svenska kanske?
- Jag studerar svenska och nu jag bara väntar på min papper och allt och jag försöker att hitta jobb. När jag får något jobb, jag ska jobba.
- Ja, precis. Vad visste du om Sverige innan du flyttade hit? Du sa ju lite men, vad var dina tankar om Sverige innan du kom?
- Innan jag har kommit till Sverige... Att Sverige är... I mitt hemland journalister när de har får problem de mesta de åker till Sverige. Det är vi vet fungerar med

human rights. Human right, like you know. Och jag visste music, jag tyckte music Sverige, svensk music också. And what else? Utvecklad land också.

- Du visste några saker.
- Jag visste några saker. Det finns andra saker, men ja.
- Kan du berätta om din första tid i Sverige, när du kom hit? Hur var det?
- Hur var det? Okej, första gången jag har kommit till Stockholm efter jag har kommit, åkt train, åkte tåg till Lund. Första gången ute, men bra jag tyckte om folk, var mycket vänliga. Jag var utomlands, men jag kände mig okej. Så, mm. Men lite dyrare än andra länder, än mitt hemland eller andra Asien-länder.
- Vad tyckte du var svårast den första tiden? Till exempel, man kan säga kanske språket eller träffa vänner, hitta någonstans att bo eller hitta ett jobb. Vad tyckte du var svårast?
- Mhm. Det svårast att hitta plats på att stanna, därför att jag har pluggat mycket, jag har pluggat mycket (...) men det var okej, första gången jag har (...). Men sedan när jag kommer göra bättre, hitta bättre plats att stanna.
- Har du varit i kontakt med några myndigheter? Alltså, authorities kan man säga? Migrationsverket, Arbetsförmedlingen och...
- Jag har kontakt med Migrationsverket, de är snäll, jag kan inte höra om Sverige nu också. Generally... Jag vet inte. Alltid när jag går någonstans jag alla svarar, alla är mycket öppna alla, och jag vill inte säga någonting negativt om Sverige. Jag inte ljugar. Ljugar.
- Ljugar? Ja.
- Jag inte ljugar. Det är vad jag säger.
- Du tycker verkligen så? Ja.
- Jag har inte, ingen, ingen... You know?
- Inget att klaga på?
- Jo, jo. Of course, alla har problem, alla, men den är som person. Om jag har fråga, det inte betyder andra gjorde den fel eller misstag eller någonting (...) så jag kan inte säga något negativt, men här allt service är bra och om man vill jobba de är mycket hjälpsamma här. Och därför jag har gjort det innan, jag har studerat innan i Indien och jag har träffat mycket miss... Missbehandlar. Till exempel, de kan inte prata mycket snäll, men här de är...
- De är snälla?
- De är snälla, de pratar bra, det betyder mycket. Och utveckla. Så jag tycker om här.
- Mhm. Är det annorlunda från ditt hemland? Alltså, tycker du att det, när man träffar myndigheter och personer kanske också?
- Ja, annorlunda. Mycket annorlunda. Vi har här, alla är samma jag tror. I mitt hemland, myndigheter som jobbar, jag vill inte säga något dåligt om mitt hemland men mesta de är mycket, mycket, känner sig mycket viktiga. Man har alltid, mycket korrumpat. Men jag måste säga den här sak. Att det är inte korrumpat, kanske här är utvecklat land. Men mitt hemland när man går någonstans, man måste ge pengar för att göra någonting med snuten, men här inte korrumpat. Alla gör sitt jobb. Vad jag tycker om här.
- Mm.
- [Laugther]

- Det är jättebra. Skulle du kunna beskriva en vanlig dag här i Malmö? Vad du gör en vanlig dag?
- Mhm. En vanlig dag, jag vaknar klockan åtta, ibland senare och ibland tidigare, okej [laughter]?
- Det får man [laughter].
- Och äter min, jag gör mina saker hemma och efter jag försöker hitta jobb någonstans och jag träffar vänner och pratar på svenska. Och vi kommer, här på JobbMalmö finns folk som vill prata på svenska, så besöker här också. Och går på handla, handla. Jag, sedan tiden går inte snabbt, så. What else? (...) tidigare försöker att hitta jobb nu, jag besöker några platser eller söker på internet.
- Mm.
- Och sedan jag försöker nu att lära mig arabiska också. Och istället för att sitta och läsa någonting, tid går mycket snabbare.
- Skulle du vilja ändra någonting med din situation som den är nu?
- Min situation? Jag vill jobba. Jag vill ha jobb.
- Ja, mm.
- Jo, Migrationsverket har sagt att jag kan jobba, jag har permission, men fortfarande den är svår. Annars det är bra.
- Nu ska vi se, då har jag en sådan här som du ska få fylla i. Det är en karta eller vad man ska säga, över dina personer som du träffar. I ditt liv, när du bor här i Malmö. [Showing network chart] Då är du här i mitten, och här har du vänner, familj, släkt, formella kontakter, det kan man säga är myndigheter, här har du arbete/utbildning, fritid/organisationer, det kan vara till exempel vad du gör på fritiden, om du kanske, ja, när du kommer till Språkcaféet till exempel, så kan du skriva det här.
- Jag måste, hur mycket tid jag har?
- Så mycket du vill.
- Du måste...
- Vad sa du?
- Hur måste jag välja?
- Jag vill att du skriver de personer som du träffar, så till exempel om du har några vänner så kan du skriva deras namn, och om du har någon familj här i Malmö så kan du skriva deras namn. Och sedan en sak till, om du tycker att de känns nära dig så skriver du dem nära dig här i mitten, och om du tycker att de känns långt bort så sätter du dem här borta.
- Du måste... What are you studying?
- Political science, statsvetenskap.
- Det ser ut som sociological [laughter].
- Ja, det går lite åt sociologi det här.
- [Filling out network chart: family] Min familj, ja jag har inte mycket familj här. Inte mycket.
- Nej, men då. Då skriver du.
- På internet.
- Ja, då kan du skriva på internet.
- [Filling out network chart: friends] Ensam... Skriv så, yes?
- Ett a. A där. Ensam.

- Mhm, ensam. Och jag (...) jag gör att med, inte med, jag gör. Den är honestly. Till exempel jag träffar, men jag träffar inte mycket. Jag vet inte, jag går men jag gillar att stanna ensam. Jag är inte mycket social [laughter].
- Nej, men det är jättebra. Och du tycker att du är klar så? En fråga också, hur många som är, av de här personerna du träffar, som pratar svenska? Här är ju din familj till exempel, de pratar ju samma språk som du. Men om det finns, ja?
- [Writing] Så. Men om de kommer från utomlands som svensk. Riktiga svenskar. Men jag har inte mycket, riktiga svenskar. För här är alla du vet, mycket invandrare.
- Och de har du träffat genom..? Har du varit här och träffat dem eller har du varit någon annanstans eller hur har du träffat dem på olika sätt, dina vänner här?
- Mina vänner, på olika sätt men jag, ja jo. Men i Malmö, inte mycket, jag går inte mycket ut, jag menar på kvällen. Som dagar när vi träffar här och någonstans.
- Mm, olika dagar. Olika händelser. Ja. Vad bra.
- Ja, kanske jag har inte mycket, inte bra? Inte tråkigt, jag hoppas?
- Nej, det är jättebra.
- Några skriver mycket, så så så.
- Nej, det är perfekt. Det är jättebra. Om du skulle välja en av de här, vilken tycker du är viktigast här när du bor i Malmö?
- Den är viktigaste. Shall I?
- Du kan göra en markering om du vill.
- Varför tycker du den är viktigast? Är det på grund av språket?
- Jag tror det, man måste prata bra. Inte bara svenska, jag har några språk, och det är bra utbildning. För självkänsla också, man känner sig bättre och gladare. Man kan göra sin jobb, och den är viktigaste jag tror. Och också jag saknar familjen, de är inte här. Men jag menar på tid, jag skulle välja den.
- Absolut. Och om du hade gjort en sådan här likadan i ditt hemland, när du bodde där, hade det varit stor skillnad? Hade det sett annorlunda ut?
- Jo, jo. Det var annorlunda. Min familj. Och jag hade mycket fritid.
- Andra aktiviteter eller?
- Ja, här inte mycket. Jag hade vänner också. Kanske, Jag har kommit här, jag blev lite lugn. Så jag hade kanske mer aktiviteter. Och kanske där också här, kallare väder [laughter].
- Kallare? [laughter] Ja, precis.
- Så man blir lite, vad heter, lugnare.
- Det är sant kanske.
- Påverkar kanske [laughter].
- Ja, jo, jag har hört det förut [laughter]. Ja, men det är bra. Då är vi klar med den. Jättebra. Tack.
- Tack så mycket.
- Men jag har några frågor till. Skulle du, du kan ju läsa här, generellt säga att du kan, att du är en person som litar på människor?
- Ja, jag litar alltid till alla.
- Tycker du att det är någon skillnad mellan ditt hemland och Sverige? Litar du mer eller mindre?

- Ja, men från min natur. Mina föräldrar alltid säger att: "Du litar till alla". Men jag tänker att man måste lita varandra. Och jag tycker även, att någon kan göra fel, men jag tror inte det är andras fel om någon gör fel. Så vi måste lita till andra. Jag vill lita till andra.
- Så du försöker generellt lita?
- Ja. Och du. Litar du eller?
- Ja, jag hoppas det. Jag försöker [laughter].
- Okej [laughter].
- Skulle du säga att du kanske någon gång har upplevt att, alltså att personer i Sverige känns kalla eller svåra att lära känna?
- Kalla?
- Mm, att de är lite stängda.
- Jag hörde så att svenskarna är kalla och att de har sitt liv och de vill inte... Men jag själv sådan också, så jag själv kanske inte, jag inte menar kallt. Jag tror till exempel, här man kanske kritiserar att man har inte mycket kontakt med flyktingar eller sina föräldrar, men jag är också sådan. Man är olika. Alla är olika. Man kan träffa sådan person i Kyrgyzstan eller Irak eller någon annanstans. Jag tänker de, svenskarna inte är kalla, bara kanske diplomatiska. Och vad jag tycker om här att man inte interfare.
- Ja, precis. Inte lägger sig i? Eller stör?
- Ja, inte lägger sig i någons liv och någonting. Så det är bättre.
- Du gillar det?
- Jag gillar det, men jag bor i Malmö så här är mycket folk från mitt hemland, men jag tror de är också sådan. Men jag har hört att svenskarna är så, men de också lite, vad heter, att vilja stänga.
- Att vara för sig själv?
- Jo. Jag tror inte det beror från nation.
- Nej, precis. Vilket land man kommer ifrån. Nej.
- Folk är olika.
- Precis, absolut. När skulle du säga att du inte har tillit, alltså när du inte litar på människor? Finns det någon speciell situation? Nu säger du att du oftast gör det, men finns det någon gång som du inte gör det?
- Inte lita...
- Alltså, trust.
- Jo, det vet jag. You can trust, menar du?
- Finns det någon situation som du kanske, alltså någon speciell situation, som du inte litar på människor mer? Att du kan komma på någon situation?
- Jag vet inte. Jag litar till alla. Men när det kommer mycket personlig, jag vet inte. Mycket personlig, till exempel som göra (...) eller om gifta...
- Om?
- Om någon vill gifta, jag kan inte tro [laughter].
- Du kan inte tro det [laughter]?
- Jag kan inte tro det, jag vet inte. Jag tror inte kanske på känslig.
- Okej, om de säger för mycket känslor?
- Känslor, ja. Men jag tror känslor kommer. Går upp och ner. Kanske en av saker jag tror inte.

- Ja, men det är bra [laughter].
- [Laughter]
- Det kanske är bra? Känner du dig otrygg, om du skulle gå hem ensam på kvällen?
- Nej, jag känner inte.
- Aldrig?
- Nej, jag är aldrig rädd. Jag kan gå ut klockan tre, också i mitt hemland, mycket. Man måste lite försiktig. Men från natur jag inte är rädd. Jag alltid riskerar, jag kan gå, jag kan promenera.
- Du är inte så rädd? Okej, jag förstår.
- Men här på natten är mycket natt. Men fortfarande jag träffar inte någon [laughter].
- Nej, att du inte träffar någon på natten? Nej, det hoppas inte jag heller [laughter].
- [Censored information] Och du?
- Ja. Ibland kan jag kanske vara lite rädd, när man går hem själv och det är mörkt, lite. Men oftast inte, jag går brukar också gå lite var som helst.
- Kan du stanna ensam hemma? I stort hem? I en stor hem... Hus?
- Hus, ja, jo det kan jag [laughter].
- [Laughter]
- Känner du att människor här litar på dig?
- Ja, ja.
- Du tror de litar på dig?
- Ja. Många, jag har sett många de litar inte på varann, jag känner, men det finns några som litar på mig. Men jag tänker folk här, litar inte på varandra. Men många här litar inte.
- Du menar att många i Malmö litar inte?
- Jag menar inte att göra något dåligt, men även folk på mig litar inte. De är lite försiktiga. Jag vet inte. Men jag tänker, att om man blir så, det bara blir så. Man måste lita på varandra.
- Mm, det är viktigt. Vad tycker du är viktigast eller bestämmer om du kommer in i samhället här i Sverige? Att du känner dig hemma?
- Vad är viktigast? Jobb. Alltid. Nu jag pratar med mitt hemland, också Migrationsverket, men jag vill inte ha pengar som Socialen eller... Jag vill har...
- Du vill ha ett jobb?
- Jobba. Och även bli mycket och, vad är den tax?
- Skatt.
- Även skatt.
- Hur lång tid tror du att det tar innan man känner sig... Känner du dig hemma nu, hur lång tid tror du att det tar?
- Första dagar, första dagar, jag känner mig okej.
- Första året?
- Ja, så det behövs inte, men kanske det är olika för människor, jag har pluggat några år utomlands och det är okej för mig. Men jag vet inte på några, de saknar några.
- Saknar sin familj eller?
- Familj, eller. Men jag kanske är som ni svenskarna säger, kalla [laughter].

- Så du känner dig?
- Poängen jag saknar inte, det är mycket kallt också. Jag tänker man saknar, den har blivit mycket stress. Så det är okej.
- Okej, men då var jag klar med frågorna. Så då får jag tacka.
- Saknar du utomlands? Saknar du familj eller?
- Ja, om jag saknar? Jag har ju aldrig bott utomlands någon längre, eller någon tid, så jag vet inte men jag tror jag skulle sakna min familj också.
- Mhm. Du är ung också. Och du skulle säkert sakna om du går utomlands. Men jag är äldre än du. Och jag har mycket, mycket att stanna.
- Men det är skönt att du känner att det går bra?
- Ja, det går bra. Jag är glad. En glad person.
- Det är jättebra.
- Tack så mycket.
- Tack så mycket för hjälpen.
- Det är ingenting.

10.5.2 Translation

- First, can you tell me a little about yourself? Your name, age, where you live?
- Aha, okay. I... My name is Lara. I'm from Kyrgyzstan, I'll write to you...
- Yes, you can do later.
- I'm [age], very old [laughter].
- No [laughter].
- I live in Malmö [information on place of residence]. I was a journalist so I had problems in my country, and I have come here two years ago. It is good, everything is good.
- Yes, what is your occupation? What do you work with? You were a journalist?
- Yes, I was a journalist, but I've been working here also a little as a seller. But almost ten years I have worked as a journalist in my country.
- And that was why you had to go?
- And I've studied, I have a master degree in economics, and I have (...) to teach me a lot, so I have done some course. The course for example, as a journalist abroad and computer science.
- Exactly, computers?
- Yes, and I have two master so.
- That's good. And it was two years ago you came?
- Mhm.
- And did you come here alone?
- Yes, I have come alone.
- Mm. And why did you choose to come to Sweden?
- Why I chose Sweden? First, I came to study, I had problems to study abroad. And after that I thought I have to go out, and I was interested in Sweden before, too. So I have come to study. It has been good, when I applied I have applied for the language. So, I like Sweden. It is a very open country. Open country. Not just the people but the country, very friendly and well known country that

accepts a lot of immigrants. Immigrants and immigrants. Because of this it is a kind country. I hope that I will have a very good future. Because it is a nice country, I like Sweden.

- That's right, but what do you do now? Studying Swedish maybe?
- I am studying Swedish and now I'm just waiting for my papers and everything and I'm trying to find jobs. When I get a job, I will work.
- Yes, exactly. What did you know about Sweden before you moved here? You said a little but, what were your thoughts about Sweden before you arrived?
- Before I come to Sweden... That Sweden is... In my home country, journalists when they have problems they mostly go to Sweden. We know that it works with human rights. Human rights, you know. And I knew the music, I liked Swedish music too. And what else? A developed country as well.
- You knew some things.
- I knew a few things. There are other things, but yes.
- Can you tell me about your first time in Sweden, when you came here? How was it?
- How was it? Okay, the first time I came to Stockholm after I had come, travelled with the train, took train to Lund. The first time out, but I thought the people were very friendly. I was abroad, but I felt okay. So, mm. But a bit more expensive than other countries, than my home country or other Asian countries.
- What did you think was the most difficult the first time? For example, you could say maybe the language or meet friends, find somewhere to live or find a job. What did you think was the most difficult?
- Mhm. The most difficult was to find a place to stay, because I've been studying a lot, I have studied a lot (...) but it was okay, the first time I have (...) But then I will do better, find a better place to stay.
- Have you been in contact with any authorities? The Swedish Migration Board, the Employment Service and...
- I've talked to the Swedish Migration Board, they are kind, I cannot hear about Sweden now too. Generally... I don't know. Always when I go somewhere everybody answers, all is very open, and I don't want to say anything negative about Sweden. I am not lying. Lying?
- Lying? Yes.
- I'm not lying. It is as I say.
- You really think so? Yes.
- I have no, no, no... You know?
- Nothing to complain about?
- Yes, yes. Of course, everyone has problems, everyone, but it is as a person. If I have question, it does not mean other did the error or mistake or something (...) so I can't say anything negative, but here everything is good and if you want to work they are very helpful here. And because I've done it before, I have studied before in India and I have met very bad... Bad treatment. For example, they can't talk very kind, but here they are...
- They are please?
- They're kind, they're talking good, it means a lot. And it is developing. That is what I think about that.

- Mhm. it is different from your home country? Do you think that when you meet with authorities and people also perhaps?
- Yes, different. Very different. We have here, all the same I think. In my home country, authorities who works, I don't want to say anything bad about my country, but mostly they are very, very, feel very important. It is always very corrupted. But I have to say this one thing. This it is not corrupted, perhaps this is a developed country. But my country when you go somewhere, you have to give the money to do something with cops, but this is not corrupted. Everyone is doing their job. That is what I think about that.
- Mm.
- [Laughter]
- That's great. Can you describe a normal day here in Malmö? What do you do on a typical day?
- Mhm. a regular day, I wake up at eight o'clock, sometimes later, and sometimes earlier, okay [laughter]?
- That's fine [laughter].
- And eat, I do my things at home and after that I try to find jobs somewhere and I meet friends and talk in Swedish. And we come, here at JobbMalmö there are people who want to talk in Swedish, so I visit here also. And goes to the shop, to shop. Then time does not go quickly, so. What else? (...) previously I attempted to find a job now, I visit a few sites or search the internet.
- Mm.
- And I am now trying to learn Arabic as well. And instead of sitting and reading something, time goes much faster.
- Would you like to change anything with your situation as it is now?
- My situation? I want to work. I want the job.
- Yes, mm.
- Well, the Migration Board has said that I can work, I have a permission, but still it is difficult. Otherwise it is good.
- Let's see, then I have one of these that you will get to complete. It is a map or what to call it, over the people who you meet. In your life, when you live here in Malmö. [Showing network chart] So, you are here in the middle, and here you have friends, family, relatives, formal contacts, here you have work/education, spare time/organizations, it may be, for example, what you do in your spare time, if maybe you, yes, when you come to the Språkcafé, for example, you can write it here.
- I have to, how much time do I have?
- As much as you want.
- You have to...
- What did you say?
- How do I choose?
- I want you write down the people you meet, so for example if you have some friends you can write their names, and if you have any family here in Malmö you can write their names. And then one more thing, if you think they feel close to you then you write them close to you here in the middle, and if you think that they feel far away then you will put them over here.

- You have to... What are you studying?
- Political science.
- It looks like sociological [laughter].
- Yes, it is a little like sociology.
- [Filling out network chart: family] My family, well I don't have much family here. Not much.
- No, but then. Then, you write that.
- On the internet.
- Yes, then you can write on the internet.
- [Filling out network chart: friends] Alone ... Write like that, yes?
- An a. A there. Alone.
- Mhm, alone. And I (...) I am doing that with, I do. It is honest. For example I meet, but I don't meet much. I don't know, I go but I like to stay alone. I'm not very social [laughter].
- No, but that's fine. You're finished? A question also, how many of these people that you meet, speak Swedish? This is your family, for example, they talk the same language as you. But if there are any?
- [Writing] Like that. But if they are coming from abroad as a Swede. Real Swedes. But I don't have much, true Swedes. Because here everybody is, you know, a lot of immigrants.
- And them you have met through..? Have you been here and met with them or have you been somewhere else or how have you met them in different ways, your friends here?
- My friends, in different ways, but I, yeah well. But in Malmö, not much, I don't go out much, I mean in the evening. Like the days when we meet here or somewhere.
- Mm, different days. Various events. Yes. That's good.
- Yes, maybe I don't have that much good? Not boring, I hope?
- No, it's great.
- Some maybe writing much, so so so.
- No, it's perfect. It's great. If you would choose one of these, which one do you think is most important here if you live in Malmö?
- This is the most important. Shall I?
- You can make a mark there if you want.
- Why do you think it is most important? It is because of language?
- I think so, you have to talk well. Not only Swedish, I have some language, and it is good education. For self-esteem, you feel better and happier. You can do your job, and it's important I think. And also I miss my family, they are not here. But I mean at the time, I'd choose that.
- Absolutely. And if you had done this chart in your home country, if you would have lived there, would there have been a big difference? It had looked different?
- Yes, yes. It was different. My family. And I had a lot of free time.
- Other activities or?

- Yes, here it isn't much. I had friends too. Maybe, since I've come here, I have become a little quiet. So I had perhaps more activities. And perhaps there is also here colder weather [laughter].
- Colder? [laughter] Yes, exactly.
- So you get a little, what's the name, calmer.
- That's true maybe.
- It has an impact perhaps [laughter].
- Yeah, well, I've heard it before [laughter]. Yes, but it's good. Then we are done with that. Great. Thank You.
- Thank you very much.
- But I have a few questions left. Would you, you can read this, can you generally say that you're a person who rely on people?
- Yes, I always trust everyone.
- Do you think that there is any difference between your home country and Sweden? Do you trust more or less?
- Yes, but from my nature. My parents always say: 'You trust all'. But I think that we need to trust each other. And I think also, that someone can make a mistake, but I don't think it's somebody else's fault if someone is doing wrong. So we have to rely on others. I want to trust others.
- So you try to generally trust?
- Yes. And do you trust or?
- Yes, I hope so... I try [laughter].
- Okay [laughter].
- Would you say that you might have experienced that people in Sweden are cold or hard to get to know?
- Cold?
- Mm, that they are a bit closed.
- I heard that the Swedes are cold and they have their lives, and they do not want to... But I am myself like that as well, so I might not, I don't mean cold. I believe, for example, that here one might criticize that we don't have much contact with the refugees or our parents, but I'm also like that. People are different. Everyone is different. You could meet such a person in Kyrgyzstan or Iraq or anywhere else. I think the Swedes are not cold, just maybe diplomatic. And what I think about this is that you do not interfere.
- Yes, exactly. Not to get involved? Or disturb?
- Yes, not get involved in someone's life and nothing. So it is better.
- You like it?
- I like it, but I live in Malmö so here there's a lot of people from my country, but I think they're also like that. But I have heard that the Swedes are so, but they are also a bit, what is called, they want to be closed.
- Being for themselves?
- Yes. I don't think it depends on the nation.
- No, right. Which country you come from. No.
- People are different.

- Right, absolutely. When would you say that you don't have confidence, in other words, that you don't trust people? Is there any certain situation? Now you say that you usually do, but is there any time that you do not?
- Do not trust...
- Yes, trust.
- Yes, I know. You can trust, you mean?
- Is there any situation in which you might, like any special situation that you don't trust people more? Could you come up with any situation?
- I don't know. I trust everyone. But when it gets very personal, I don't know. Very personal, for example, as doing (...) or if married...
- If?
- If someone wants to get married, I can't believe it [laughter].
- You cannot believe it [laughter]?
- I can't believe it, I don't know. I don't think about feelings.
- Okay, if they say too much emotion?
- Emotions, Yes. But I think the emotions will come. Go up and down. Perhaps one of the things I don't think.
- Yes, but it is good [laughter].
- [Laughter]
- Perhaps it is a good thing? Do you feel insecure, if you were to walk home alone at night?
- No, I don't know.
- Never?
- No, I'm never scared. I can go out at three, also in my country, a lot. You have to be a bit careful. But by nature I am not afraid. I always take chances, I can walk, I can walk.
- You're not so scared? Okay, I understand.
- But here at night is very night. But still I see no one [laughter].
- No, you don't meet someone at night? No, I don't hope so [laughter].
- [Censored information] And you?
- Yes. Sometimes I might be a little afraid, when you go home and it's dark, a bit. But most often no, I also tend to go a bit randomly.
- You can stay at home alone? In a large home? In a great home... House?
- House, Yes, I could [laughter].
- [Laughter]
- Do you feel that people here trust you?
- Yes, yes.
- Do you think they trust you?
- Yes. Many, I have seen many they don't trust each other, I know, but there are some who rely on me. But I think people here do not trust each other. Many here do not trust.
- You mean that many do not trust in Malmö?
- I don't mean to do anything bad, but even people don't trust me. They are a little bit cautious. I don't know. But I think that if you become like that it will be like that. You have to trust each other.

- Mm, that is important. What do you think is the most important or what decides if you come into the society here in Sweden? That you feel at home?
- What is most important? Job. Always. Now I talk to my own country, the Migration Board too, but I don't want money from the welfare office... I want to have...
- You want a job?
- Work. And also be very, what is that, tax?
- Tax.
- Also taxes.
- How long do you think it will take before you feel... Do you feel at home now, or how long do you think it takes?
- First days, first days, I feel okay.
- First year?
- Yes, so it is not needed, but maybe it's different to people, I have studied a few years abroad and it's okay for me. But I don't know about others, they miss some people.
- Missing their family or?
- Family, or. But perhaps I am as you Swedes say, cold [laughter].
- That's how you feel?
- The point I don't miss, it's not very cold. I think it is lacking, it has been a lot of stress. So it's okay.
- Okay, so now I'm finished with the questions. Thank you.
- Are you missing abroad? Do you miss family or?
- Yes, if I'm missing them? I've never lived abroad any longer time, or any time, so I don't know but I think I would miss my family too.
- Mhm. you are young too. And you would surely miss if you go abroad. But I'm older than you and I have much, much to stay.
- But it's nice that you know that things are going well?
- Yes, it's fine. I'm happy. A happy person.
- That's great.
- Thank you very much.
- Thank you very much for your help.
- No problem.

10.6 Interview with Purity

- Okey, now you can tell me a bit about yourself. Start with your name and...
- My name is Purity and I have been living in Denmark for twelve years. I'm married and I have a child, one child. And we just moved here first of October last year. October, November, December, January, February, March, April, May, seven, eight months almost. And then, I don't have job and I have underskotts... Underskotska?
- Underskotska?
- I can write it down.

- [Writing] Undersköterska.
- Ah, undersköterska, now I get it. So you're a nurse sort of?
- Yes, and I've been working in Denmark as undersköterska and I have my A-kassa for many years in Denmark. And then they have rules, that when you move to EU country they will transfer you, then you don't have a problem with the economy if you don't have a job.
- Okey.
- So when I moved here I was secured because payed for ten years my A-kassa. And then I moved to Sweden and I had to register house, my son had to register school and takes so long time. My son has been in the house for almost six months, because they cannot find him a school, because they have to do the paper works and it have really brought like a trauma or stress. It's not normal for a child to stay like six months.
- So, he's still at home?
- No, he just got school in February. So they found him a school. But now we have to move again, because when we came back, we came here we lived like in second hand.
- Mm, yeah. A contract?
- And it's one year and then that guy told us: "Oh, we can put after one year, we can give you one year more" but then he had to move away and then his contract went back to (...), so we cannot get, we have to move.
- So you're moving... Do you know where you're moving?
- We don't even know where we're moving. And we registred for Boplatsen, now it's almost six months, so I'm clicking every time in the line there. So you cannot get, you have to be in the line for one year. And then I have been fighting for my A-kassa, because I don't have job and I cannot work in Denmark because I don't have Danish passport. And now, when I moved to Sweden I need to have Swedish passport for me to go to work in Denmark.
- Yeah?
- So now I don't have job, I have to mail that to Arbetsförmedlingen and then Arbetsförmedlingen say: "Oh, you have A-kassa, contact A-kassa". Then I contact Kommunal A-kassa, and (...) Kommunal in Denmark they send me pass to Kommunal A-kassa and then they say: "Oh, we cannot give you down payment because you never worked in Sweden". Then I say: "Oh, but I have been paying this and my A-Kassa has (...)". But then I have to look for job, but then there is no job. Today if you don't know somebody in arbetsmarket it's so difficult. I have my CV, I have studied, I have personlig assistent also. Of course I studied in Denmark, not in Sweden but it should be the same. Now I have to be home, I don't get any money, no A-kassa, no kommunalpengen, no barnpeng, my son have the... He don't get any support, no child support, no nothing. Because they say it's paper work, it's paper work, they call me for meeting and ask about the father and how much, we have to bring so many people every time for our economy, what we pay, our house (...) but still it's a problem, so I asked them if they know people. Even if it's plejehjem, you know plejehjem? Like a old people's home? Plejehjem, it's a old people's home.
- Yeah, they live there all the time. Äldreboende.

- Eller hjemme. I can bike, I can go. Just give me praktik or just give me something. Because six months just staying in the house, I need to go to work, I have education (...) and now just come here and be stuck because of the system, and now they tell me: "Come now", I come here to Språkcafé. Just sit there and talk, and then I go home. I will be in the internet looking for job. I apply so many, and nothing is happening, because when I call this or send the CV and then I send CV and just waiting to be called by someone.
- Yeah.
- That is a problem. Like when you come here, I come from Denmark, they say: "Oh, you come from Denmark, you speak Danish, you can write Danish so we don't give you any Swedish SFI", but I cannot get job because I don't speak Swedish. And then help me to get the Swedish because I'm just home. I'm not handicapped, I'm physically fit, I want to go out. Even if it's praktik, just give me, so I can do anything. Still it's not possible. I've got 2 handläggare, but handläggare say: "Come sit at the computer there and look for job". I sit there and look, look, look and then I go home. So now it's happened six months, and nothing is happening. So, so, my worries is that I come to have a big depression, you know, I cry. I have been to school, I have looking forward to go out and work, like arbetsmarket. And now I've been home sitting crying, because I don't have money now, I don't have job. I cannot support my son. If he wants to go to club I cannot pay him, swimming or fitness or anything, you know. So it's depressing. So maybe after one year I have big depression, they have to gie me medicine or just keep me somewhere and feed me medicine. And then I cannot work in the future. So you see the problem? So I just hope that something can happen. That the system, because as soon as you come to this country they want you to be integrated, they want you to be in samfund and work and, you know. Still, it's not, like it's (...), they say every child have right to go to school when they come here, my son has been home for six months. I'm not coming from Africa, I'm coming from Denmark. My husband is Danish, we speak Danish, but it's even worse. Now I cannot take Swedish class, like where I can go and learn Sweden and SFI, but still I cannot, because I come from EU land. Do you see the problem? So where do I have to go? Come to Språkcafé, drink coffee and talk about...
- Nothing happens?
- Nothing happens. Of course it's better than to stay in the house, because you meet people but I after meet people, what's left? This time I'm sitting maybe at the computer, looking for job, maybe talking on the telephone, looking for apartment, so that is the problem. So, I don't know.
- I have some questions, so I'm just gonna...
- Yes.
- First, how old are you?
- [Information on age]
- But you tell me all of this, so you say your husband is Danish? So how come you moved to Sweden?
- To Denmark?
- No to... Or you can explain first why you moved to Denmark.

- Okey, we moved from Denmark. I stayed there, I studied there. Okey, when I came to Denmark twelve years ago I was married with the Danish. We have to stay together for seven years in the Danish system to have permanent stay in Denmark. But after five years and I divorced him, so when... First of all we separate, you can separate for one year or six months. So I was separated with my ex for six months, and then the system says: "Oh, now you're separated for six months, you have to go out of the country". I said: "I cannot go out of the country, I work, my son goes to school, we are separated to work our relationship, so why I should go and leave all I have here. So, then they said, okey, and then we talk to my husband to (...) a psykolog, to work the relationship and move back together. And when we move back together after six months, they say: "Because you moved out, you have to start from the beginning" and I've been living in the country for six years. Now I had to start from the beginning.
- Really?
- If I don't want to be kicked out. I have to pay deposit to them, like 30 000.
- 30 000?
- Yeah. And it's the same husband, we never signed the divorce. We never even signed any paper.
- So you just lived at two different places, you were still married?
- Yeah, we were still married, and the kommun helped me to have the place where to stay. And when you move together you have to start from zero. And have to throw all the five years, start from zero. For me I said fine, I will still continue with my job and my son will continue to go to the same school. So it's just the paper system, but it push me back. So two years after we moved back together, the relationship did not work, and he was angry, because we had to start from zero. He had to pay all the deposit money for like he bringing me from Africa. But the good thing was that I had studied Danish B-level, and that give points. So they said that if I had Danish and you have papers, and then you don't pay all the money, you can pay only 30 000.
- Mm.
- So that was okey. We moved back. And then after three years later we could not find out, so we had to divorce. So when I divorced him, I was to go out of the country because seven years was not finished, and then they give me another... To start from beginning so all my years was...
- They were nothing... Worth?
- Yes. Then after I divorced with my ex, then I was just living in Denmark and continue with the case, with the immigration and they have lawyer and had to send the paper after paper after paper. And after, one year later I met my husband today and then I explained the situation that I had divorced last year and now I'm waiting to hear from the immigration. Maybe it can be positive, maybe it can be negative and this is the last apply. If now they say I have to move, then I have to move the country. Then he was to talk to the lawyer and what we can do, because he wanted me to stay and have normal life. And then, so we was married and then the lawyer said that: "You can move to Sweden, because in Sweden, you can be in Sweden and you're married in Danish (...) it's

easier than Denmark. So all my years I have been living in Denmark, my son came in Denmark when he was four years and he left there when he was twelve, so he start from zero (...) all we have to throw away because we could not stay in Denmark. So we moved to Sweden and have apartment and I register in Sweden and it was three months that I have a permanent to stay in Sweden, but then I cannot be sent back to my country. I can stay here in Sweden, but I cannot work in Copenhagen.

- No, so you have to find a job here?
- I have to find a job here, so I was like happy to move here. In Sweden system is not like Danish system. And they can see my paper because I have to deliver all I have. It was like two months after I applied so get permanent that was positive. But then about job I cannot go and work in Copenhagen, because I don't have Swedish passport and because I'm married with Danish, I have to be in Sweden for five years.
- Mm, it's another five years?
- Yes, it's another five years for me to have passport, to go back to work in Copenhagen. And I don't want to go back to work illegal until they find me out. So I better stay here, so that's why I'm looking job here. Otherwise if I had working permit I could work in Denmark I have a lot of jobs. Because I have all my life there, where I go (...) psychiatric, they send me work. Good work. But I cannot work because of my paper issue. But I'm not illegal, thank god, and my son now has school, thank god. The problem we have now is moving and job. It's all about the, we have to be visible at Boplatsen for one year before we start in the line and now we are looking house so we have one place to another. So my worry is like maybe we have no house, out of money and my son now have just been trying to have colleagues and is now going to school again. And now I have to move again. You know. And he is going to be 13 in August and that age is really really dangerous and I maybe destroy all his life because of this chaos.
- So you're really eager to fix it now?
- Yes, that's why I like to talk about it. Maybe somebody is going to help. Because I've seen so many issue with these kids moving from one place to another, they want friends and waiting. They just don't want to go to school anymore. And then you cannot do something. Then you have to send them to psychiatric or give them medicine, because they will be stressed. You know?
- Yes. May I ask the country, before you lived in Denmark which country, you said in Africa?
- Kenya, I'm from Kenya.
- Kenya. So why did you, you decided to come to Denmark because you married a Danish guy?
- Yeah, I come.
- That was the reason? Mm. So about moving to Sweden then, what did you know about Sweden? You knew what they told you...
- I have my sister.
- Oh, you have your sister here?

- She lives in [place of residence]. She has also boy, fifteen years now. And that was also, that they were going to move here. Because my sister said: "You can move here, the kids will be closer and we can be closer", so I said: "Let me finish school and when I finish my school then we can make decision and then we will try to move", so that what I did. And also,[censored information] she studied Swedish in gymnasium and now she take [information on education] and has system just once and she start school and integrate, and now I sit now (...) career or go to university, she can choose. She's [information on age]. For that I was, it's good that I move here and then I...
- Because you look at her and then you see it's good for her? When did she come here, was it a long time ago?
- [Censored information]
- Could you tell me a bit, you told me a bit about your first time in Sweden, what was the hardest thing?
- To come here in Sweden? It was not hard, people are sweet than Denmark. When I go to my elevator or källare washing clothes people are saying hi and the communication for me is not so difficult, because I speak Danish and English so. And I don't have any problem. Paper and just waiting, all that waiting. But not for my stay here or permanent to stay was not problem. Because I just apply and then takes three months.
- And then you got the?
- And then I got that so that was no problem. Now the problem is all this waiting about to have child support. Because every child has the right to have child support but my son don't get and it's been almost eight months, I mean this is long time and my problem now is that like my husband, we have only one economy to pay the rent and make food and sometime we don't have more. And just the hopeless.
- You're husband doesn't have a job or?
- My husband, he have fulltime job, and he work with good money but it's not enough because our rent is almost 10 000 Denmark in pay. (...) 2000 and then food and telephone bill, internet, so we need two incomes. But we have one income where he get 15-16000 after skatt, so. It's not much. And then I was registered here and wished I could have that maybe barnpeng where I can get 1000 from him every month and maybe we can buy something extra, but now I just wait. I don't know how long it's going to take.
- So, when you have met these sort of authorities or formal people, even though they get you waiting, do you still trust them to do their job or do you think that it's fair the way they treat you?
- Yes, it's fine, but if I've been waiting for all this child support, for me I could wait for twenty years if I had a job or some fast economy. Then I would not mind because I have never in my life living in Denmark had any contact from the kommun or that they have to give me money. I always work. But in my case when I think it's really stressing. They look at me and: "Oh, I'm utlänning, I'm black from Africa, okey we can help you" if maybe they can help me if I come direct from Africa, if I don't know anything about Sweden, maybe they could help me more. But here I have career, I can speak the language, not perfect but

I can communicate you know, but still: "Now you speak this, we cannot give you that, because you come from Denmark" and "Okey, your A-kassa can help you, but you never work in Sweden" but there's rules, EU rules that say that if you work in EU land they can transfer you, then they can cooperate and I can get dagpeng even if I don't get dagpeng as much as in Denmark. Because if you don't have job in Denmark I get almost 12 000 after tax, but then here maybe 10 000 or 7 000 or whatever, it's better than nothing, but then just give me because I have been paying my A-kassa all the time. And A-kassa is to secure me if I don't have job. Now I've been studying for two years to finish education, I've been getting dagpengen for two months before I move but then kommunal A-kassa they say no because I never worked in Sweden. And then I don't have job, give me a job and I can prove you. You know? No, "You go and look for job yourself", I don't know Uppsala, Lund, whatever, I don't know. You know? Then they tell you go, and in the internet they say a lot of computers here. I will go there alone and sit, and if I call somebody they will come and ask: "What do you want exactly?". I want to spend the (...) undersköterska, and then they say: "Call me when you have time" and I will sit there alone. So I can be in my house to and (...). So that is...

- So you feel maybe that you're a bit in between, since you have lived in Denmark?
- Yeah. I just have been thrown from a place to another place, and now I'm... Nobody can see my problem really. Like when I talk about my education and they say: "Oh, there's a lot of job, even you can work with the old people". I don't mind working with the old people, I don't mind to go from one house to another. They talk to me that there's so many this kind of job, but where? And they have there (...) I call all these paper. I call, they say: "Send a CV", I have very nice CV. I send them, but still there's nothing happening, so I don't know how to help myself. I have to apply every day until ready... Maybe for ten years, I don't know. So if I was to go back to school, I could go back to school. If I was to get SFI, like SFI, I could go. But they don't give me SFI, because they don't want to give me money that they give the SFI people. That is their fear, so where do I go now?
- Yeah.
- I don't know if I answer...
- Yeah, it's very good. I had a question now, you say that you haven't maybe been in contact with many authorities in your home country, but do you know any difference the contacts you have in Sweden or in Denmark maybe to your home country? Is there a difference?
- Contacting?
- Like when you know, the authorities. The job, a place to live, is there a difference? Do you trust them to do their job or?
- Of course I trust them, I like the system here. I like system. Of course the system from time sucks, because it's too much. But sometimes it's good to have a system. In my country we don't have system, we don't have child support, we don't have job center, we don't have place where you can go if you don't have a job. So if you don't have job, streets, if you don't have family, you're on the

streets. But here you will never go on the streets. So I'm lucky somehow, you know. And I trust them when they say: "You wait, and you wait, and you wait" and they was to ask me about my son's daddy. Because he's not my ex's son. He's daddy, I don't... But they have asked me the questions and I have been to the interview, they say (...) because they want to know if they contact the father to get the child support from him. Then it's fine, I understand, it takes time, it's fine. It takes almost four months, they say "Oh, no the case is closed". They send me letter, I called: "Oh, now the case is closed but when the case has closed we always wait another three-four weeks, maybe something will come in". So, I'm still waiting after case is closed maybe two months, so nobody have contacted me. So for six months, nothing have happened. So, it's hard. But I trust them, maybe, I don't know.

- But you think maybe that they are ineffective? It takes too much time?
- It takes too long, they will lose hope.
- Yeah.
- And before the help come, it's too late because I'm too much destroyed and too much negativity thinking about the situation, that even if when it come you don't see something. Because you're too much destroyed. You know?
- Yeah, absolutely.
- So.
- Yeah, okay. You have already done this a bit, but I would like you to describe a normal day for you here Malmö. What happens from when you wake up until you go to sleep?
- I woke up, I just, every day I woke up it's internet. I just take my computer. When I start my coffee, then computer is opening and right now, for last three months, it's just looking for apartment every day in Blocket. So I'm in Blocket. Before I came here I've been calling three places.
- Okay, yeah.
- And we have undervisning, and there we go, when we don't have job like me now. If we have only one economy, then it's problem. Because they say that they want to see economy. I have my economy, my husband have the economy so we can afford to pay the apartment so that is missing for me. And then he told me once about economy. So I don't know, maybe in first of July we must move out. So they are going to kick us on the street and we can afford to pay, because my husband he work and we can afford to pay the house rent. But now, because the system cannot help people like us, because my husband can pay, but if we've been thrown in the street then they take it. Until we've been thrown out then they take it (...) and maybe it's not show up. And my scare is my son.
- Yeah.
- Because if I was alone it's not a big deal, but my son have been moved from Denmark and now coming here, and missing all work he have, and now. That is the worst. So when I wake up in the morning, just thinking. I wish I could just wake up at six o'clock and just go to work and have a normal life, like normal people. But now I will be there, sitting in the internet, then with time to run, talk talk, then with the Arbetsförmedlingen, they tell you: "You're handläggare is not here today or you could wait for him and maybe come after

- two hours” and just sit there in the computer and look for job. Then I will bike and just go home and sit in the computer, in the sofa, and look TV, and cook.
- So, what would you change about your situation? Is that your job?
 - It’s the job, it’s the job. I don’t mind any job. Of course I mind job, because I will not have job that I don’t know how to do that job, but it’s can be fair that they can look. Because they have kommunal, they have all these people from Arbetsförmedlingen. They know there is so many places they need people. Handicapped, I write so many things where I can work that kind of work. And I have time table flexible. I can work in morning, in the afternoon, in the night, I don’t mind. But six months, still nothing is happening. And you are new in country, because when I sit home I really think a lot. You know.
 - Yeah, I understand. It’s very stressful.
 - To talk about my problem. Because I’m not handicapped, and sitting here talking about my problem, it’s (...) I was so so lucky to (...) but I can’t have a job, you know. All my friends we went in school together, now have jobs. They call me: ”Oh, come back to Copenhagen”. I can’t come back to Copenhagen until five years. And Denmark, they are loser, because they gave me all this education for free. They gave me to go to this school and at the end they kick me out. So, I was lacking to have this education and then they kick me out and I said: ”Oh, I’m lucky to go to Sweden because Sweden they look more, you know what you have in the box”. And I have mail here: ”This is what I have, this is my CV, this is what I can do”. I’m flexible, I can do anything, just help me to go out in arbetsmarket or take (...) I call and send my CV, I send it to (...) and that’s it. Nothing happen. I get the interview that I will have a praktik place here, she came last week. The timing came last week, she came one person and said: ”Oh, we can send you praktik at this old people’s house”. I said that I don’t mind, I like to work with people, that is my job, I love my job. And she said now, that: ”We will look for you”. I’m still waiting. People, when they sit here, they talk about that they will look you praktik six months and another praktik six months and maybe when you get praktik you will have 3000 and I have to wake up from six to three o’clock to go to praktik. You know?
 - Yeah.
 - But still I don’t get even that praktik, I was hoping that they if they give me that praktik I can go to that praktik, maybe I got three weeks, four weeks, I meet people and like my job and maybe they can pick me.
 - Absolutely.
 - And maybe I will be happy working in Swedish society, so I don’t mind, to frivillig something. I don’t mind (...) so that is my problem.
 - Yeah.
 - And the way I feel, I have symptomes of depression, I have been working in psychiatric hospital, bordeline, schizofreni and depression and sometimes I can feel that I’m really depressed. Thinking of what will happen now, because there is no future. Also when I don’t have a job, my family relationship also, because it’s stress every day. So that is the problem. But, ask me more...
 - Okay, thank you for telling me all of this, it’s very good. I have this which I would like you to, if you want to, fill in. It’s about the people that you meet in

your daily life here. And this is you in the middle, then you have the categories: friends, family, relatives, formal contacts, that's like authorities, like Arbetsförmedlingen and... Work/education, that is if you would have met people there, and spare time/organizations, that is if you have activities, like coming here, that is like an activity or organization. And then you can fill out the people that you meet here, and if you think that they are close. Like for instance, maybe your family, your husband and your son...

- So I write closer?
- Closer to the middle.
- Mhm.
- Understand?
- Yeah? Okey. And you don't have to fill them all, just the ones you think is... That you know people or.
- Right now, I can put?
- Yeah.
- [Filling out network chart: family] My son's name is [name].
- Oh, that's a nice name.
- And my husband's is [name].
- You have your sister, you have anyone else?
- No, I have my sister and her son. I have nobody else.
- Okey.
- You know, family and relatives, what is the difference?
- Relatives is...
- Sister?
- More like an uncle or. A bit far away.
- Here?
- That you have in Malmö. But maybe you speak to them like on...
- Yeah, telephone. [Somebody coming in, talking]
- [Filling out network chart: formal contact] Formail contact...
- Is there anyone you have met, that you feel is maybe, that you have talked to?
- There was one girl, she was here also, she's from university, something like that. And she came there, we just sit together, talk. She want, she was about politics and all that stuff, and we changed number. And then we walk, she says she lives there so we were walking, I had my bike and walking. We talked, we talked so much. Oh my god. We talked, we went to Värnhem and sit café and she bought coffee and we were jsut talking, like we knew eachother so much and she was really interested to hear what happened. Because some people they don't know about the rules here, and she told me that now she's been out of country and people would like to come here. And then I say when you come here, you were like (...) in my country. People think: "Oh, Europe", everybody want to come here, to sell their lands and everything, but when they come here even if you do really well and work nice job there, you come here you start from zero. And they don't get it. This will work so hard. In Denmark I don't have makeup, I don't make my nails, I'm just waking up and work work work every day. So when I go to Africa I have much money in my bag, but I look like a mess. And you say them that there is chaos, they don't have that much money.

Then you tell them how much you owe, and they: "Wow, that's a lot of money". I tell, they have no idea I pay rent, I pay this, I pay taxes, I pay that.

- It's much more expensive also?
- To live, yes. Expensive. And to have just normal standard life, like normal person, you just have to work and just life. And take loan and my car, and it's just work work work work. And that's the life here. But they think when you come here you grow the tree, take all the money from the tree and come in Africa. No, no, no. We suffer a lot. That's why I will never bring anybody here, because I have suffer so much. So much, that I don't want anybody to go through. Because in Denmark I've been fighting, fighting, fighting. They say: "You work, you don't get any contact hjälp". That's exactly what they did, I was in Denmark one month when I came 2005. One month I stay home, I get job, cleaning job. I've been cleaning at day time and going to school in the evening. I have husband, I have son. For three years. Sometimes I close, the light is red, I have no idea it has changed. I just go. Sometimes people will call me, beep beep beep, I don't hear. My brain is somewhere else. For three years I work work until I finish and then they say: "Things take time", but it's eight months in ancient culture. No money, you get. Thank god I have my A-kassa. Eight months I went to study, I get dagpeng. And before I start to pay my A-kassa I was so angry with my ex husband because I thought: "Oh, A-kassa, I just spend money and I have job so why I should be forced to pay?". He said: "Just pay, I have been paying for twenty years now. Just pay, when whenever you will not have a job you are secured". So he forced me and I registred so I never feel it because it goes automatically and I was so happy to have it. But then I was so happy to move because I know now I can live in Sweden, I don't have to be a bagage for Swedish because I have my A-kassa, but nothing is working with this, in the paper is working. When you come to here in system, they just throwing you up and up and down like this, and now they send me kommunal A-kassa, big letter, that they cannot give me money because I never work. If I was living here and working in Copenhagen, then they could give me money. Or if I was employed only one day and no work anymore, they could give me money. Then I was looking somebody to hire me just for one day but still I dont' have somebody to hire me for one day.
- No...
- That's the wait.
- It's very much... Rules and..?
- Yeah. Relatives, formal contacts. What is formal contacts?
- Yeah, maybe if you felt that you've met somebody at myndighet?
- Here?
- Yeah, here in Sweden, that you think is a good person or is, maybe not a friend, but you know, somebody you could talk to? Is there anyone you go to more than one time? No?
- I have nobody, and now even my sister, vi är ovänner [laugther].
- Mhm, oj.
- We don't even speak from December, because we went to Africa together and then we fight in family for some time. So we are now ovänner, we don't speak.

So I'm alone. So sometimes I have so much pain, and I can go home (...) and my husband will come home or my son and then I can just (...) too much, you know.

- Yeah. So would you say it's hard to make friends in Sweden?
- It's hard because you don't...
- You don't have a work or somewhere to go?
- Yeah, people meet colleagues in school, at work, you know. But if you don't have that you don't have somebody, unless you know somebody to can introduce you to somebody.
- Yeah, and do you think then that you need those contacts in order to maybe get a job? Like it's a vicious cycle?
- It's a cycle, because I'm an open person, I like to be social and the more you have social network it's better for you, to be healthy because you talk a lot of different things and people share different stuff. So it can help. So for me to sit there and cry and feel sorry for myself, and think how horrible the world is to be, you know...
- So, how many of these people that you have here come from your home country? And how many are Swedish or from another country?
- My friend, my husband, my sister, my son. That's it.
- And these are? You have Språkcafé and...
- Språkcafé and personlig assistent and undersköterska.
- Mm.
- I don't know if you can see it?
- Yeah, yeah, it's okay. Which category would you say is the most important to you here?
- I would say this, my family. Because this is what I have. Everyday, no matter what, I go home and talk to my son, I talk to my husband and (...) Språkcafé is important too, because now I met you and...
- Yeah, to meet people is maybe, one of these, that is most important?
- And I don't have work.
- Mm. How would you, I mean, maybe it would be a big difference - but if you would compare, if you would have done this when you lived in Denmark or when you lived in your home country, would there have been a big difference?
- Yeah, if I done this in Denmark, the difference is big because I have big network there. I have so big network than even in my country, because I live there long time. And even when I go to my country I don't have friends anymore. All are gone or married there, so I have only my mom and my brother, he's in school, so maybe (...).
- You lose them when you don't live there?
- Yeah. When I live in Denmark, I brought my sister once, I brought her as au pair for my son and then she get boyfriend six months after. And then they were käresta and then she go back and they married. So I was happy for him and my sister, then we can be talking you know. And then she advice me all this, moving here and do stuff. And I was thinking that is was easy that we move here, forget all about, I was like finish my school and I just got to concentrate on job. I don't want any more lawyers, any more paper there, any more paper there, with this

Danish system, I want to finish this system. I want to move and start new life in Sweden. It's a dream. And then, you know, here they have nice apartment, like big and cheaper. And cheap car, nice things, in Sweden. I cannot compare that, the first thing we moved here because we would pay... Like apartment only included water and all the stuff, washing clothes. But in Denmark, you pay everything, so. We like here more, because of the big apartment they have than Denmark and cheaper, even if we go every morning twenty minutes, my husband, he go to office, it's not a problem.

- Mm. Okey. Would you say that you are generally a trusting person?
- Yeah.
- You think it's any difference, how you, I mean most people that you meet in Sweden or in your home country, is there a difference in how many or how you trust people?
- Yeah, it's different of course. Because in Africa people they sun and people think different, but you come here in the winter and everybody is complaining. We are human of course, and we always complain. And sometime we forget what we have and concentrate with what we don't have. So we think more about the past and what will happen, and problem problem, and we forget to see now I'm here, I have family, I have this, now I'm glad. No?
- Mm.
- A lot of people forget of all that. Selv om I have no job, selv om I cry, I have so much stress, I thank god every day because I don't have to hide from the system that I am fast in Sweden and I have permanent in Sweden. So I can go out of the country and come back, no matter how many time I want. So I thank god for that. Selv om I don't have job, because there was a time when I was concentrated so much about the permanent and forget about everything else. I mean, the class, I have my exam, I cannot concentrate because I think about the permanent and the papers and where to live, but now i don't have to think about that anymore. Even if I am out in the street there, I'm still here. So.
- So that's a relief?
- That is positive, you know. So, yeah.
- Yeah. Do you ever feel that Swedish people are maybe hard to get to know or maybe, I think maybe, they say about Swedish people that we are a bit cold or hard to get to know?
- You go to Denmark and then you see cold people, because people who come here, a ot of them come from outside. They don't come from the EU. They come from outside and come here and first time they met is Swedish people. But I have lived in Schweitz, Switzerland before, I've been in Germany, Denmark and here, and I can tell you. You guys, you're different. And I don't say anything that to make my life better, because it will not help. But I've been living in Denmark for so long time, the first time I talk to them is so strange. I sit in the bus and no...
- Never?
- I sit in the bus and nobody will say hi. It's just... Especially in the morning, nobody is even saying nothing. And then I'm like, sick or what is happening? Even black people, I met then they just... And then I met one girl, I said: "What

is happening?”. She said: ”People here are so cold, they are so depressed, they are so like this, like this so when you see them you just pretend them, so me I never bother to say any hi”. Even black people, when you say hi to them they think you have problem. That’s why you say hi to them, but Sweden people, they are sweet. And I tell you, the discrimination here is low than Denmark. Because, it’s especially when you go out in club. In Denmark, there are so many people you can’t go because you’re black. I swear, you go, you have mod because you’re totally against, you cannot come. The [name of club], there is club, big club that comes everybody. But you are black, my dear, you don’t go inside. They close, they put this band. You’re standing in the line, like there’s so many people standing in the line, when you come to the thing that will open, then exit. Then ”Why?”, ”Because it’s private party”, but it’s not a private party. We have Danish friends, they can go in, but you are black, you cannot come in. It happened maybe five times, for me personally.

- That’s terrible.
- This club and go to this club, you cannot come in. But in Sweden, you know: ”Welcome, come in”, maybe they want to see your ID, and that’s okey. You show and then you come in. And that’s it. They talk nice, and they are sweet people, you know they smile with you and that’s all we need.
- So, you’ve never experienced anything like that in Sweden?
- I have never, never, never experienced. In that I don’t have ID. Maybe I forget to Systembolaget, when have to buy whine, and they’re like: ”Oh, you have to ID”. I say: ”I’m old, I’m [age]”. No. So that is the rules.
- Yeah, yeah.
- Otherwise it’s good. And I am positive about Swedish people. And that again, and that girl I met here we talk like this, just so open and nice person who can listen. And also, this (...) she was already so open and sweet person. So I have, you know, it’s cold...
- Yeah, it’s a bit cold in here. There’s just a few questions left. Is there any time in Sweden or here in Malmö, maybe in a certain situation, that you don’t feel trust? Or you feel maybe afraid or uncomfortable?
- Yeah, like osäker? Like I’m osäker for myself.
- Yeah, osäker. Yeah, unsure of yourself or... Unsafe or?
- Only my job. Because I’m not safe, if I go so long time in the house and not do something about the problem, then still problem will come. So I think that...
- So it’s more about your own self-esteem, the feeling you have for yourself?
- Yeah, about my situation, about my house, I have to move, and now we’re looking for a new house to move and then it’s like one year or two year, three years, and then we will move from there to another place you know. Until you are in the line. The other day I called this (...) and I asked them why did they have to kick us out for somebody else to come in and we are here in the line, we are paying and we are still in the line, but because we have not been in the line enough so we cannot take that house. Then I was asking her: ”Think for yourself that one day you will have a child that you love or somebody you love, running to a acute mottese in the hospital and because you are in the line, the doctor will look that your child, you have to go in and then she will tell you:

‘Stand in the line, you will have to wait’, how it will feel for you. That you have to wait, and somebody really really need to get it, and you have the power, like the doctor have the power and look at the line and say: ‘You are still walking, but this one, we have to take this first’.” So the doctor have the power and this woman have the power, she can look in the line and she is the one that will choose who will become in this house. Because it’s like twenty people and sometimes they have visning and ten people they come and next week they will come again and look. She will choose one who will take it. So even if she choose me, none of these twnty people will know that she have given me the apartment. She just have to listen and that she have empathy and mensklig fölelser, and she like: ”Okey, these people are paying the rent, we have 25 000 in depositing and they have to give us back” and we are in the line for six months now, so she could make... Like: ”Okey, you pay your rent every month, and you want to stay and you’ve been here already one year, okey, then you can stay maybe”. You know?

- Yeah, so, I understand that you want them to make an exception, but do you expect her to do that even if it’s... Maybe it’s wrong, I mean, for her. She can’t do that, she’s not following the rules, but do you still think that she can do that?
- Yeah, I was thinking, if I really really tell her that now I don’t have a place to go, she will say yeah and send people outside, and she will be so sorry. ”I’m sorry, that’s the rule, we don’t do”. But still there’s rules and there’s mänsklig fölelser, this is not rule like I’m illegal in this country and I want Swedish passport and I talk to you: ”Please, my family have died and everybody is here and just go and bring me passport”. This is not like that. This is something open like, I ask: ”You take it or leave it”. She leave it, because she say: ”We don’t do that, we have to follow the rules. Wait for one or two years, and then you call me”. So, I try to, with the example, like you run into the hospital and the doctor tell you to wait in the line and how it will happen and she hang the phone...
- She hang the phone on you?
- She hang the phone.
- Oh, really?
- (...) Because sometime you can also look at the situation and then think you’re kicking somebody else for somebody else to come, and this somebody have been in the land, even where they are living and they have to move. Maybe it’s their home, it’s small and they want to have big something, but they are living in there now. That is the system. I like system, but sometime I don’t like system.
- Yes. Of course.
- My country don’t have system, we are so corrupt in my country and there money talks even if you shoot somebody. The police comes, you give him money and he shuts up. So, it’s so corrupt. And I don’t like that kind of things because it’s good and it’s dangerous. Because anything works there, you don’t trust people there. I don’t trust my won people, because they will tell you this and... But here it’s different. It’s hard to be in the system, but as long as you’re in the system, then you’re in the system. But to come in the system.
- So do you feel that you’re in the system? Is there inside people and outside people?

- I'm in the system now, because I came in and the first thing is immigration and the Skatteverket, and they godkánt my familj. So we are in the system, but it takes time to land. Like to land, if I've been here for one year and no job still, maybe I could be crying so much. But now I've been for six months and I'm trying not to make it more worse. Because after school, now, what I have learned in the school it's... I'm forgetting, because I'm not practicing, I'm not doing my job. So when I go to work, I meet somebody, maybe to walk with for two-three days to be in the routine you know? To give insulin or to give the blood förtjockningsmedicin or that one (...) or maybe I need practice. Because it's almost six months so.
- Yeah. Do you, that was what we were talking about before, maybe that if you walk home by yourself at night, do you ever feel afraid or unsafe?
- No. No. Here I'm so, I walk in the night here. I go out and I love it. I love Malmö, I really really Malmö. It's more... I never feel that. But of course, you hear that of Rosengård and something like that. You hear those (...) and I'm like, even if I'm so desperate I don't want to go there, but people they will tell you that the system is throwing every utlänning there. They don't want you to live close to Swedish people. They want, all they need to be in the same place. So you are like okay, but I'm... But the system they tell me: "You are Danish, because you cannot have SFI" but you are still black and African. But I'm married with Danish, so it's not utlänning, so he has also his part...
- So, you think that that helps?
- That helps of course. It's too different, like if I call, we look in Blocket and I call, like: "Jag ringer angående lägenhet". And: "Oh, vi ringer till dig eller har mycket, bla bla bla". Så säger jag till man: "Ring här nu" and he call and he can have a time to visning.
- So, it's different?
- It's different. But the problem, he work, he leaves the house 5.30 in morning, before he come home it's 17. So all this looking the apartment, it's me. And he don't speak English and he's from [name of city] in Denmark, and he don't even understand Swedish. So a lot of time we go Skatteverket or immigration or call, it's me. That do all the paper work. But he's always there and support, so.
- Do you ever feel that it's discriminating then, that it's different? That if he calls it's one thing and if you call it's another thing?
- Yeah, it makes big forskellig med mig utlänning and he. Because no matter what I will be utlänning, no matter I live here for fifty years, I have a job, I have passport, I will still be utlänning in Swedish eye. But if you are in the arbetsmarket with them, and they like: "Oh, she speaks, she writes, she works good", they really loves you, because you cooperate. But if you ush the Swedish close, her when you come like utlänning you are close, Swedish people they don't come (...) but you come here and you are open to come in.
- So it's really important that you are open?
- Yeah, that you are open. Because it's like, when I come in and we talk, so I come in this country, then I'm closed and I don't want to talk. And you also see that she don't want to talk and you just leave me alone. Because you are good

to läs kroppspråk, and to then... But if I smile, you smile back, and then you can see they like, and then we can have a dialog. It's good to be open.

- Yeah, do you think then that may be the most important, or what is the most important to feel inside of our society here?
- The most important?
- Yeah.
- To feel inside?
- Yeah.
- It's when you blend.
- Integrate?
- Yeah, integrate. Work and colleagues and arbetsmarket.
- To meet people and to get contacts?
- Yeah, then it's more... What was the question again?
- What is the most important for you to feel inside of our society?
- It's when I samarbete. Like on school or job, so...
- You interact with people?
- Yeah, that you feel more secure because you blend with them. You listen when they talk, you see how they work and if you follow it, then you don't feel like an outsider. You feel like (...) but if you are then you are really outsider, like now I'm really outsider. I don't have friends, I don't have job, I don't have any... So (...) it's a place where I can come, just like here, I can come and we sit there and talk and have coffee and... Of course we don't talk much because when we sit there there is somebody speaking. And then we have paus, so we will drink coffee and run and five-ten minutes come again and sit and then everybody goes home. So it's still not much like working market. Because arbetsmarket there will be kaffepaus eller frukost...
- And you meet every day?
- And you meet there and talk about the job and the patients and discuss, you know. So in that way it's... The best is to come to arbetsmarket. There you can... For me...
- So, if you would say, how long does it take, or do you feel, if you would say to feel at home here? Or feel inside? How long does it take? Or do you feel, right now, like this is your home?
- Yeah, when I have my home. My home home home, like apartment with contract for maybe two years, because two years is without... Call me for lejlighet. Then it will be the best home in the world, because I really love. I talked with my friends from Schweitz and Germany and some of my cousins have come to visit my sister last time, and they really like. And I'm like: "I moved and I live in Malmö and it's really nice place, you can go to the beach, you can go to the walking street, there's big (...) a lot of activity to do and go and see and (...) to go to Copenhagen and like "Oh, we are coming and you are moving". But I don't know where I'm moving and I don't have job, so I wish that we for this summer a summer job, and then we have moving next month, then I don't have anything problem. As long as I think I have a job now, because even if I'm looking for apartment they want to have in contract that you work for the economy. So if I don't have job it will be even more difficult and if they

kick me out, then the kommun will take care because we have to go to the kommun. And then they will put us in the hotel or maybe put us in where they put people and they will pay. And we have money now, maybe they will say your husband work, you can stay in the hotel. I don't know how it works here. Or maybe they will say: "Oh, you go to where they keep old people who don't have home" so I don't know what we have... Because of course I will not sleep on the street.

- No, of course.
- And then we have to go and sleep in the hotel, within two-three days our money is finished. So what is then, next. So, it's just (...) my husband will maybe box all the windows you know. You know you get angry and just sometime this is too much stress and will jump on the bridge somewhere and then it's over, because then you don't have to think about this stress. But then I look, I don't kill myself because I have my son, you know. So.
- I really hope it all works out for you. That you find an apartment and...
- Just to find a job. Of course they say, too much people don't have job than 400 000 don't have job. It's...
- That's...
- Yeah.
- Okey. Just one last question. When you meet people here, do you feel that they trust you? like you meet people for the first time, people, whoever in Sweden...
- I don't judge book from its cover. I don't judge people. I don't know: "I don't trust you, I don't trust you" and...
- Do you think you have to know?
- I don't think even that feeling, I don't see even that thinking in my head that should I trust or not I don't have in my system.
- You have to know me better before you can say?
- Of course you have to know before you tell all your problem, but this is your job and you want the interviews...
- Oh, I'm not talking about me but all people...
- Yeah, but example. But I will not meet even all this people who sit there and tell about my life. I am always smiling, I have buy my lejlighet from some of them, they think I have married Danish and I have this perfect wonderful life and that's...
- So they don't know the..?
- Not all. So I just don't tell all my problem, but I try to avoid to speak about my problem because everytime I speak it hurts me. Because it's not like a problem where you can fix. It's fixable. You know, there are people who have problems, when you go out there he or she will tell you they have problem. And I'm like "Shit, I thought I had problem, this is huge". Like maybe doctor have given you one year to live. You have job, you have house, you have money, but you have only one year to live. There is no plan B. So that's huge. But my problem is just discussion and share with people and be somewhere and have job. If you have apartment, I'm interested, and... It's something... I don't think it's so much. Okey, I'm a Christian, I believe. And to believe is a good thing, because you always have something you can count on. And you don't carry all that baggage.

Like you know a lot of Swedish people and Danish people, they don't believe in god, don't believe in anything. Like my husband. He believe for himself. And I tell you sometime he have big bagage, you know. It's like (...) and you see from all these years you carry from your past. But you need to put it out and look about the future, just think about the future. like, you need to have a house, a job, a baby, or whatever you want to have. Think about that. Because is so heavy to carry. I don't concentrate with my problem too much. I just concentrate with my plan and my future and that's it. For that way I live strong, for that way I don't have depression.

- That's great.
- So I think positive, postive, positive. Before I cried, and thought my son don't go to school or keep bringing my friends and: "How is [name of son]? How is he coping with the Danish school?", "Oh, now he's in Swedish school and now he's fine" and he's in the house. I lie. I lie to so many of my friends. I even make him, I have to tell him to lie. Because I don't want to be embarrassed, and people will talk about my son staying in the house. It's not my fault.
- No, of course not.
- It's because of the system. But I don't want people to concentrate with my problem, because when you tell someone the small of your problem they put it there, on certain paper, and then somebody go for that and they put chili, and all those, ketchup, mustard, you know [laughter].
- It's bigger and bigger?
- It's bigger and bigger and you can't control it. So to make it fine: "I'm so fine, I'm loving Sweden, just come over and visit". But it's not like that. But now I'm happy, my son goes to school every day, so that's positive. We can stay here. We can go travel whenever we want and have money. So, that's positive. I just need a job. That's it.
- I really hope you get one soon.
- Yeah, I hope so. I'm trying. Some people will tell: "No, we've been six months or one year after finishing the education" and they have job, but it's in Denmark. So I'm like okey. And then they're like (...) for twelve years, you've been running and running, just god want to bless you, just relax. I'm like: "Relax? I've been relaxing and relaxing until I can't relax no more" [laughter]. So it's like that. And I hope it will help.
- Yeah.
- So whenever I talk I feel a little bit much better. So.
- That's good. Yeah. I'm finished. Thank you so much.
- Yeah, it was too much?
- No it was perfect. Very good.

10.7 Interview with Jose

10.7.1 Original

- Då börjar vi då. Om du kan börja att berätta lite om dig själv, ditt namn, hur gammal och...
- Jag heter Jose. Jag är [age]. Och jag kommer från Argentina. Nej, jag kommer inte från Argentina, jag är född i Argentina. Jag bodde för nio år sedan i Spanien, Madrid. Så jag har en flickvän, hon är svensk. Därför vi kommer här.
- Du träffade henne i Spanien?
- Nej, vi träffade på nätet. Och sedan hon kom till Madrid, för fem år sedan och sedan vi kommer, kom till Sverige.
- Mm. Vad gör du för någonting?
- Nu jag studerar SFI. Och jag söker inte för jobb. Eller jag sökte, när jag kom här sökte. Men då det är lite svårt, för i Spanien jag jobbade som testare den som i te...
- Ah..?
- Testare programmerar. Sedan, men jag studerar inte på universitetet i Argentina eller i Spanien.
- Okej, du har ingen utbildning i det?
- Och sedan, den man har inte utbildning..?
- Erfarenhet kanske?
- Ja, erfarenhet. Men här kanske du behöver. Och jag vet inte, kanske de säger till mig. De säger inte: "Du passar inte bra" men de säger att behöver mer eller, men jag vet inte. Det var bra, nya saker. Jag fann många. Jag var på fyra eller fem intervju, men det var inte så bra. Det var också jag gjorde sådan saker i Spanien, vi jobbade med en person över mig så här de behövde att jag gjorde båda.
- Aha, du ska göra båda? Okej.
- Mm, så jag vet inte.
- Det kanske är mer ansvar då?
- Jag är inte så säker på att göra själv. Jag vill göra...
- Vill du utbilda dig här då i Sverige eller vill du jobba med något annat?
- Jag är ställa, ställa, jag glömde vilken är riktig ord, måste lämna det. Men jag skrev en bra på högskola, så nu jag var på en intervju, men det var mig och fyra svensk. Så det var svårt för min svenska är inte så bra, så det var teknikord eller IQ-test som jag måste göra på svenska. Det var svårt för mig, jag gjorde inte, ingen IQ-test på spanska heller. Så det var första gången.
- Svårt. Det är klart.
- Jag är här för fem månader sedan. Jag kom i december.
- Mm.
Min svenska är inte bra, jag kan prata men...
- Ja, absolut.
- Jag förstår, men det är ibland...
- Nej, men hur tänker du då för framtiden i Sverige?

- Jag tänker vill försöka, jag ska försöka, att söka jobb. Men jag tänker att jag måste klara först, måste klara SFI eller använda mer min svenska och att jag kan prata och ha ett liv i Sverige.
- Så språket är väldigt viktigt?
- Ja, det tycker jag. Och jag tänker många en familj här. Jag tänker stanna här. Jag träffade så mycket, jag bodde i London, Madrid, Barcelona och Argentina också. Jag reser så mycket. Jag söker en plats som jag kan stanna.
- Det är här du vill stanna?
- Ja.
- Ja.
- Jag tänkte det är bra här, det är bra land. (...)
- Förutom din flickvän då, kom du hit ensam? Du har ingen annan familj här?
- Nej, nej. Hon har inte vän här eller familj, därför hennes familj är från [Swedish city]. Och hennes vänner bor i [same city] också. De bor i [same city] eller [another Swedish city], men det är inte här. Så det är samma här. Så det är samma. I Spanien många vänner.
- Vad var dina tankar om Sverige eller vad visste du om Sverige innan du flyttade hit då?
- Innan? Eller, när jag kom? När jag var i Spanien?
- Mm, hur du tänkte om Sverige.
- Ja, jag har båda. Det var olika. Därför när jag var i Spanien jag tänkte att det var ett bra land att leva i. Därför att jag såg att den familj, många människor som har min, vårt, hur säger man? [Age] eller?
- Ålder?
- Ålder som de har, de börjar familj nu. De har barn. Det är lättare här, om du har ett barn, enklare. I Spanien vi bara har fyra månader pappaledigt, nja, det är inte pappaledigt, det är barnledigt för mamman.
- Så det är ingenting för pappan?
- Bara femton dagar, eller månader?
- Dagar, ja.
- För pappan. Så det är enklare här att ha ett barn och börja en familj. Så min flickvän, hon är samma ålder än mig, hon är [age] också. Så vi måste [laughter]. Men när jag kom här i Sverige, vi fann, nej inte fann, det fanns så många papper att göra även om jag är från Spanien i EU jag måste göra många många papper. Så det var lite... Därför jag kollade inte i Spanien, därför jag vill inte tänka på negativa. Därför jag söker inte och jag kollar inte från Spanien. Jag kom till bara här, jag fann att det var många papper jag måste göra eller. Jag måste fråga eller om ska stanna här, du kan stanna bara för tre månader, så jag vet att det inte är bra i Sverige. När jag kom hit, personnummer, måste göra... Så du behöver många saker, det är inte så enklare.
- Men vad tycker du om det? Känns det jobbigt?
- Ja. Men ganska dum också. Om jag kommer från EU de säger att du kan stanna här bara fem månader, okej jag går till Danmark och kommer tillbaka. Jag vet inte jag om det är (...) och kanske ibland de gör enklare saker på den människor som kommer från andra landet. De kanske är dem, jag vet inte men, man som komma från EU. Jag säger inte att vi är bättre, nej, men det är inte...

- Men det kanske borde vara lite enklare? Det är för mycket papper? För omständligt eller för svårt?
- Ja. Mm. Också med jobbet, jobbet är enklare för dem som kommer från andra landet, men för mig de betalar inte ingenting för mig. Du vet när arbetsgivare, om du kommer från, jag vet inte, Irak vi säger. Du får, om du får en jobb, Arbetsförmedlingen betalar 80 procent av skatter för att arbetsgivare det är enklare att få jobb, för för mig de betalar inget så.
- För att du kommer genom EU?
- Om jag får en jobb på Burger eller Max, de Max måste betala 100 procent för mig, för andra personer från Irak eller Iran eller, de betalar bara 20 procent. Så, ja, det är svårt för mig att hitta en jobb.
- Att de hellre vill anställa dem då? För att de tjänar på det?
- Ja, ja. Så de saker, jag veta inte när jag var i Spanien och kom här. Det är lite svårt, jag försöker att studera men kanske jag måste söka på andra jobb. Men dem, det är lite. Det är inte så mycket man tänker också. Det är inte så bra. De förstår inte (...) Det är också om du klarar SFI, om du är på SFI och du klarar SFI de betalar mindre. Om du får en jobb och du är från Irak, de betalar... De betalar 80 procent. Om du får en jobb, och du klarar SFI, de betalar 60. Så det är lite dumt, de människor de vill inte, de ska inte klara SFI.
- Så de betalar mer pengar om man inte klarar?
- Ja.
- Det är ju konstigt. Ja, jag förstår.
- Men jag vet inte hur fungerar.
- Nej, men känner du att det är mycket regler och kanske svårt att förstå?
- Ja. Jag är dålig på regler. Jag kollar ingenting, jag vet inte om jag får eller får inte. Så kanske jag måste börja och kolla på regler, och se om regler är bra för mig.
- Men du är inte van då från Spanien och Argentina att det är så mycket regler?
- I Argentina vi följer inte. För vi vet att de regler fungerar inte. Så folk tänker inte på regler. Vi bara tänker på vad vi gör, på vad vi är. Jag hade ingen bank account innan jag kom till Spanien, i Argentina du litar inte på banken. Dina pengar kan du ha under mattan...
- Under bordet?
- Eller jag vet inte, en låda. Min första bank, det var den, bankkort, hur säger man... Det var när jag bodde i London. Så det var, jag var 28 [laughter].
- Ja, det är lite. Då var du lite äldre.
- Det är inte på regler, när jag bodde i Argentina. Därför de fungerar inte. Så här, de fungerar, men ibland tänker jag det kommer människor som har dåliga tänk, tro. De som kommer från andra landet, som jag säger: "Du kommer från landet". Jag tänkte dåliga också, att jag tänker dåliga saker om varför man göra. Men jag kommer här för att bli en bättre person. För att göra bättre saker för mig eller för land. Alla människor läsa mig, jag kommer hit och inte göra samma sak jag gjorde i Argentina och som man kan göra i Argentina eller i Spanien. Därför jag kom här för, jag tänkte bra, det är bättre än många saker.
- Men du hoppas fortfarande att det är det? Bättre liksom? Du vill att det ska vara bättre här?

- Mm. Jag känner också många saker här är inte så bra också. Men jag tänkte, jag tror, människor göra de saker blir inte så bra. Därför saker är bra men som människor tänka på dem, det är inte bra. Som det kanske, kommer kanske inte klara SFI, men när du klarar SFI de betalar 60. Kanske om de tänker är bra, men människor som kommer från andra landet de har ingen svensk tänk. Så vi ser här, och jag frågar en kompis på SFI: ”Nej, jag vill inte klara det, för de betalar inte, mindre, så varför vi ska klara det?”. De som kommer in, kanske de får pengar från kommun eller Arbetsförmedling också, när de går till dit. Men när de gå till SFI, de göra ingenting. De var där för ett år, som de klarar inte. Det är inte så svårt att klara SFI, jag tro. Men de går där och bara går.
- Bara för att de ska få pengar? Ja, precis. Jag förstår.
- Det är pengar, är bra. Svensk tänk är bra, men ibland måste man tänka.
- Att man har kvar som man brukade tänka?
- Ja. Svensk måste tänka på andra människor som kommer från andra landet. Så. Men de lag är bra, det finns många, det finns många människor som kommer inte så bra. Jag kan göra dåliga saker, jag kan göra inte så bra saker, jag kan ta bussen och betala inte. Jag kan ta tunnelbana, finns inte tunnelbana här men... Tåg. Jag kan ta tåg och betala inte.
- Ja, det är olika?
- Men det finns många som gör det. Men ibland det är svensk så tänka de inte så. Därför man måste betala.
- Vi har det från början att vi tänker så? Ja, jag förstår.
- Ja, det är normalt för dig att tänka som det. Men för oss, det är inte så. Vi kan tänka olika.
- Absolut, det klart. Tycker du det är svårt att ibland tänka som vi gör här då? Att det är svårt att anpassa sig till hur vi tänker?
- Nej, det är ibland är rolig för mig. Då ha en person, så har de, hur kan man säga, naiv. Jag tänker det är rolig. Människor som är äldre, och de är så naiv. Och jag tänker att det känner bra. Jag vet inte hur förklara mig i svensk.
- Nej, men jag förstår hur du menar.
- Det känns, jag känner mig lycklig därför there is hope. Därför i Argentina, vi bara tänker klara oss, bara mig. Kanske svensk tänker också bara mig själv, men om en svensk måste göra lag eller tänka på kommun eller riksdag, de tänker på alla som bor här. Men i mitt hemland de tänker bara... Statsminister eller han, de bara tänker. Så jag tänker det känner bra.
- Så det känns som, hoppfullt men också naivt? Att det kanske är lite naivt att tänka så?
- Nej, men ja. Som jag tänker. Jag vill göra ingenting, det går inte bra. Men jag tänker, jag tror det finns många många människor som bor här i Sverige som inte är svensk, de tänker på, de tror de saker de kan göra. Att de kan ta advantage.
- Ja, precis. Utnyttja?
- Utnyttja. Så.
- Jag förstår, mm.
- Men jag vill, jag tänker det ska bli, jag säger alla gånger dålig men jag vet inte, men kan bli dålig och de svensk förlorar naiv. Därför de, jag tänker bra, jag

känner bra, men det finns människor som är naiv men bra väg. Men ibland vi måste tänka andra hand, andra tänk.

- Annat sätt att tänka, ja. Kan du berätta om din första tid när du kom till Sverige, vad som var svårast?
- Jag kom till, många gånger turist.
- Som turist, ja. Innan du flyttade hit då?
- Ja.
- Mm.
- Så nu första gången här som invandrare, menar du, det är svårt men jag börjar kolla på alla papper jag måste göra och när jag kollar på personnummer jag tänkte, jag vill, jag klarar inte. Därför jag har ingen, jag vet inte ord hur man säger på svenska men, hälso...
- Hälso..?
- När man har, jag har glömt på engelska. Du vet när du resa och har problem och du måste gå till sjukhus?
- Ja?
- Och måste ha en...
- Ja, vad ska man säga, alltså som ett hälso... Liksom, intyg, ett papper på?
- När du kommer från ditt land...
- Då får du som ett kort eller som du kan visa upp vem du är och var du kommer ifrån?
- Ja, jag har ingenting. Jag bara har en EU card, som du kan resa inom EU och få om du måste gå till sjukhus. Men de säger det passar inte. Så jag tänker åh, jag vill få ingen personnummer. Eller Migrationsverket måste få en...
- Ja, precis, godkännande?
- Godkännan. Om kan stanna här. Så när jag kollar på papper om de frågar om ärende, och jag tänker, jag ska klara inte, men när det sedan det var enkelt. Därför de vet inte om den lag de har. Därför när jag går, när jag gick till Skatteverket och pratade om personnummer, de sa "No, du måste ha en papper, först du måste gå till Migrationsverket och sedan du måste komma till Skatteverket". Men jag säger: "Men Migrationsverket ta (...) och klara papper och jag måste komma här och få personnummer om jag ska stanna här mer än tre månader". Så, det var de också.
- Ja, jag förstår.
- Men de: "Nej, först Migrationsverket, sedan komma hit". Och sedan jag försöker och säger: "Min flickvän är svensk och hon arbetar här" och han säger: "Okej, har du papper som?" och jag visade. Och han säger, han sa, om hur mycket pengar min flickvän har...
- Har?
- Nej, få.
- Ja, får.
- Nej, får varje månad eller?
- Alltså, hur mycket hon tjänar?
- Tjänar. Och han säger: "Okej, bra, börja skriv på papper". Och jag var: "Men är det klar nu?". "Ja, du ska få..."
- Så man förstår inte riktigt vad som händer?

- Nej. Jag sa: ”Varför?”. ”Din flickvän tjänar bla bla bla pengar, så hon kan ta människor eller person och be om hennes...”.
- Ja, i samma kostnad?
- Ja.
- ”Men var ligger den lag? På hemsidan?”. Jag kan få inte. Det var nej.
- Okej, jag förstår.
- Men de vet inte, att man kan få inte den informationen på hemsidan eller...
- Så det är svårt att förstå?
- Det är svårt, ja. Också på Migrationsverket, det var snabbt när du hämtar papper. Men det fanns inte en länk. Så du säger de saker du behöver, lite svårt att göra och förstå. Även min flickvän förstår inte, hon kan läsa, hon kan prata men hon förstår inte.
- Så det är svårt för vem som helst?
- Ja.
- Du säger ju att du varit i kontakt med lite olika myndigheter så, Arbetsförmedlingen, Migrationsverket, men du litar ändå på att de gör sitt jobb? Att de hjälper dig och gör rätt?
- Det är det som inte är så bra för mig. Jag gick, går dit, där, och pratar med min, människor som handlar min case...
- Ja, precis, handläggare?
- Hon bara: ”Okej, du har fyllt in här, men det finns ingen jobb på dig” och jag bara: ”Okej” och hon: ”Du kan kolla här på nätet” men jag kan kolla det hemma. Också, det är samma.
- Så de hjälper inte riktigt?
- Nej, men sedan jag pratade med en vän jag har här, hon är från Argentina också, hon säger att de hjälper mer hon. Men jag vet inte, kanske jag måste gå en gång till och prata och fråga om mera saker. För de hjälpte honom med CV, och de har förklara CV på svenska och hur man måste gå till intervju, du måste prata, och de fråga. Fråga dig när du går till intervju.
- Men de har inte sagt det till dig?
- Nej, nej. Det var konstigt. Men jag kommer ihåg, när jag kom där, de pratade inte med mig.
- Det kanske var, eller var det någon kurs som? Eller var det en person som sa det till honom eller var det som en kurs kanske, att han gick dit och det var flera andra som också skulle lära sig? Eller det var bara han?
- Nej, bara han och han måste gå för den morgonen till en person som de pratar. Och det var bra, men inte för mig. Men kanske jag måste gå en gång till.
- Ja, du får fråga?
- Ja.
- Det är ju orättvist, om det är olika.
- Men du vet de saker när du pratar med andra människor, inte när du kollar på hemsida eller du får ingen information från Arbetsförmedlingen. Det är okej, det är många människor som ber om hjälp. Jag tror inte, de ska skapa jobb för mig. Jag skaffar för mig. De kan hjälpa mig med de saker, göra CV på svenska eller jag vet inte, men. Jag vet att de vill inte få en jobb för mig. Jag måste gå och söka själv. Men det är dum också, jag tänker det är lite dumt, därför jag får

ingen pengar från dem. Det finns folk som får pengar från Arbetsförmedlingen eller om du är arbetslös, och du måste rapportera varje månad: ”Vad gjorde du?”.

- Precis, att man har sökt?
- Ja. Men jag har ingenting. Jag vill, jag måste rapportera också. Jag tänker det är lite dumt, därför. Varför jag måste rapportera?
- Ja, det är ju konstigt.
- Därför om jag får ingenting från Arbetsförmedlingen, varför jag måste rapportera någonting?
- Ja, jag vet inte. Och man får ingen information om varför?
- Nej.
- Nej, man får inte?
- Nej, de skickar för jag har en hemsida. Nej, inte hemsida... Min hemsida. På Arbetsförmedlingen.
- Ja, min sida?
- Min sida och jag kan kolla på jobb, eller de skickar jobb där för mig, de kanske passar eller inte. Det är bra, men jag ska inte rapportera någonting. Sista rapporten jag säger, jag skrev ner: ”Nu vill jag vill klara SFI, sedan jag vill...” [laughter].
- Det känns onödigt att göra det nu?
- Ja, men jag vet inte.
- Ja, om vi går vidare. Skulle du kunna beskriva en vanlig dag i ditt liv här i Malmö? Vad du gör när du vaknar?
- Jag vaknar, motionerar halvtimme, ja, frukost, och sedan gå till SFI till klockan ett, sedan jag går hem, jag kanske studerar lite, lunch, sedan min flickvän kommer hem. Komma hem eller kommer hem?
- Kommer hem.
- Kommer hem, sedan vi går på promenad eller (...), och sedan går tillbaka hem och lite middag. Tittar på TV lite.
- Mm. Skulle du vilja ändra något med din situation som den är nu?
- Om jag vill byta någonting?
- Ja, byta, ändra någonting.
- No, jag vill. Älskar ha en jobb. Därför jag är lite rädd, när man jobbar inte, när man har jobb för sex eller sju år, du är lite rädd att bli eller ha någonting att göra. Och när man är på SFI och du studera, och du kan ibland tänka: ”Åh, nu jag göra saker, nu jag göra någonting”. Men du får ingen pengar.
- Nej.
- Så ibland är jag lite rädd. Men jag måste tänka på min sak och försöka se för andra...
- För att göra nästa saker?
- Men ibland är svårt för att fokusera. Därför du är rädd eller känner lite useless.
- Ja, jag förstår, att man börjar tvivla på sig själv?
- Ja, det är svårt att bli arbetslös. Jag blev inte (...) av att hålla min liv, mitt liv. Också svårt när jag har ingen vänner här. Jag kan inte gå till någon och prata lite.
- Är det svårt att träffa vänner?

- Ja, svårt att träffa vänner. Det är, jag träffade många människor på SFI, men de... Vi har andra tänk. Så det är svårt också att få en connection med... De är bra, jag har bra kompisar, jag har en pojke eller man från Syria. Han är bra människa, eller bra person. Men vi har ingen connection. Ingen på musik eller...
- Ni har inga gemensamma intressen eller?
- Mm. Kanske med svensk jag kan ha mer gemensamt, men de är svåra att börja med. Med en svensk är svårt att börja relation.
- Mhm, varför det?
- Jag vet inte. Kanske är mig. Jag är inte så social. Jag är lite konstig [laughter]. Lite konstig. Jag är inte gammal, jag är äldre nu. Jag är inte tjugo längre. Kanske lättare när du är yngre.
- När man är yngre och kanske ute?
- När du är ute och pratar, kan prata med människor. Jag kan prata med människor, men sedan det är enklare att försöka en relation. Men det är lite spännigt. Men jag har den första intervju jag har, jobbintervju. Jag pratade med en svensk, en svensk man, men han var, vi hade connection när vi pratade. Och sedan vi pratade på hans kontor, nej inte hans kontor, hur säger man..?
- Hans rum eller?
- Rum eller plats. Och vi pratade...
- [Someone pointing through window for us to get coffee] Vi får ta kaffe där sedan [laughter].
- [Laughter] Och han hjälpte mig, och han sa: "Du kan komma till mig och prata och skicka mail och fråga saker".
- Han ville hjälpa dig?
- Och han säger (...): "Du måste bilda en network". Jag hatar den ord, därför tänkte nu du måste bilda en network. Tänkte nu det är bättre att bilda en network som, eller, blir bra jobbare. Eller göra bra jobb. Det är bättre att göra bra network. Att ha en bättre network.
- Det är viktigast? Du tycker inte det kanske, du håller inte med?
- Men för mig, det är svårt för mig för ha en ny relation med människor, därför jag är lite svårt. Men jag, när jag jobbar, jag tänker på att göra, eller, jag... Jag vet inte hur säger man på svenska eller engelska...
- Men du menar att du tänker på jobbet mer än på personerna, eller?
- Ibland, tänker det finns många personer som pratar mycket och som de är bra att prata. Pratsam.
- Pratsam, precis.
- Men jag är inte pratsam. Men de som är pratsam, de göra dålig jobb. Men det är bättre de är pratsamt än mig som tänker jag tror jag gör bra jobb, därför jag tänker på hur göra och jag är... Responsible.
- Ansvarsfull?
- Mm.
- Men tycker du att de andra personerna verkar bättre för att de pratar mycket?
- Ja, så. Jag såg den när jag började, när jag jobbade i Spanien för [name of company], är stor företag, den finns här också. Människor som jobbar på [name of company], de är pratsam, de sälja bra, de sälja dig själv bra. Men sedan de jobba inte, de bara prata och prata och får connectioner, men sedan människor

som mig som är bakom som göra deras jobb. Men de är bättre, därför de har mer networking. De är bättre än networking än mig.

- Mm.
- Men det är ett jobb där (...) det var för två år konsulten, som konsult prata och sälja. Det var inte bra för mig. Inte nu, kanske sedan jag läsa, lära mig mer att bli pratsam och sälja mer. Jag vet inte.
- Men du tycker det känns viktigt att man måste kunna det?
- Nej, jag tycker det ibland. Det beror på.
- Vilket jobb man har?
- Ja, vilket jobb. De (...) jag vill sälja ingenting, jag måste göra saker. Det beror på människor som säljer projects så jag kan jobba.
- Så du gör båda?
- Ja, båda. Men ibland är människor som måste göra mitt jobb, men de bara pratar och jag har, jag måste jobba båda, göra båda. Så det är inte bra.
- Orättvist?
- Mm.
- Unfair.
- Ja. Jag förstår. Nu har jag en sådan här. Nu ska du få fylla i, fast det inte är så kul för att du inte gillar. Det är en nätverkskarta. Du är här i mitten och så har du olika här: vänner, familj, släkt...
- Vad är släkt?
- Alltså, relatives.
- Ja.
- Ja? Formella kontakter, det kan man säga är myndigheter, arbete/utbildning, så det kan ju vara SFI, och fritid/organisationer, det kan vara Språkcaféet och sådana saker. Och så ska du fylla i de personer som du träffar när du bor här i Malmö. Och om du tycker att de är närma dig, till exempel kanske din flickvän.
- Då närmare mitten?
- Precis, hon är närmare mitten. Och om de är långt bort så är de lite sämre vänner. Du förstår?
- [Filling out network chart: family] Jag måste skriva namn?
- Du kan skriva namn eller flickvän eller vad du vill.
- Okej. Men här i Malmö?
- Här, när du bor här.
- [Filling out network chart: spare time/organizations] Är det..?
- C först.
- C?
- Café.
- Med dubbel-f eller?
- Ett f bara. Och sedan e.
- Och ingenting här. Formella kontakter?
- Mm, har du träffat någon, det kanske inte heller finns någon som du känner att du, eller som du har träffat flera gånger, som du känner att du litar på eller?
- Ja.
- Var jobbar han, eller?
- [Filling out network chart: formal contacts] Ska jag skriva?

- Nej, du kan bara säga eller om du vill...
- Han är man som intervjuade mig.
- Jaha, precis, han som du pratade om?
- Han... Sist. Jag vet inte...
- Men det var han du pratade om förut? Ja?
- Ja, men jag kan skriva.
- Ja, det är lugnt. Men bara så jag vet vem det är. Ja, men vad bra. Ett jobb i alla fall som du var..?
- Mm (...). Jag vet inte om är svensk, [name of person]?
- Nej, det kanske är ett namn. Ett efternamn?
- Efternamn?
- Ja, jag tror det.
- Släkt, jag har ingen släkt här.
- Nej, det kan nog vara svenskt. Hur många, eller vilka skulle du säga, hur många som du träffar är från Argentina eller Spanien eller svenskar?
- De här är från Argentina [pointing at Angel and Nidia]. Man [Majid] är från Syrien. Sverige [girlfriend]. Och de är från olika [Språkcafé].
- Om du skulle välja, vilken av de här som är viktigast, om du ska välja en, när du bor i Malmö? Vilken är viktigast för dig?
- Min flickvän, för hon betalar för allt [laugther].
- [Laugther] Hon är viktigast på flera sätt?
- Ja. Men det är också viktigt med SFI, jag tänker det är viktigt för mig. Alla saker som jag göra här, de är viktiga för mig. Därför de ska bilda mig som svensk.
- Så man behöver olika saker?
- Ja.
- Om du hade gjort den här när du bott i Argentina eller i Spanien, hade det varit stor skillnad?
- Ja.
- Mm.
- Många mer, stora paper. Stora papper.
- Ja, ett mycket större papper? Många mer människor då kanske?
- Ja, men det är enklare. I Spanien jag kände mig inte som invandrare. Men här. Men det börjar, jag börjar här, jag måste tänka på det. Det är bara fem månader. Det finns många människor som inte pratar och göra ingenting. Som går i fem år?
- Ja, många år?
- Ja.
- Så kan det vara. Det är svårt. Om du skulle... Skulle du generellt säga att du är en person som litar på andra människor?
- Nej.
- Inte? Varför inte?
- Nej, för jag, min utbildning, jag litar, den var dålig. För i Argentina, man kan inte lita på någonting, du kan lita på din familj eller vänner men ibland inte.
- Inte andra?
- Nej. Så det...

- Så du har blivit sådan eller du känner att du är sådan, även om du kommer till en annan plats?
- Även så jag kommer till här. Jag gick till den jobbintervju, det var inte så bra människor där också. De säger någonting, och sedan de göra någonting annat. Så jag kände mig: "Är jag i Sverige eller?", så det finns dålig människor överallt.
- Överallt. Ja, precis. Känner du att personer som du träffar här i Sverige, ibland säger man ju om svenskar att vi är lite svåra, kalla, stängda eller svåra att prata med, känner du att det är så ibland?
- Mm. Jag vet inte om de pratar om svensk så. Jag tänker om svensk så ibland de tänker inte om andra, de bara tänker om, vad händer om det liv, vad händer i deras liv eller...
- Att man inte bryr sig om..?
- Om de har den vänner, ibland de kanske vill inte träffa. Inte öppna. Men jag har andra sidor från svenska folk, när jag var i Barcelona, det finns många. Men de pratar mycket.
- Att man pratar med främlingar kanske?
- Ja, men jag tänker det är... Det när du semesterar eller är andra landet, du inte är samma när du är hemma.
- Nej, precis.
- Nej, men jag tycker inte de är kall.
- Finns det någon speciell situation, du säger att du kanske inte litar på folk men finns det någon speciell situation då du extra mycket inte litar på andra människor? Här i Sverige?
- När jag måste fixa min cykel och jag måste gå till en affär.
- En cykelaffär eller?
- Ja, en cykelaffär, allt är där från Syria eller Arabic människor som jag litar inte. Därför, de säger en pris, och jag säger: "Nej, mindre".
- Ah, de testar dig om du vill betala så..?
- De vet att om du är svensk, du betalar därför du om de säger en pris, du betalar eller inte. Men du säger inget, du vill aldrig säga: "Nej, mindre". Men då fungerar inte. Jag bara: "Nej, mindre" och de säger: "Nej" och jag: "Varför?". Jag litar inte.
- Nej, okej. Känner du dig, om du skulle gå hem ensam på natten när du bor i Malmö, känner du dig otrygg eller rädd någon gång?
- Nej.
- Kände när du bodde i Argentina, kände du dig rädd då någon gång?
- Hemma, eller?
- Om du går ute.
- I Argentina, ja. I Spanien, nej. Men här också, nej.
- Känner du att människor som du träffar här, att de litar på dig?
- På mig? Ja, kanske. Jag tänker de svensk litar mycket ibland. Om jag säger, till exempel när jag vill till Skatteverket. Mannen frågar, eller frågar inte men, jag säger att jag har papper skickade till Migrationsverket, jag skriver på papper, i papper, på papper. Och mannen tittar inte. Om jag säger, mannen tänker jag gör

det. Men jag gjorde det inte. Men sedan jag säger, och han bara: ”Åh, men du säger det”.

- Och du har skrivit något annat?
- Ja. Så de litar, men... Men jag vet inte om det är bara mig.
- Men du känner att de litar på dig?
- Ja. Jag har hört inte så många relation med människor, bara på SFI eller... Kanske ibland jag är rädd, de som litar för mycket. Och jag vill inte klara dem expectations
- Ja, precis, du kan inte leva upp till?
- Ja. Det var, jag var intervju till jobb, jag säger: ”Jag är inte så bra på det” när de frågar, men därför jag var rädd om jag säger ja...
- Du måste göra det?
- Och sedan jag måste göra och jag är inte så bra på det. Och sedan jag vill göra fel för dem och för mig också. Men jag tänker, det är lite. De litar, om du säger de kan lita på.
- De tror att du säger sanningen?
- Ja, jag tycker de svensk människor litar på dig om du säger de kan lita på dig. Men sedan kanske de...
- Så kan de kanske ha fel?
- [Laughter]
- [Laughter] Ja. Ja, jag förstår. Vad skulle du säga bestämmer eller som är viktigast för att du ska komma in i samhället här?
- Studera språk.
- Språket? Mm.
- Känner du dig inne då i samhället, eller känner du dig utanför?
- För jag tänker inte på det. Jag är programmerad för att tänka inte så.
- Du försöker tänka positivt?
- Mm. Men jag tänker jag är inne.
- Men känner du dig hemma?
- Nej, inte nu.
- Inte än? Nej.
- Kanske när det kommer lite mer.
- Hur lång tid tror du? Tror du att det beror på om du får ett jobb eller språket?
- Ja, kanske. När jag har en jobb, när jag känner lite som du är part of...
- Precis, del av samhället. Mm.
- Men nu, vi bor i Stockholm i helgen. Och när vi kommer tillbaka, vi måste komma tillbaka till Spanien. Därför nu du, när jag reser och jag måste komma tillbaka till Spanien, inte till Malmö. Det var lite...
- Det kändes fel?
- Ja.
- Saknar du Spanien då?
- Nej, jag vet inte, jag kanske jag saknar det enkla, det lätta för mig. Här jag måste hela tiden försöka och försöka och försöka förstå. Jag är inte så bra på det. Också min personality, min... Hur säger man?
- Personlighet?

- Personlighet är dålig på det. Därför jag pushar, puffar, mycket när du push. Så jag kan inte göra fel. Så det är svårt. För jag måste gå och gå och gå. Jag kan inte.
- Du kan aldrig vila?
- Nej, vila. Därför är lite svårt. Men inte för stan eller Malmö eller nej.
- Utan bara för det du känner?
- Ja.
- Mm.
- Men jag gillar Malmö, jag gillar bättre här. Det är bättre, man kan göra mera mer i naturen eller jag bor i [information on place of residence].
- Det är kallt [laughter]?
- Ja [laughter]. Det kan bli, men jag har ingenting med kallt. Mer med blåst.
- Ja, det är inte kul [laughter].
- Men jag gillar Malmö. Kanske jag gillar bättre än Stockholm, det är (...).
- Okej, det var alla mina frågor. Tack så jättemycket för att du ville vara med.
- Hoppas jag hjälpa dig.
- Ja, jättebra svar. Tack.

10.7.2 Translation

- So let's begin. You can start to tell me a little about yourself, your name, how old you are and...
- My name is Jose. I'm [age]. And I am from Argentina. No, I do not come from Argentina, I was born in Argentina. I lived for nine years in Spain, Madrid. I have a girlfriend, she is Swedish. That's why we are here.
- You met her in Spain?
- No, we met online. And then she came to Madrid, five years ago, and now we came to Sweden.
- Mm. What do you do?
- Now I am studying SFI. And I don't search for jobs. Or I searched, when I came here. But it is a little difficult, because in Spain I used to work as a tester as in...
- Ah..?
- Tester of programs. But I did not study in University of Argentina or Spain.
- Okay, you have no training?
- And then, you don't have education, but..?
- Experience maybe?
- Yes, experience. But here you might need. I don't know, maybe they are saying to me. They do not say: "You don't fit" but they say that I need more or, but I don't know. It was great, new stuff. I found many. I was at four or five interviews, but it was not so good. Also, I did such things in Spain, I worked with a person above me but here they needed that I did both.
- Aha, you'll do both? Okay.
- Mm, so I don't know.
- It is perhaps more responsibility then?
- I'm not so sure about doing it myself. I want to...

- Do you want to educate yourself here in Sweden, or do you want to work with something else?
- I'm... I forgot the word, must leave, but I wrote a good one at university, so now I was at an interview, but it was me and four Swedish people. So it was difficult because my Swedish is not that good, it was technological words or an IQ test that I had to do in Swedish. It was difficult for me, I didn't do it before, no IQ test in Spanish either. So it was the first time.
- That's hard of course.
- I'm came here five months ago. I came in December.
- Mm.
- My Swedish is not great, I can talk but...
- Yes, absolutely.
- I understand, but it is sometimes...
- No, but how do you think for the future in Sweden?
- I'm going to try, I'll try to look for a job. But I am thinking that I must pass first, must pass SFI and use my Swedish more so that I can talk and have a life in Sweden.
- So the language is very important?
- Yes, I think. And I think that many have a family here. I intend to stay here. I have been around so much, I lived in London, Madrid, Barcelona and Argentina as well. I traveled so much. I am looking for a place where I can stay.
- This is where you want to stay?
- Yes.
- Yes.
- I thought it is good here, it is a good country. (...)
- Except for your girlfriend, did you come here alone? You have no other family here?
- No, no. She has no friends here or family, because her family is from [Swedish city]. And her friends live in [same city], too. They live in the [same city] or [another Swedish city], but it's not here. So it's the same here. So it's the same. In Spain a lot of friends.
- What were your thoughts on Sweden or what did you know about Sweden before you moved here?
- Before? Or, when I came? When I was in Spain?
- Mm, how you felt about Sweden.
- Yes, I have both. It was different. Because when I was in Spain I thought it was a good country to live in, because I saw the family, many people who have my, our, how do you say? [Age]?
- Age?
- The same age as me, they start a family now. They have children. It is easier here, if you have a child, easier. In Spain we have only four months paternity leave, well, it's not paternity leave, it's maternity leave.
- So there is nothing for the father?
- Only fifteen days, or months?
- Days, yes.

- For the father. So it's easier here to have a child and to start a family. My girlfriend, she is the same age as me, she is [age] too. So we have to [laughter]. But when I came here in Sweden, there were so many papers to fill in even though I'm from Spain in the EU, I have to do many many papers. So it was a bit... That's why I did not check that out in Spain, because I don't want to think negative. That's why I did check not from Spain. I just came here, I found that there were many paper I must fill out. I had to answer if I should stay here, if I don't want to stay only for three months, so I know it's not good in Sweden. When I came here, social security number, I had to do that... So you need a lot of things, it's not so simple.
- But what do you think of it? Does it feel tough?
- Yes. But pretty dumb also. If I come from EU, and they say that you can stay here for just five months, okay then I go to Denmark and come back. I don't know if it's (...) and maybe sometimes they should make things easier on the people who come from another country. I don't know but, if one comes from the EU. I'm not saying we're better, no, but it's not...
- But maybe it should be a bit easier? There is too much paper work? Too cumbersome or too difficult?
- Yes. Mm. Also with the job, to get a job is easier for those who come from another country, but for me they don't pay nothing. You know when the employer, if you are coming from, I don't know, let's say Iraq. If you get a job, the employment service pays 80 percent of taxes to employers, and then it is easier to get a job, for me they pay nothing.
- Because you are coming through the EU?
- If I get a job at Burger King or Max, Max will have to pay 100 percent for me, for other people from Iraq or Iran or, they just pay 20 percent. So, Yes, it's hard for me to find a job.
- They would rather hire them then? Because they earn more from that?
- Yes, Yes. So those things, I did not know when I was in Spain and came here. It is a little difficult, I am trying to study but maybe I need to look at other jobs. But to them, it's a little. It's not the way you think. It's not so good. They don't understand (...) It's also, if you pass the SFI, if you're on SFI and pass SFI, they can pay less. If you get a job and you are from Iraq, they pay... They pay 80 percent. If you get a job, and you pass the SFI, they pay 60. So it's a bit silly, the people they don't want to, they won't pass the SFI.
- So they pay more money if it does not pass?
- Yes.
- That's strange. Yes, I understand.
- But I don't know how it works.
- No, but do you think that there are a lot of rules that are perhaps difficult to understand?
- Yes. I'm bad at rules. I check nothing, I don't know if I may or may not. So maybe I need to start and check the rules, and see if the rules are good for me.
- But you are not used to so much rules from Spain and Argentina?
- In Argentina we don't follow the rules. Because we know that the rules don't work. So people don't think about rules. We just think about what we are doing,

of what we are. I had no bank account before I came to Spain, in Argentina you do not trust the bank. Your money, you can have under the carpet...

- Under the table?
- Or I don't know, a drawer. My first bank, that was it, a bank card, how do you say... It was when I lived in London. I was 28 [laughter].
- Yes, that's a bit. When you were a little older.
- It's not in the rules, when I lived in Argentina. Because they do not work. So here, they work, but sometimes I think there will be people who have a bad way of thinking. Those who come from other country, I say: "You come from country". I thought bad things, too, I am thinking bad things about why you have to do. But I come here to become a better person. In order to do better things for me or for the country. All people read me, I come here to not do the same thing I did in Argentina or that one can do in Argentina or in Spain. Why I came here, I thought, well, it's better than a lot of things.
- But you still hope that it is? Better? You want it to be better here?
- Mm. I also know many things here are not so good as well. But I thought, I believe, that people who do those things will not be so good. Because things are good but the way people think about them, it's not good. As maybe, maybe they won't pass the SFI, because when you pass SFI they pay 60. Maybe if their thinking is good, but people who come from other countries they have no Swedish way of thinking. So we see here, and I ask a friend on SFI: "No, I don't want to do it, because they do not pay, less, so why should we do it?". Those who come in, maybe they will get money from the municipality or the Employment Service, too, when they go there. But when they go to the SFI, they do nothing. They were there for a year, and they haven't passed. It is not so difficult to pass SFI, I think. But they go there and just go.
- Just because they're going to get the money? Yes. I understand.
- It is money, it's good. Swedish thinking is good, but sometimes you have to think.
- That you're stuck in the way you used to think?
- Yes. Swedish people must consider other people who come from another country. So. But the law is good, there are many, there are many people who don't do so good. I can do bad things, I can do the not so good things, I can take the bus and don't pay. I can take the subway, or the metro does not exist here but... Train. I can take the train and don't pay.
- Yes, it is different?
- But there are many that do that, but sometimes it is Swedish so they don't think like that. Because you have to pay.
- We have it from the beginning to think like that? Yes, I understand.
- Yes, it is normal for you to think that, but for us, it is not. We can think differently.
- Absolutely, of course. Do you think it's hard to sometimes think like we do here then? Is it difficult to adapt to the way we think?
- No, it's sometimes fun to me. They have a person, then they have, how can I say, naive. I think it's funny. People who are older, and they're so naive. And I think it feels good. I don't know how to explain myself in Swedish.

- No, but I understand what you mean.
- It feels, I feel lucky because there is hope. Therefore, in Argentina, we just want to make it ourselves, just me. Maybe Swedish also think only of themselves, but if a Swede have to do law or think of municipality or the government, they think of all who live here. But in my country they think only... He, the Prime minister or just thinking. So I think it feels good.
- So it feels like, hopeful but also naive? It might be a little naive to think so?
- No, but yes. I think. I want to do nothing, it's not going well. But I think, I think there are many many people who live here in Sweden who are not Swedish, they think of, they believe they can do things. They can take advantage.
- Yes, exactly. Exploit?
- Take advantage of. So.
- I understand, mm.
- But I want to, I think it's going to be, I say all the time that it is bad but I don't know, but maybe it is bad and the Swedes are naive. Because they, I'm thinking good, I feel good, but there are people who are naive anyway. But sometimes we need to consider the alternative, other ways to think.
- Another way to think, yes. Can you tell me about your first time arriving in Sweden, what was most difficult?
- I came many times a tourist.
- As a tourist, yes. Before you moved here?
- Yes.
- Mm.
- So now is the first time here as an immigrant, you mean, it's hard but I'm starting to look at all the paper work I need to do and when I check the social security numbers, I thought, I want, but I cannot. Because I have no words, I don't know how to say it in Swedish but, health...
- Health..?
- When you have, I have forgotten it in English. You know when you travel and have a problem and you have to go to the hospital?
- Yes?
- And you must have a...
- Well, what to say, like a health... A certificate, a paper on?
- When you come from your country...
- Then you get a card to show off who you are and where you come from?
- Yes, I have nothing. I only have a EU card, which you can travel with within the EU and if you have to go to the hospital. But they say it doesn't work. So I am thinking oh, I would get no social security number. Or the Migration Board must get a...
- Yes, exactly, approval?
- Approval. If I can stay here. So when I check the paper if they ask about the case, and I'm thinking, I will not pass, but then it was easy. Because they do not know the rules they have. Because when I go, when I went to the Tax Office and talked about my social security number, they said "No, you must have a paper, first you must go to the Migration Board and then you have come to the Tax Office". But I say: "But the Migration Board take (...) and pass the paper

and I have to come here and get social security numbers if I'm going to stay here for more than three months ". So, there they were, too.

- Yes, I understand.
- But: "No, first the Migration Board, then come here". And then I try and say: "My girlfriend is Swedish and she works here" and he says: "Okay, you have paper?" and I showed him the papers. And he says, he said, about how much money my girlfriend has...
- Has?
- No, get.
- Yes, get.
- No, each month or?
- You mean how much she earns?
- Earn. And he says, "Okay, well, start writing on paper". And I was, "But is it done now?". "Yes, you'll get..."
- So you don't really understand what's going on?
- No. I said: "Why?". "Your girlfriend is earning bla bla bla money, so she can take care of people or a person that ask for her..."
- Yes, in the same cost?
- Yes.
- "But where is the law? On the home page? ". I can't. It wasn't.
- Okey, I understand.
- But they do not know, that you can't get the information on the website or...
- So it is difficult to understand?
- It is hard, Yes. Also in the Migration Board, it was quick when you go and get the paper. But there was no link. So you say the things you need, a little hard to do and understand. Even my girlfriend don't understand, she can read, she can talk but she does not understand.
- So it's hard for anyone?
- Yes.
- You say that you have been in contact with various government agencies, the Employment Service, the Migration Board, but do you trust that they are doing their jobs? That they will help you and make it right?
- This is what is not so good for me. I went, go there, there, and talk to the people on my case...
- Yes, exactly, administrator?
- She said: "Okay, you fill in here, but there's no job for you", and I just: "Okey" and she: "You can check it out here on the internet", but I can check it at home. Also, it is the same.
- So they don't help really?
- No, but then I was talking to a friend I have here, she is from Argentina as well, she says they will help more. "But I don't know, maybe I need to go and talk and ask about more things. Because they helped him with the CV, to make a CV in Swedish and they explained how you do when you go to the interview, you have to talk, and they ask. Ask about when you go to the interview.
- But they have not said this to you?

- No, no. It was weird. But I remember, when I got there, they were not talking with me.
- Perhaps it was, or was there any course? Or was it a person who told it to him, or was it a course maybe, that he went to, and there were several others who also went there? Or it was just him?
- No, only him and he had to go that morning to a person to talk. And it was good, but not for me. But maybe I need to go again.
- Yes, you may ask?
- Yes.
- It's unfair, if it is different.
- But you know those things from talking to other people, not when you look at the home page, you receive no information from the Employment Service. It's okay, there are many people who ask for help. I don't think, they'll find a job for me. I will get myself. They can help me with those things, make a CV in Swedish or I don't know, but. I know they would not get a job for me. I have to go and look for it myself. But it is stupid too, I think it's a bit silly, because I get no money from them. There are people who get money from the Employment Service or if you are unemployed, and you must report each month: "What did you do?".
- Exactly, that you have been looking?
- Yes. But I have nothing. I want to, I have to report also. I think it's a bit silly. Why do I have to report?
- Yes, it's strange.
- Because if I get nothing from the Employment Service, why do I have to report anything?
- Yes, I don't know. And you get no information on why?
- No.
- No, you don't?
- No, they send to my website. No, not home page... My home page. At the Employment Service.
- Yes, my site?
- My page and I can check the jobs, or they send job there for me, they might fit, or not. It's good, but I will not report anything. Last report I said, I wrote down: "Now I want to pass the SFI, then I want to..." [laughter].
- It's unnecessary to do that now?
- Yes, but I don't know.
- Yes, if we continue. Could you describe a typical day in your life here in Malmö? What you do when you wake up?
- I wake up, exercise 30 minutes, yes, breakfast, and then go to the SFI until one o'clock, then I go home, I might study a bit, lunch, then my girlfriend comes home. Coming home or going home?
- Comes home.
- Comes home, then we go for a walk or (...) and then go back home and have some dinner. Watch TV a little bit.
- Mm. Should you wish to change something about your situation as it is now?
- If I would change anything?

- Yes, change, change anything.
- No, I want to. Love to have a job. Because I'm a little afraid, when you do not work, when you have the job for six or seven years, you're a little afraid of becoming or having nothing to do. And when you're on SFI and you study, and you may sometimes think: "Oh, now I do things, now I do something". But you get no money.
- No.
- So sometimes I'm a little scared. But I have to think about my things and try to look for other...
- In order to do the next things?
- But sometimes it's hard to focus. Because you are afraid or feel a bit useless.
- Yes, I understand, that one begins to doubt oneself?
- Yes, it is difficult to become unemployed. I was not (...) to keep my life, my life. Also difficult when I have no friends here. I can't go to someone and talk a bit.
- It's hard to make friends?
- Yes, difficult to make friends. That is, I met many people at SFI, but they... We have different ways of thinking. So it's hard to get a connection with... They are good, I have great friends, I have a boy or man from Syria. He is a good person or good person. But we have no connection. No music or...
- You have no common interests or?
- Mm. Perhaps with Swedish people I can have more in common, but they are difficult to start a relation with.
- Mhm, why?
- I don't know. Maybe it's me. I'm not so social. I'm a little strange [laughter]. A little weird. I'm not old, I'm older now. I'm not twenty anymore. Perhaps it is easier when you are younger.
- When you're younger and perhaps out more?
- When you are out and talking, talking with people. I can talk to people, but then it is easier to try a relationship. But it's a little tense. But the first interview I had, job interview. I talked to a Swede, a Swedish man, but he was, we had a connection when we talked. And then we talked in his office, no not his office, how do you say..?
- His room or?
- Room or place. And we talked...
- [Someone pointing through the window for us to get coffee] We can take coffee later [laughter].
- [Laughter] And he helped me, and he said: ' You can come to me and talk and send email and ask things'.
- He wanted to help you?
- And he said (...): "You must form a network". I hate that word, because now you have thought of forming a network. Thinking it is better to form a network that, or become good worker. Or do great job. It is better to have good networks. To have a better network.
- It is the most important? You don't like it maybe, you don't agree with that?

- But for me, it's hard for me to have a new relationship with people, because I'm a little difficult. But I, when I am working, I am thinking of making, or, I... I don't know how to say it in Swedish or English...
- But you mean that you think of the job more than the people, or?
- Sometimes, I think there are a lot of people who talk a lot and they are good at talking. Talkative.
- Talkative, yes.
- But I am not talkative. But those who are talkative, they do a poor job. But it's better they are talkative than me who think I'm doing a good job, because I think of what I do and I am... Responsible.
- Responsible?
- Mm.
- But do you think that the other person seems better since they talk a lot?
- Yes. I saw it when I started, when I worked in Spain for [name of company], it's a big company, it can be found here as well. People who work at [name of company], they are talkative, they sell well, they sell their selves well. But then they don't work, they just talk and talk and get connections, with people like me who is behind who do their job. But they are better because they have more networking. They are better at networking than me.
- Mm.
- But it's a job where (...) I was for two years a consultant, as a consultant you talk and sell. It was not good for me. Not now, maybe later I will read, learn to become talkative and sell more. I don't know.
- But you think it's important that you have to be able to do that?
- No, I think it is sometimes. It depends.
- On what job you have?
- Yes, what job. The (...) I want to sell nothing, I have to do things. It depends on people selling projects so I can work.
- So you do both?
- Yes, both. But sometimes people who have to do my job, they were just talking and I have to work for both, do both. So it's not a good thing.
- Unfair?
- Mm.
- Unfair.
- Yes. I understand. Now I have one of these. You'll get to fill it out, though it's not as fun because you do not like that. It is a network map. You are here in the middle and then you have different categories: friends, family, relatives...
- What is relatives?
- That is, relatives.
- Yes.
- Yes? Formal contacts, that is public authorities, work/education, so that can be SFI, and spare time/organizations, it could be Språkcafé and things like that. And then you should fill in the people you meet when you live here in Malmö. And if you think they are close to you, for example, maybe your girlfriend.
- Then closer to the middle?

- Exactly, she is closer to the middle. And if they are far away, they are a little less good friends. You understand?
- [Filling out network chart: family] I must type the names?
- You can enter names or girlfriend or whatever you want.
- Okay. But here in Malmö?
- Here, when you live here.
- [Filling out network chart: spare time/organizations] Is it..?
- C first.
- C?
- Café.
- With double-f or?
- One f only. And then e.
- And nothing here. Formal contacts?
- Mm, have you met any, it might not be anyone that you feel, or that you have met several times, that you feel that you trust or?
- Yes.
- Where does he work?
- [Filling out network chart: formal contacts] Should I write?
- No, you can only say or if you want to...
- He is the man who interviewed me.
- Oh, right, him who you were talking about?
- Him... Last. I do not know...
- But he was the one you were talking about before? Yes?
- Yes, but I can write.
- Yes, it's fine. But just so I know who it is. Yes, but that's good. That was a job at least that you were..?
- Mm (...) I don't know if is Swedish, [name of person]?
- No, it might be a name. A surname?
- Last name?
- Yes, I think so.
- Family, I have no family here.
- No, it can probably be Swedish. How many, would you say, how many people you meet are from Argentina or Spain or Sweden?
- These are from Argentina [pointing at Angel and Geraldine]. He [Majid] is from Syria. Sweden [girlfriend]. And they're from different places [Språkcafé].
- If you were to choose, which of these is the most important, if you are going to choose one, when you live in Malmö? What is most important to you?
- My girlfriend, because she pays for everything [laughter].
- [Laughter] She is the most important thing in many ways?
- Yes. But it is also important with SFI, I think it is important for me. All the things that I do here, they are important to me. Because they should form me as a Swede.
- So you do different things?
- Yes.
- If you had done this when you lived in Argentina or Spain, would there have been a big difference?

- Yes.
- Mm.
- Many more, bigger paper. Large paper.
- Yes, a much larger paper? Many more people then maybe?
- Yes, but it is simpler. In Spain I did not feel like an immigrant. But here. But it begins, I'm here, I'll have to think about that, it's just five months. There are many people who do not talk and do nothing. That goes for five years?
- Yes, many years?
- Yes.
- Okey. It is difficult. If you would... Would you generally say that you are a person who relies on other people?
- No.
- No? Why not?
- No, for me, my education, I trust, it was bad. In Argentina, you can't rely on anything, you can rely on your family or friends but sometimes not.
- Not others?
- No. So it...
- So you've become like that or you feel that you are like that, even if you are at another location?
- Even when I come here. I went to the job interview, it was not very good people there too. They say something, and then they do something else. So I felt, "Am I in Sweden or?", so there are bad people everywhere.
- Everywhere. Yes, exactly. Do you think that the people you meet here in Sweden, sometimes they say about Swedes that we are a little difficult, cold, closed, or difficult to talk to, do you feel that it's like that sometimes?
- Mm, I don't know if they're talking about Swedish people like that. I am thinking about Swedish people that sometimes they are thinking not about others, they just think about, what is to happen in life, what happens in their life or...
- That you don't care about..?
- If they have friends, sometimes they may not want to meet new people. They are not open. But I have seen other sides of the Swedish people, when I was in Barcelona, there are many there. But they talk a lot.
- Talk to strangers?
- Yes, but I think it is... It's when you're on vacation or in another country, you are not the same when you are at home.
- No, exactly.
- No, but I do not think they are cold.
- Is there any special situation, you say that you don't rely very much on people, but is there any certain situation in particular when you don't trust other people? Here in Sweden?
- When I need to fix my bike and I have to go to a shop.
- A bike shop or?
- Yes, a bike shop, everyone there is from Syria or Arabic people who I don't trust. Because, they say, a price, and I say: "No, less".
- Ah, they test you if you want to pay..?

- They know that if you are Swedish, you pay if they say a price, you pay or not. But you say nothing, you would never say: "No, less". But that does not work. I just say: "No" and they say "No" and I: "Why?". I do not trust them.
- No, okay. Do you feel, if you were to walk home alone at night when you stay in Malmö, do you feel insecure or afraid?
- No.
- Did you feel that when you lived in Argentina, did you feel afraid then?
- At home?
- If you go outside.
- In Argentina, yes. In Spain, no. But here also, no.
- Do you think that the people you meet here trust you?
- Me? Yes, maybe. I think the Swedish trust a lot sometimes. If I say, for example, when I want to go to the Tax Office. The man asks, or do not ask but, I say I have sent the papers to the Migration Board, I write on paper, on paper, on paper. And the man does not look. If I say that, he will think I did it. But I didn't. But then I say, and he just said: "Oh, but you said you did it".
- And you have written something else?
- Yes. So they trust, but... But I don't know if it's just me.
- But you think that they trust you?
- Yes. I have not had so many relationships with people, only in SFI or... Maybe sometimes I am afraid, those who trust too much. And I don't want to meet their expectations.
- Yeah, right, you can't live up to them?
- Yes. It was, I was at an interview for a job, I say: "I'm not very good at it" when they ask, because I was afraid that if I say yes...
- You have to do it?
- And then I have to do it and I'm not so good at it, and then I would do wrong for them and for me too. But I think, it's a bit. They trust, if you say they can count on you.
- They think you're telling the truth?
- Yes, I think the Swedish people trust you if you say they can trust you. But then maybe they...
- They may be wrong?
- [Laughter]
- [Laughter] Yes. Yes, I understand. What would you say describes or is the most important for you to come into the society here?
- Study the language.
- Language? Mm.
- Do you feel inside this society, or do you feel outside?
- I don't think about it, I'm programmed to not think about it.
- You try to think positive?
- Mm. but I think I'm in.
- But do you feel at home?
- No, not now.
- Not yet? No.
- Maybe when it gets a bit more.

- How long do you think that takes? Do you think that it depends on whether you get a job or not, or on the language?
- Yes, maybe. When I have a job, when I feel a bit like I'm a part of...
- Right, part of the society. Mm.
- But now, we stayed in Stockholm for the weekend. And when we come back, I thought we had to get back to Spain. So now, when I'm traveling I think I have to come back to Spain, not to Malmö. It was a bit...
- It felt wrong?
- Yes.
- Do you miss Spain then?
- No, I don't know, maybe I miss the easy part, it was easy for me. Here I have to constantly try and try and try to understand. I'm not so good at it, and there is also my personality, my... How do you say?
- Personality?
- Personality is bad on that, so I push myself a lot. So I can't do anything wrong. So it is difficult. Because I must go and go and go. I cannot.
- You can never rest?
- No, rest. It is therefore a little difficult. But not for the town or Malmö or no.
- Just the feelings that you have?
- Yes.
- Mm.
- But I like, I like it better here. It is better, we can do more in nature or I live in [information on place of residence].
- It's cold [laughter]?
- Yes [laughter]. It can be, but I have nothing against the cold. More so the wind.
- Yes, it's not fun [laughter].
- But I like Malmö. Maybe I like it better than Stockholm, it is (...).
- Okey, that was all my questions. Thank you so much for participating.
- I hope I helped you.
- Yes, great answers. Thank you.

10.8 Interview with Muhammad

- Okey, should we start?
- Yeah, absolutely.
- Could you tell me a bit about yourself? Start just with your name and how old you are.
- My name is Muhammad [last name]. And I'm [age] and I'm from Pakistan. I have studied master in business administration and masters in economics. I came to Sweden about one year ago, and that's it.
- So what do you do since you came here?
- Well, I'm waiting for my personal number, my case is going on in Migrationsverket, they take so much time nowadays. So I'm waiting for that,

my visa, so that they can get my personal number and then I can start school for SFI or start a job.

- Mm.
- Yeah.
- Yeah, you said one year ago then? Why did you decide to come to Sweden?
- Well, in my case, my wife is from Denmark and I got married, I went there, I came to Denmark for and stayed there for a few months and then we shifted here in Sweden.
- And why is that, is she... Does she work here or?
- No, she works in Copenhagen, but we stay here in Sweden.
- Okay. And if you would say... What did you know about Sweden or think about Sweden before you moved here?
- I knew about the Scandinavian countries, which is Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Norway, and not so much. Just that they had a good football team and the Scandinavian countries are very famous for their social system in the world. But I mean, every nation in the world give example of the Scandinavia countries and the welfare state because of their social system. And that's it.
- Could you tell me a bit about your first time here, how it was? What was difficult, maybe, coming here?
- Well. From the start, the start when I came here in Sweden, I knew nothing. I knew nothing about the system, nothing about the departments like Arbetsförmedling or Migrationsverket, Skatteverket, so I did (...) from the internet and put my case in Migrationsverket. And I was very confused when I came at the start, at what to do and who to talk to. I knew noone here in Sweden but I had a break, when I knew about, I got to about free Swedish class and bibliotek, library, central library. And I walked there and started my Swedish, started learning Swedish and with that I started to know about the system and the rules and the departments of Sweden, so after one year I'm very satisfied with myself and (...) and I knew most of the rules regarding (...), regarding Skatteverket, regarding Migrationsverket and the other rules or systems which I follow here.
- So about these authorities, that you have maybe been in contact with then, do you trust them to do their job or to help you as best as they can?
- To be honest I really got disappointed with Migrationsverket, the first time I just went there I had to wait, there was a long queue, and it was a little messy to be honest. I was not expecting that, because also there's a perception for a person from out of the Europe that comes in the first world country, there's a perception that everything will be organized systematically and managed. So when I, there was messy, but I had to stand in the queue and when I got to the reception I asked things the lady was very rude and she was not helping me a lot. So that time I just wanted to know about the rules and which one in my case is better, like Swedish rule or European rule. So she was not totaly cooperating, was rude and she was just in a hurry: "Yeah, yeah". You know this (...), you can fill out the form and yeah it was like that. So I got really disappointed, but I managed to read myself on the internet and know about the rules, but my first... I was very much disappointed by that reaction of her... I had a preconceived

- image, you know, when you come for the first time that everything is very much well-managed. But first, the other authorities were really good, I went to Skatteverket, you wait for your number and when you start talking they're really helpful. But not Migrationsverket and to be honest I felt that I came to Sweden legally but I had not importance other than the persons who come to Sweden illegally. Like I put my case here in Sweden and it's about maybe fourteen or fifteen months, I haven't heard anything from them. You're taking so much time on that aspect too. Not so cooperative. Even when you arrange your case office, 95 percent of time they won't pick up the phone. So... Yeah, that hierarchy was very much showing to be honest a chock for me, they were not as cooperative.
- So there's a lot of rules maybe and you have to get some information by yourself, you don't get the help that you need?
 - No, they should for the first time, that that person is new, they should a little bit explain it. I don't want much, so that I can understand it if I'm applying for Swedish rules, she will just give me five minutes and explain the Swedish rule. There's a European rule, just give me five minutes and help me choose which one will suit me in my case, everybody has a different case. And secondly, in the Scandinavian countries it's Sweden who is taking most of the time, like the case is...
 - It takes longer?
 - Long time, yeah. It doesn't happen in Norway, doesn't happen in Denmark and I don't know about Finland, but if you compare with those two Scandinavian countries it's a long long time. In Denmark, within two or three months, they will answer you. Same, like within a week if you (...) for marriage, within a week they will answer you. Here, like I've waited for fifteen months, fourteen months. To be honest, I really get chocked for the purpose that they... That every authority takes so much time.
 - Do you feel that they are ineffective? It's not effective?
 - Maybe they have their own problems, but I don't know, that could not be the reason because they... The other Scandinavian countries like the same rush on their authorities, but they do it quickly. For example I send my degree to högskola it took me eight months to validate my degrees.
 - Oh, really?
 - So it was eight months, so. And the thing is I can't do anything. For fifteen months I've waited, I cannot study SFI, I cannot work, so it's very hard and depressing and very bad for your self esteem to be honest. You cannot go to 24/7 and ask for a membership, you know, they ask you for your personal number. Maybe they could fasten the case for the persons who come legally. There is different aspects of the people who come to Sweden illegally, there's a humanitarian crisis and they see it in that way, but they should deal separately with...
 - It's two different things?
 - Yeah.
 - Okey. So do you think that was maybe the hardest thing then, dealing with the authorities coming here?

- Yeah, and their time. It's so time consuming, like for my case I have fifteen months gone by and I'm still waiting.
- Yeah, so that's of course the hardest thing?
- Yeah, hardest thing and like I said, the authorities take so much time. I think they should maybe work more with efficiency is better for every party. I don't know about their problems, if they're understaffed, if there is a rush, it's hard, I really don't know about it. But yeah. But comparing it with other Scandinavian countries, I'm not comparing it with the third world countries you know or out of Europe. And their efficiency is to be honest better than the countries in Sweden, because they do it quickly.
- Okey. So if you were to compare it to Pakistan, that would also be different, dealing with authorities or?
- Yeah, in Pakistan there they have a corruption issue, and if you... But even in Pakistan it doesn't take this much time. Like it's two to three months. I have already verified my degrees in Pakistan, which from higher education institution, it just took them one month. And even if immigrants comes in (...) and apply for citizenship I don't think so, that it would take so much time. One and a half year.
- Yeah, it's really much time.
- For professionals it's very hard to be honest, because at the start I got a little immune to it, for a professional like me it's hard, I got very depressed and (...) that I got very depressed and it's very hard for myself. (...) 'cause I work nine to five in an office. So it was hard, and I had a preconceived image of Sweden, maybe of European country (...) and they look the way you mean it. I thought a bit would be (...). Of course you have a image in your mind, but then after a few months that image shattered really.
- I'm sorry to hear that.
- But I do understand their point, that they need to check everything and there's so many cases of immigrants standing here, but even then one and a half year is so much.
- Yeah, it is.
- But you can do... I cannot do anything, I can only call the case officer. If he doesn't pick up the phone, I cannot meet or talk to anyone, any other officer or official in Migrationsverket, so they could just give us the time line or tell us about the situation where our case is so that it's not totally blank and blind.
- So you have no idea of when it is coming?
- No, when it's gonna happen you have no idea.
- So you still feel maybe, I mean since nothing else happens, you still feel down?
- No, I mean I do understand the problems that there is so much of immigrants, I do see the problem, but I do not seem to recognize... I think one and a half year is too much. And I have nothing to prove, it's just marriage certificate you have to check or maybe the lägenhet reply to (...), ou can check the validity or authenticity of it. It's not a copy or something. It barely takes...
- Yeah, sounds like it would take a day just to check it up.
- Yeah. So but the other authorities were very cooperative, they are authorities also, they were very cooperative. I'm not sure about the Migrationsverket yet.

- Could you describe for me a normal day? What do you do when you wake up?
- Nowadays I just come in the Språkcafé just to learn Swedish.
- You come here every day or?
- Yeah, every day. It's almost twice a week and we go to other Språkcafé also. And there's a foreigning. Every country has it's own party here, I go to, they have a free Swedish class, I got to there as well. And nothing else, either I was and again (...) to find a job or to active the personal number, we're just...
- It's not possible?
- Nothing is possible, no.
- So what you change about your situation, I mean is it, to get this approval then from the authorities or is it anything else?
- They only answer, like Swedish people say: "Allting tar tid", so everything takes time so in my case, yeah, I have to just wait for it. And I know that I have to wait for my turn. People before me, and I have to wait for that and now the summer vacation is coming up and I think it's gonna take one month also (...) my case. So it's a very much lengthy process. I don't want to be a critic, but as individual and as a professional I think Sweden should improve on that in the sectors and try to increase the efficiency of the authorities, so that they can handle the cases quicker. It's possible. For example it will benefit Swedish economy, like I have been here for one and a half month, if I got my personal number earlier I would have started working in Sweden, and (...) I would have contributed for Swedish economy, Swedish business, Swedish firms. So in, if you see on macro level it will help Swedish economy, like every nation tries to attract professionals from other countries, you will see (...) European, Australia, Canada, Denmark has its own, Norway has its own, there is difference. So I think they should have evaluated my case in the (...) but unfortunately they do not do this.
- So then you wish they would have?
- Yeah, yeah. Maybe it depend on their policy makers. But if I see anyone of the policy makers I would definitely share my view on this [laughter].
- You should, that's a good point. Okay, now I have this for you to fill in [showing network chart]. I want you to fill in sort of the networks that you have when you live in Malmö. You're in the middle and you have these: family, relatives if you have any in Malmö, formal contacts, that is if you, I mean authorities, that you meet somebody that you talk to several times or so, work/education, maybe it's hard right now then, spare time/organizations, this could be Språkcafé, and friends. Yeah. And then I want you to put out the people that you just meet in your ordinary life. And if you feel that they are closer to you, you put them closer to the middle and if there not put them out here [outer area]. You see?
- So what should I put? A number or something?
- You can put their name or if you have like: girlfriend, or your wife, you can write wife if you don't want to write her name. You can just... How you want.
- [Filling out network chart: friends, work/education] And friends... Ali. Work and education... Two or three times?
- You have met the same person or?
- Yeah, I have gone to Skatteverket a few times regarding the...

- Until you got in contact with that person then?
- Yeah, I've met several times. And they change each time we go, yeah. Few times, yeah.
- Yeah, so if you would point out which one of these categories is the most important to you here in Malmö, which one would you choose?
- Of course family and friends.
- Yeah. And about your, maybe friends, do you meet people from a lot of different countries or are the Swedish?
- Like when I came here in Språkcafé and else from Croatia, Romania and we have countries from Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan and from my own country also. And in Europe I guess it was from Romania, Croatia and Holland as well [laugther].
- Holland [laugther].
- And how, if you would have done this living in Pakistan, would there be a lot of, I mean would it look very different?
- Yeah, absolutely. My formal contacts, work and education, and spare time was high, if you would make the graph of it, it would be higher. But now it's... After one year I'm satisfied, I've made contact with the people, I've made friends and I'm very much aware of the rules in system om Sweden now.
- Yeah.
- Compared to an ordinary man in my own case, like well I spent one year answering to people who know much of the rules. But I tried to increase my knowledge about it.
- Yeah, all try to... I mean, some find it very hard to meet friends? Do you think that Språkcafé and that sort of thing has helped you a lot?
- Yes, absolutely. If you have a meeting point where you can interact with people of course you can make friends and I haven't started school, maybe if I started school I make more friends or I work. So.
- So you're having activities?
- Yeah, absolut.
- Okey. Would you say that you're generally a trusting person?
- Absolutely. Absolutely, my friends, or new friends, I was and I'm still very much honest in the relationship. I've always advised and helped them and eveything. And my other friends from, European friends, they're also professionals (...) and I help them and they help me. I share a lot of things, if I know about Sweden and other Scandinavian countries, finding job and things like that. And they do the same.
- Yeah. So you get it back of course? What you give you...
- Yeah, absolutely. But I try my best, whatever I know, I share the knowledge with my friends.
- Do you feel there's any difference in how you trust people in Pakistan and in Sweden?
- Yeah, absolutely [laugther]. There is a difference between people living in third world countries and first world countries. Maybe in Sweden they are a little bit honest and in Pakistan they are not so much. The people are a bit tricky [laughter].

- Yeah, okey.
- But you cannot say that all people are the same, there are good peoples everywhere and there are bad peoples everywhere. You cannot just tell that that society is bad or that country, good and bad happen to every country. And... But it, a little bit on the average side, people here are far more honest. Yeah.
- Do you ever feel that people you meet here, some say about Swedish people or... That we are a bit closed or hard to get to know, have you ever felt that way? That we are not maybe that open?
- Yeah, I have noticed that, but it's not because of that... My analysis is that weather has a very much effect on the psychology of people. Sweden has a cold weather and people are very much isolated, they are spread out. They are very much... They are not open, they want to live an isolated life. The people who are in the cities are a bit open compared to the people who live in the villages and towns. And because I compare it to other European people, like the countries that are close to the Mediterranean and the warm weather, their nature and psychology is very much like us. That the country where they are from are very much warm people, they talk loud. We love to have more friends, we love to have contact. Like family and, family and cousins and friends, we want to be with them. We are very much connected with them. It's a little bit, yeah. The people here in Sweden likes to be alone and have a quiet life, so that's what my analysis... Maybe I'm wrong [laughter].
- Yeah.
- That's what I think.
- That's good. Is there any particular situation you can come up with that you don't feel trust against people, yeah like people you meet for the first time or?
- Not so far.
- No? Okey. If you would walk home alone here in Malmö, maybe at night or so when it's dark, do you ever feel unsafe or afraid? Uncomfortable maybe in any situation or?
- Yeah, sometimes. Because if you're interaction is with a drunk man or some other racist group you cannot do anything. You cannot according to the Swedish law hit back, you can only defend yourself if you're being attacked. So, sometimes I think.
- Have you ever experienced something like that?
- No, I haven't.
- It's just a feeling of..?
- Maybe, if I'm alone, maybe. 'Cause if there's some group that's like backstreet boys or something, but I can only negotiate with them, talk with them, they try to attack me I cannot do anything. I just defend myself, and maybe call in the police. But even then, they would require evidence, so like you have no eye witness who have seen it or...
- So you feel that..?
- They are legalities now, much to go through. That's the difficult part.
- Yeah, so you think that... Maybe that that feels a bit unsafe, that you can't maybe defend yourself without having to prove that you're..?

- Yeah, because sometimes if you get into a situation, you are attacked, you cannot do anything, but most of the time I wait at night, late night, to go out. But it's not so much, that I'm obsessed with, it's just a little feeling sometimes like other persons have. Like it comes through in that situation: "What should I do?". I would have... I can do nothing. In that situation. Just to take hits [laughter].
- Oh, no. I hope not. Yeah, do you feel that people you meet here trust you, generally?
- Generally, I think they do. As far as my friends are concerned I think they do. And well, I'm new here, I have not so much contacts. But the people whom I met or are friends with, they very much trust me.
- Mm. What do you think decides or is the most important whether or not you feel inside of this society? For you then, what is most important?
- For me, what's important in society... I think that everybody should be constructive, that in our society to keep moving and especially here, that's... There's so many good things about this society. Very tolerant, (...), very respectable and room for every culture, religion, race, ethnicity, language. And so, there's so much diversity in cultures and languages, and if find it very colourful. And whatever a person can do constructive, they should do.
- Yeah. So, do you... I mean, would you say that you feel inside of this society? Would you say that you feel maybe at home, or wouldn't you say so?
- To be honest, I feel comfortable, I feel very much comfortable. People are very nice, yeah, things are organized, you have to follow the system and there is so many peoples from different cultures and societies, it's very trusting to attract people. And by large, it's very much interesting and comfortable to be (...).
- So you do feel at home?
- Yeah, absolutely.
- Because that's just a feeling that you have...
- Yeah, absolutely. Absolutely. That's why I feel very much comfortable.
- Yeah, okey. So, how long would you say it took for you to feel that way, coming to Sweden? Does it take long, and what is the... I mean, what is it that makes you feel that way for the first time you know? Maybe it's hard to answer but it's...
- No, I got you. I got your point. The thing is, at the start when you come here, you got a limited interaction, you have no friends, you have no one to interact to. You're just alien to the city, you know nothing about the city and the rules and the people etcetera. So after a while when I had started to go to library and friends and to go to the foreigning association for my Swedish class, I made friends and things started to lighten up for me. And I could then analyze the society, the Swedish society, so I found it very good.
- Mm.
- Yeah, but every new person, it takes a little bit time to...
- You have to go through these different...
- Stages, yeah. You make friends when you interact, if you do not interact or have friends, how can access people or society in general? So interaction, after early interaction, it was really much good for me.

- Good. That was my last question.
- Okey.
- Yeah. So thank you.

10.9 Interview with Derya

10.9.1 Original

- Om du kan börja med att berätta lite om dig själv då. Vad du heter, hur gammal och...
- Okej. Jag heter Derya och kommer från Turkiet. Jag bor i Sverige två år sedan...
- Du kom för två år sedan?
- Två år jag har bott i Sverige.
- Ja.
- Två år. Sedan jag har studerat på högskolan, jag har studerat till sex månader. Jag är gift. Jag har en dotter. Hon är tretton år gammal och hon också studerar [name of school]. Okej. Varför kom jag här? [Laughther]
- Ja, men precis, varför kom du hit? [Laughther]
- Ja, jag är... Jag gifte mig. Min man jobbar i Danmark, regering... De gav inte uppehållstillstånd. Gav?
- Gav, precis.
- Nej, gav inte uppehållstillstånd. Vi bestämt tillsammans, med tillsammans, vi flyttar vi kvar i Sverige.
- Men din man är också från Turkiet?
- Nej nej, min man från Makedonien. Min man bor i Danmark från fem år. Min man familj också bor i Danmark. Jag är labbtekniker in...
- In?
- Mitt yrke.
- Ditt yrke? Ja, precis.
- Labb..?
- Labb, tar blodanalyser. Jag har arbetat mitt hemland femton år med plastic kirurgiklink som labbtekniker.
- Vad spännande.
- [Laughther]
- Är det kul? [Laughther]
- Ja, jag tycker det är kul. Jättekul.
- Vill du göra det här också? I Sverige?
- Ja, jag hoppas. Om du vill, om jag vill. Jag hittar bra jobb.
- Men du studerar nu, så du vill söka jobb sedan?
- Ja. Första jag måste studera grund, efter grund jag har studera, jag ska studera utbildning. Sedan kanske söka jobb. Jag hoppas. Jag hoppas.
- Och, ja just det, anledningen till att du kom till Sverige då det var ju för din man jobbar i Danmark?
- Mm.

- Och vad visste du om Sverige då? Vad tänkte du om Sverige innan du flyttade hit?
- Ja, jag tänker inte innan. Ingen. Jag visste inte. Jag besökte två gånger i Danmark, Köpenhamn. Resten, jag tänker jag visste innan, Köpen... Sverige. Jag vet inte innan. Jag ville surprise... [Laughter]
- Jaha, överraska?
- Överraska i Sverige.
- På ett bra eller..?
- Bra, bra för mig. Jag bor i [place of residence], jag vet inte vilka människor som bor [place of residence] invandrare eller svenska. Jag sa första gången, [place of residence], ah, invandrare, pratar bara arabiska. Det är konstigt för mig.
- Vad tyckte du om det då? Var det bra eller dåligt?
- Nej, dåligt. Ibland bra, jag hörde första gången andra språken, andra kulturen, en annan kultur. Jag hörde annan språk, jag hörde, jag såg annan kultur. Men liten, femtio procent bra, femtio procent inte bra. För att när jag hörde många gånger andra språk, jag lär mig svårt svenska.
- Om man hör mycket svenska så lär man sig?
- Ja, ja. Jag behöver träffa andra svenska människor. Jag behövde hör... Hör mig svenska. Den är viktigt för mig. För att den är jättesvårt.
- Ja, det är svårt.
- Jättesvårt, jättesvårt. Ja.
- Nu tänkte jag ju fråga vad som var svårast när du kom hit, din första tid i Sverige? Kan du berätta om din första tid?
- Ja, första tid, jag tänker att jag börjar en ny liv för mig. Jag såg många många saker. Nya mat, nya människor, nya kultur, nya traditioner. För att jag bor i Istanbul, i Istanbul många många människor.
- Stor stad.
- Stor stad, och Istanbul får hela tiden aktion. Aktion, många trafiken [laughter]. Många människor. Sverige är jättejättelugnt än Istanbul.
- Jag förstår [laughter]. Men kändes det bra eller kändes det konstigt?
- Ja, känns bra för mig. För jag arbetade många många år, och också många timmar jag har arbetat. Kanske 14 timmar idag, den är jättebra för mig. Det kändes som semester för mig [laughter].
- Åh, det var ju bra [laughter].
- Innan jag var i Istanbul det var central station området.
- Mm, centrum?
- Centrum, affärer och centrum. Nära. Här den är jättejättemånga människor, och det är jättejättejobbigt. Jobbigt. Sverige, de är inte (...). Jag cyklade, jag saknar... Jag saknar eller?
- Jag saknar?
- Eller jag saknar?
- Om du saknar?
- Jag älskar kanske.
- Jag önskar kanske?
- Nej, önska... Saknade.
- Önskade kanske?

- Det betyder älskar.
- Jaha, gilla eller tycka om?
- Önsk...
- Önskar?
- Ja, önskar [laughter]. Innan jag önskade, jag cyklade. Det gjorde inte i Istanbul, för det finns inte cykelväg [laughter]. Men det är bra för mig, för många cyklarväg. Jag försöker bara cykla. Jag använder eller försökt cykla, ja.
- Vad skönt.
- Ja, ja [laughter].
- Vad tyckte du då var svårast när du kom? Tyckte du kanske språket var svårt?
- Ja, ja. Jag tyckte att jag lämnade min familj, alla hade... När jag blevande, många många saker jag lämnade bakom. Jättejättesvårt för mig. Jag känner jättestark.
- Ja. Har du varit i kontakt med några myndigheter? Myndigheter som Arbetsförmedlingen eller Skatteverket eller..?
- Jag är mycket chans, ingen chans, jag har inte en chans för att när jag besökte Arbetsförmedling träffade för första gången min handledare. Hon berättade om historia. Jag vill, jag vill arbeta. Jag vill jobba. Första gången: ”Du kan inte svenska, när du kan svenska efter sök jobb”. Okej. Till mig. Jag väntar på personnummer och efter jag fick personnummer, efter ansöka skolan. För första gången börja där med den ligger [address of school]. Jag har studerat med två månader. Två månader. Jag är inte nöjd, för att de gav betyg två år sedan.
- Två år?
- Deras program, jo, deras program två år. Totalt två år. De berättar om program eller ämnen vi när, när jag studerar programmet jag fick betyg två år sedan. Jag tänkte på denna är jättelång tid för mig. För att först jag väntar på nio månader personnummer. Efter en månader vänta på skola. Den är lång tid, ett år ska bort. Och sedan jag börja. Och efter andra år börjar skola. Två år sedan jag fick betyg, och jag måste studera grund. Måste studera. Grund kanske två år. Två år till.
- Det tar lång tid.
- Lång tid. Jag är [age], den är jättejättelång tid för mig [laughter]. Jag sökte andra skolan, jag försöka andra skolan. Jag hittade på högskolan grund. De gör det bra för mig. Mig. För mig. Och jag gör det klart. De sa till mig: ”Varsågod”. Jag började denna skolan, jag är mycket nöjd med denna skolan. För att jag har studerat grund kanske ett år sedan. Jag hoppas jag ska studera utbildning. Den är vanlig tid för mig.
- Det hoppas jag att det går fort. Men när du har träffat de här olika personerna då, myndigheter och så, litar du på att de gör sin jobb och att de vill hjälpa dig?
- Ja, ja, Arbetsförmedlingen hjälper inte mig. Jag tänker att jag måste byta handläggare. Ja, okej. Hon skickade ett brev till mig, jag skriver mitt, mina möte: ”Kanske onsdag klockan ett till fyra. Om du vill träffa, välkommen”. Jag och med min man, med min man försöker gå till Arbetsförmedlingen. Träffade henne. Hon kollade internet: ”Hm, har du studerat?”. ”Ja, jag har studerat, jag vill jobba. Kanske praktisera, för att jag behöver träna svenska, jag lär mig många svenska ord. Jag också besöker Språkcafé, jag studerar själv hemma, jag tittar bara svensk TV, lyssnar på radio svensk radio, jag har mycket mycket

förmåga att plugga i hem”. Jag berättade henne: ”Hm, tyvärr jag har inget jobb till dig. Kanske du hittar? Ska du hitta? Okej, om du fick bra betyg. Välkommen hit till mig”. Andra gången... Vänta [laughter].

- Jaha, ah.
- Och sedan tredje gången: ”Jag har mycket ledsen, varför varför de hjälper inte mig? För att jag behöver, kanske jag hemtjänst eller jag jobbar, jag ska jobba hemtjänst, jag ska hjälpa gamla människor för jag har jobbat femton år i plastic surgeryklinik. Jag vet allt, varför de hjälper inte mig?”. Okej, nästa jag sökte på Arbetsförmedlingen, hon kommer inte denna gången och andra människor träffade mig. Men hon har jättejättesnäll: ”Jag är praktik, jag behöver praktik”. ”Du har studerat halvtid, tyvärr”. Jag har studerat heltid, tyvärr. Innan besökte... Jag berättade att jag behöver praktik. Hon: ”Okej, du kan svenska?”. ”Nej, jag kan inte svenska”. Kan du... Jag berättar jag är mycket gärna lär mig svenska, också jag har studerat engelska komvux. ”Du studerar komvux? Man hinner inte tid, det går inte”. Varför?
- Så du studerar för mycket för att..?
- Nej, den är bara två timmar. Fyra, sex timmar.
- Men de tycker att du..?
- De tycker att jag studerar för mycket. Okej, kanske jag slutade. Jag slutade studera engelska. Jag behöver träffa andra människor. Jag behöver höra svenska, inte engelska. Jag berättar om henne: ”Jag vet, jag vet, jag ljugar inte den, jag vet. Jag vet, jag studerar engelska, kanske jag slutar där för att jag behöver träffa andra människor om du bestämt praktik. Jag slutar där. Inga problem för mig”. ”Nej, det går inte”. Nu vill jag inte försöka Arbetsförmedlingen, för att de hjälper inte mig. De berättar för förra träff, jag besökte många gånger.
- Det har hänt många gånger?
- Ja, ja, jag har kommit ihåg bara tre. Viktig händelse. Men jag besökte många gånger. Jag vill inte besöka, jag har studerat på grund och sedan jag fick efter utbildning. För att de man möter också, Malmö möte, jag skriver, skickar sms, Malmö möte. Om Nina...
- Nina? Mm.
- Nina hjälp mig. Hon bestämt en man.
- Aha.
- Han träffade med mig för femton minuter kanske. Han berättade mig jag har inte söka jobb, ska resa till Spanien [laughter]. Jag såg honom...
- Ja.
- Det är ingen chans, jag har ingen chanser. Varför? Han sa nej, jag har inte i Sverige. Jag kanske flyttar till Spanien efter tre veckor, jag har inte i Sverige.
- Han sa så? Så är det ju inte.
- Mitt (...) den är gammal.
- Nej, så är det ju inte. Det är klart du måste studera.
- Ja, för att jag tänker att jag måste hitta svenska person, jag träffar svenska person jag pratar med varandra, svenska. Den är bättre för mig. Försök in Nina, jag ska säga henne: ”Varför han sa till mig, jag har inte i Sverige tre veckor?”.
- Konstigt.

- Konsigt. Den är viktig. En månad två gånger vi träffar, mötte andra svenska personer. Jag har bestämt två år, för två månader, den är inte bra för mig.
- Nej, jag förstår. Då är det viktigt vad de säger också.
- Ja, den är viktig för mig. För att jag behöver träna svenska. Jag är mycket, jag klara själv. Jag är helt klart eller?
- Jag tycker du pratar jättebra.
- Tack så mycket.
- När du har träffat personer från myndigheter så i Sverige, om du skulle jämföra med Turkiet om du träffade sådana personer där, är det stor skillnad?
- Stor skillnad, nej. Ja, ja, stor skillnad. För det finns inte samma Arbetsförmedlingen, det finns inte. Om du är klart studera du hittar jobb själv. Det finns inte Arbetsförmedlingen i Turkiet.
- Nej, jag förstår. Så det är annorlunda?
- Ja, ja. Turkiet inte svårt för mig. Turkiet lätt. Mitt hemland. Jag kan turkiska [laughter], jag vet vilken sätt är bättre för mig. Vilken väg jag ska...
- Gå?
- Vilken väg jag ska gå lätt för mig. Jag vet. Jag vet inte i Sverige vilken väg som passar bra för mig.
- Det är svårt?
- Ja, ja, den är bättre. Bättre bättre. Jag hörde många gånger de gett hjälp till dem. Kanske min chans, mina chans det går inte [laughter].
- Jodå.
- Jag vet inte. Ja, de hjälp, de hjälp, de fick, de har fått praktik. De kan inte svenska också.
- Nej, precis. Skulle du kunna beskriva en vanlig dag? Vad du gör i Malmö här i ditt liv? Vad händer en vanlig dag när du vaknar, vad gör du då efter?
- Eh, kan du?
- Jag frågar igen. När du en vanlig dag, vad gör du för något när du vaknar tills du går och lägger dig?
- Ja, ja. Jag vaknar. Jag vaknade klockan sju, duschar framåt, bla bla bla, klä på mig och sedan cyklade till skolan. Jag har studerat svenska, skolan jättebra för mig. Jätterolig. Och sedan efter skolan kom hem, jag har ätit lunch. Efter jag besöker till [library close to place of residence]. De är jättesnäll för mig. Första gången jag kom till Sverige, jag besökte till biblioteken. Jag träffade person, hon heter Nuhan, hon är jättetrevlig. Hon hjälp till annan invandrare mycket. Hon kan också svenska, otroligt bra svenska för engelska. Och tre gånger i veckan jag sökte till Språkcafé. Innan jag börjar svenska A, B, C, studerar. Studerar nu, jag fick läxhjälp. Ibland jag läser bok och berättar vad som händer boken. Den är jättebra. Också Eva, Eva... Och Kristina. Hon är jättejättesnäll. Jätteunderbar.
- Vad bra.
- Skulle du vilja ändra något med din situation eller ditt liv som det är nu?
- Ändra?
- Förändra? Att något skulle vara annorlunda i ditt liv som det är nu?
- Nej.
- Ingenting? Du är nöjd som du är nu?

- Ja, jag är nöjd.
- Mm. Då ska vi se, då har jag en uppgift här till dig. Ska se om jag hittar. Så ska du få fylla i en sak. En sådan här [showing network chart]. Då har vi dig där i mitten, det är du. Och så har du vänner, familj, släkt, det vet du vad det är?
- Jag vet.
- Formella kontakter, det är som myndigheter eller Arbetsförmedlingen eller. Här har du din skola då.
- Arbete, mm.
- Fritid och organisationer, det kan vara när du kommer till Språkcaféet eller när du går till biblioteket. Så vill jag att du fyller i de personer du träffar i Malmö, i olika kategorier. Och de som är närmast, som du känner de är nära mig, de sitter nära mitten. Och de se är lite längre bort, de kan vara här ute i kanten. Förstår?
- Förstår. Jag ska skriva när de nära, jag skriva denna [close to middle].
- Nära, precis.
- När de...
- Längre bort, ja.
- Jag skriva där [outer area]?
- Ja, precis.
- [Filling out network chart: relatives] Släkt, jag har ingen släkt i Malmö.
- Då kan du lämna.
- Min mans släktingar bor i Köpenhamn.
- Men du kanske åker dit ibland?
- Ja, jag åker inte så mycket.
- Men om du träffar dem ibland så kan du skriva om du vill.
- [Filling out network chart: family] Familj. Jag träffade min man via internet och telefon.
- Men nu, han bor också i Malmö?
- Han bor inte i Malmö.
- Han bor i Köpenhamn?
- Nej, min mans släktingar bor i Köpenhamn. Min familj bor i Turkiet.
- Jaha, din man och din dotter också?
- Nej.
- Jaha, nu förstår jag [laughter].
- Okej, okej [laughter]. De också släktingar.
- [Filling out network chart: friends] Jag skriver namn?
- Mm.
- Ja.
- [Filling out network chart: spare time/organizations] Fritid, organisationer... Språkcafé. Promenerade i parken?
- Mm.
- Promenera...
- Promenerade.
- [Filling out network chart: work/education] Promenera. Mm. Okej. Arbete/utbildning...
- Om du träffar personer i din skola?
- Ja, okej. Min lärare eller?

- Min lärare.
- Klasskamrat.
- Mm.
- [Filling out network chart: formal contacts] Kontakter... Det finns inte.
- Nej, men då behöver du inte fylla i. Det är bara om du känner att det är någon du träffat som...
- Nej.
- Nej. Okej. Hur många av, om du skulle säga, är det många som är, till exempel dina vänner och personer i skolan, är det många som är också från Turkiet? Eller från andra länder?
- Ja, ja, de är också från Turkiet. De kan turkiska. Inte, det finns inte.
- Inte så många som pratar svenska?
- Nej.
- De från Turkiet. Kanske från Kazakstan. Kazakstan. Hon kan turkiska.
- Så ni pratar turkiska när ni träffas?
- Ja.
- Om du skulle välja vilken del som är viktigast för dig här i Malmö, vilken är viktigast?
- Den, familj.
- Mm. Det är bra. Hur ser, om du skulle gjort en sådan här om du bott i Turkiet, hade det varit stor skillnad? Hade sett annorlunda ut?
- Ja, ja. För att det finns många många vänner i Turkiet. Arbetskamrater. Jag har arbetat i plastikkirurgen, kanske 30. 20 kvinna jobbar med tillsammans. Det finns många och släktingar och kusiner och blabla, jag har många, många, många. Jag har inte i Sverige. Den är jättesvårt för mig. Jättesvårt.
- Jag förstår. Tycker du att det är svårt att träffa vänner? Du träffar vänner som pratar också turkiska?
- Jag träffade dem skolan. För att skolan finns arab, elever, jag kan inte arabiska. Jag kan turkiska. Också vänner från Indien, de är, och Kina, de är jättesnäll. De inte träffa många gånger. Jag träffade med dem många gånger. Den är jätte-, jättelätt för mig. Den är inte bra för mig, lär mig svenska, träna, jag hittar inte svensk personer, svensk vänner eller svensk kompisar eller svensk... Jag bor i lägenhet, med mina byggnader bor två svenska family. De är jättesnäll. Jag har inte irriterad dem. En gång min man sa till dem: ”Min fru behöver träffa svenska, om du vill besöka till oss och vi bjuder kaffe”. Nej, de: ”Nej, nej, jag hinner inte tid”. Ja, ja [laugther]. När jag träffar dem i hissen, de är jättesnäll. Bra bra bra.
- Känner du, ibland så säger man ju om svenskar att vi är lite svåra, lite stängda, lite svåra att lära känna. Du tycker inte?
- Nej, nej, jag fokuserar att lära mig svenska bara.
- Mm, men jag menar när du träffar personer i Sverige, tycker du att de kan vara lite svåra att lära känna? Precis som din granne då, de är snälla att prata med men de kanske inte har tid att träffas? De är för sig själva?
- Jag vet inte.
- Nej, du vet inte?

- Jag tänker för att jag lär mig svenska, för att jag bor i Sverige. Jag bor inte i Turkiet. Jag behöver lära mig svenska snart.
- Jag förstår.
- När jag tänkte på vilka sätt bättre för mig, jag hittar bara vänner, det finns Språkcafé. Jag besöker Språkcafé [laugther].
- Det är ju jättebra.
- Jättebra. Men det finns alternativ också, jag känner mig inte ledsen. Det finns andra alternativ också. Många många.
- Skulle du generellt säga att du är en person som generellt sett kan lita på andra människor? Förstår du "lita på"? Är du bra på att lita på andra människor?
- Lita?
- Alltså, trust other people.
- Jag kan inte engelska.
- Att du känner förtroende eller att du, vad ska man säga, på sin familj så litar man på varandra. Att man känner att man hjälper varandra. Har du lätt eller är du bra på att känna emot personer du träffar?
- Ja, ja.
- Att du litar på dem?
- Jag förstår, femtio procent. Min familj?
- Ja, din familj tror jag att du litar på. Att du känner att ni hjälper varann.
- Ja, ja.
- Precis. Men om du träffar personer du inte känner, har du lätt för att säga att du litar på dig också? Att du tror att de ska hjälpa dig?
- Ja, ja, ja.
- Tycker du att det är olika när du träffar personer i Sverige och i Turkiet?
- Ja, ja. Turkiet människorna jättejättetrevliga. Jag berättar, om du tänker jag är inte turk, nej. Den är viktigaste sätt. Turkiets människor inte som Sveriges människor. Turkiets människor, jag flyttade en lägenhet med grannar besökte oss: "Välkomna, välkomna". Vi dricker kaffe tillsammans. Det är vanlig sätt. Det finns ingen Sverige. Inte samma sätt. De bjuder kaffe eller smörgås, mat, lunch. De bjuder allt. De pratar: "Åh, vad händer?". De berättar om sina händelser. När jag träffade andra, resa till Turkiet, inte Istanbul, men Alanya eller Antalya, träffade turkisk family. Kanske du träffade två gånger, direkt kontakt med varandra: "Hej, varifrån?". De pratar snabbt. De kontakt. De gjorde snabbt kontakt. Inte de vänta, vänta, vänta. "Vi känner inte, jag går inte". Inte på samma sätt. Jättejättelätt Turkiet, för att jag hörde många (...) människor eller (...) de tittade första gången Turkiet och de var i Turkiet kanske två år. Turkiska du lär dig jättejättesvårt än svenska. Jättejättesvårt. De lär sig turkiska snabbt. Jag frågade de: "Varför? Varför du lär dig snabbt turkiska?". De berättade om de träffade sina turkiska vänner ofta, de bjuder, de pratar, de berättar, de hjälper. Allting. Inte allt, ibland dåliga människor också det finns i Turkiet.
- Jo, det klart. Jag förstår vad du menar.
- Ja, ja. För att jag inte samma. Inte samma.
- Nej. Finns det någon speciell situation när du känner att du inte... När du känner att det är svårt, som du berättar nu i Sverige, att vi är lite svåra att prata med?

- Finns det någon speciell situation? Finns det alltså någon gång du tänker speciellt, extra mycket att det var svårt att jag inte kunde prata med..?
- [Someone is coming in, talking to Derya]
 - Ja, var var vi nu då? Vad sa vi för något? Ja, om det finns någon speciell situation som du tycker det är extra svårt? Svårt att..?
 - Ja, ja. Jag är [age]. Jag pratade bara turkiska. Jag tänker bara turkiska. När jag försöker prata svenska, jag tänker turkiska, pratar svenska. Turkiska grammatik och svenska grammatik, tvärtom.
 - Jobbigt?
 - Ja, jobbigt. När du pratar engelska, den är lätt för dem. Den är jättejättesvårt för mig, för jag pratar inte engelska också. Inte, inte, innan jättejättesvårt för mig. För att jag vågar inte, bara tyst tyst tyst, jag lyssnar på dem. Jag vågar inte, jag kan inte. Jag tänker bara turkiska. Jag pratar, jag pratade perfekt turkiska. Jag tänker på bara perfekt meningen, bla bla [laugther]. Tydiligen meningar, jag tänker på tydliga meningar.
 - Ja, det är svårt med språket.
 - Ja, ja, ja. Men är inte svårt för mig. Men jättejättesvårt innan för mig.
 - Om du skulle gå hem ensam här i Malmö, kanske på kvällen, skulle du känna dig rädd eller att det var otryggt? Att det var jobbigt att gå hem själv?
 - Nej.
 - Inte?
 - Nej, också jag går i begravningsparken [laughter].
 - Jaha, kyrkogård? Du vågar gå där?
 - Ja, jag besökte här Språkcafé. Och ute var mörkt och jag måste gå kyrkogården, genom kyrkogården. Och jag är mycket rädd och jag cyklade mycket snabbt. Jag tänkte: ”De vaknar inte, de vaknar inte” [laughter].
 - Det är läskigt [laughter]. Det skulle inte jag våga. Men det är bra. Känner du att människor här som du träffar litar på dig, alltså att de känner, att de känner att det är bra med dig? Förstår du, folk som du träffar här? Att, vad ska man säga, alltså litar på, att de känner, förstår du förtroende? Att de känner att du vill hjälpa dem? Om du träffar personer som du inte har träffat förut?
 - Här om de behöver hjälp, jag gör det hjälp till dem. Det är inte viktigt om jag känner eller inte känner. Om de behöver hjälp, jag direkt. Reflex [laugther].
 - Vad bra.
 - Den är jättebra. Jag känner bara den. När de behöver hjälp, jag gör det hjälp. De kanske jag behöver hjälp, de hjälp inte, de bestämmer.
 - Mm. Vad tycker du är viktigast, det kanske du redan har svarat på, för att du ska känna dig inne i samhället här? Att du ska känna att du känner dig hemma här? Du har pratat om språket, att du tycker är viktigast här i Sverige för att de ska kännas bra för dig? Vad är viktigast då?
 - En gång till.
 - Vad som är viktigast för att du, i samhället här, ska känna att du är inne? Känner dig hemma här? Vad är viktigast? Tycker du att det är viktigast med språk, med jobb, med vänner? För att det ska kännas bra för dig här?
 - Första familj, viktigast. Också efter studera svenska. Den är jättejätteviktigast. Efter vänner.

- Mm. Känner du dig hemma här när du bor i Malmö? Känner du att det är ditt hem? Du förstår inte hem?
- Jag förstår hem [laughter].
- Du förstår hem. Ja, vad bra [laughter]. Känner du när du bor här att det känns som ditt hem, att du känner dig hemma?
- Ja. Känner.
- Tog det lång tid att känna så?
- Nej.
- Det gick fort?
- Fort. Jag bor nedervåningen. Jag har stor balkong. Solen kommer direkt min balkong, jag är... Min lägenhet, jag är mycket nöjd.
- Vad bra. Det var alla mina frågor. Det var klart.
- Ja [laughter]?
- Tack så mycket.
- Tack samma, tack samma.

10.9.2 Translation

- If you can start by telling me a little bit about yourself. Your name, how old and...
- Okay. My name is Derya and I come from Turkey. I live in Sweden for two years ago...
- You did two years ago?
- Two years I have lived in Sweden.
- Yes.
- Two years. I have been studying at University, I studied for six months. I'm married. I have a daughter. She is thirteen years old, and she also is studying [name of school]. Okay. Why did I come here? [Laughter]
- Yes, I was going to ask you, why did you come here? [Laughter]
- Yes, I am... I got married. My husband works in Denmark, government... They did not give residence permits. Gave?
- Gave.
- No, they did not give residence permits. We decided together, together, we move to Sweden.
- But your husband is also from Turkey?
- No no, my husband comes from Macedonia. My husband lives in Denmark for five years. My husband's family also live in Denmark. I am a lab technician in...
- In?
- My profession.
- Your profession? Yes, exactly.
- Lab..?
- Lab, takes blood analysis. I have been working for fifteen years at a plastic surgery clinic as a lab technicians.
- That's interesting.
- [Laughter]

- Is it fun? [Laughther]
- Yes, I think it's fun. Great fun.
- Do you want to do this here too? In Sweden?
- Yes, I hope. If you want to, if I want to. If I can find a good job.
- But you are studying now, so you want to look for a job later?
- Yes. First I must take a basic training, after that I will be studying education. Then maybe look for a job. I hope. I hope.
- And, yes, that's right, the reason you came to Sweden was because your husband work in Denmark?
- Mm.
- And what did you know about Sweden? What were you thinking about Sweden before you moved here?
- Yes, I did not know before. No. I did not know. I visited twice in Denmark, Copenhagen. The rest, I think I did not know before... Sweden. I do not know before. I wanted to surprise... [Laughter]
- Surprise?
- Surprise in Sweden.
- In a good or..?
- Well, good for me. I live in [place of residence], I don't know what people who live [place of residence] immigrants or Swedish. I said the first time, [place of residence], ah, immigrants, speak only Arabic. It is strange to me.
- What did you think of it? Was it good or bad?
- No, bad. Sometimes good, I heard the first time other languages, other cultures, a different culture. I heard different languages, I heard, I saw different culture. But 50% good, 50% not good. To hear many times in other languages, I will have a hard time learning Swedish.
- If one listens often to Swedish one learns?
- Yes, Yes. I need to meet other Swedish people. I needed to hear... Hear Swedish. It is important to me. Because it is really hard.
- Yes, it's hard.
- Really hard, really hard. Yes.
- Now I thought of asking what was the most difficult thing when you came here, your first time in Sweden? Can you tell me about your first time?
- Yes, the first time, I'm thinking that I'm starting a new life for me. I saw many many things. New food, new people, new cultures, new traditions. Because I live in Istanbul, in Istanbul, many many people.
- Large city.
- Big town, and Istanbul, the whole time action. Action, a lot of traffic [laugther]. A lot of people. Sweden is really really quiet compared to Istanbul.
- I understand [laughter]. But it felt good or did it feel weird?
- Yes, seems good to me. I worked for many many years, and also the many hours I worked. Maybe 14 hours today, it is great for me. It felt like vacation for me [laughter].
- Oh, that sounds good [laughter].
- Before I was in Istanbul it was the central station area.
- Mm, centre?

- The centre, shops and city centre. Near. There it is really many people, and it's really really hard. Hard. Sweden, they're not (...). I bike, I miss ... I'm missing or?
- I miss?
- Or am I missing?
- If you are missing?
- I love maybe.
- I wish maybe?
- No, wish for... Miss.
- Requested maybe?
- It means love.
- Oh, like something?
- Wish...
- Wish?
- Yes, wish [laughter]. Before I wished, I bicycled. It didn't, because there is no cycle path [laughter]. But it is good for me, here are many cycle paths. I'm just trying to ride the bike. I try ride the bike, yes.
- How nice.
- Yes, yes [laughter].
- What did you think was the hardest at the time when you arrived? Did you perhaps think the language was difficult?
- Yes, yes. I found that I left my family, everyone had... I left many many things behind. That was really really hard for me. I feel that really strongly.
- Yes. Have you been in contact with some authorities? Authorities, the Employment Service or the Tax Office or..?
- I'm much chance, no chance, I don't have a chance when I visited the Employment Office and met for the first time my supervisor. She told me about a story. I want, I want to work. I want to work. The first time: "You cannot Swedish, learn Swedish and then you can look for a job". Okay. I'm waiting for the social security number, and after I got social security numbers, I will apply to school. For the first time start with the [address of school]. I have been studying for two months. Two months. I am not happy, because they gave the grades two years ago.
- Two years?
- Their program, well, their program for two years. A total of two years. They tell about programs or topics we have, when I study program I got the grade two years ago. I thought that is very long time for me. For the first nine months, I waiting for social security number. After a month of waiting for the school. It is a long time, a year away. And then I start. And after the second year starts school. Two years ago I got the grades, and I must study foundations. Must study for maybe two years. Two more years.
- It takes a long time.
- A long period of time. I'm [age], it's really really long for me [laughter]. I searched other school, I try another school. I found on the basic training. They made it good for me. Me. For me. And I will finish it. They said to me: "Go ahead". I started this school, I am very happy with this school. Because I have

studied the basic training maybe a year ago. I hope I will be studying education. That is the usual time for me.

- I hope that it goes fast. But once you've met these people, authorities and so, do you trust that they are doing their job and that they would help you?
- Yes, yes, the Employment Service does not help me. I am thinking that I have to change administrator. Yes, okay. She sent me a letter, I write my meeting: "Maybe Wednesday at one to four. If you want to meet, welcome". I came with my husband to the Employment Service. Met her. She checked the internet: "Uhm, have you studied?". "Yes, I've studied, I want to work. Maybe an internship, because I need to practice Swedish, I learn many Swedish words. I also visit Språkcafé, I study myself at home, I watch only Swedish TV, listen to Swedish radio, I have very much an ability to study at home". She told me: "Uhm, sorry I don't have a job for you. You might find one? You'll find one? Okay, if you get good grades. Welcome back to me". The second time... Wait [laughter].
- Okey, ah.
- And then the third time: "I am very sad, why why they will not help me? For that I need, maybe I could work with care or I'm working, I'm going to go homes, I'm going to help the old people, I have worked fifteen years in the plastic surgery clinic. I know everything, why won't they help me?". Okay, next time I searched on Arbetsförmedlingen, she is not going this time and it was other people who met me. But she was really really nice: "I need internship, I need internship". "You have studied part time, unfortunately". I've been studying full time, unfortunately. Before visited... I told them that I need to practice. She: "Okay, you know Swedish?". "No, I don't know Swedish." Can you... I tell her I am glad to learn Swedish, also I've studied English education. "You're taking adult education? You do not have the time, it is not possible". Why?
- So you're learning too much for that..?
- No, it's just two hours. Four, six hours.
- But they think that you..?
- They think I'm studying too much. Okay, maybe I stop. I end studying English. I need to see other people. I need to hear Swedish, not English. I tell her: "I know, I know, I don't lie, I know. I know, I am studying English, maybe I will stop that because I need to see other people at internship. I will stop there. No problem for me. "No, you can't". Now, I don't want to try the Employment Service, because they don't help me. This was one time, I visited many times.
- It has happened many times?
- Yes, Yes, I remember just three. Important events. But I visited many times. I don't want to visit anymore, I have studied the basic training and then I got after education. Because the ones you meet also, in Malmö, I write, send sms, Malmö meeting. About Nina...
- Nina? Mm.
- Nina helped me. She appointed an administrator.
- Aha.
- He met with me for fifteen minutes maybe. He told me I did not look for a job, I should travel to Spain [laughter]. I saw him...

- Yes.
- There is no chance, I have no chance. Why? He said no, I have not in Sweden. I might move to Spain after three weeks, I have no chance in Sweden.
- He said so? It's not like that.
- My (...) it is old.
- No, it is not. Of course you have to study.
- Yes, because I'm thinking that I need to find a Swedish person, so that we can talk to each other, Swedish. It is better for me. Try with Nina, I'll tell her: "Why he said to me, I don't have in Sweden after three weeks?".
- Strange.
- Strange. It is important. One month two times we meet, met other Swedish people. I've decided two years, two months, it is not good for me.
- No, I understand. Then it's important what they say as well.
- Yes, it is important for me. Because I need to practice Swedish. I am very, I cope by yourself. You understand me or?
- I think you speak great.
- Thank you very much.
- When you have met with people from the authorities in Sweden, if you would compare with Turkey if you met such people there, is there a big difference?
- Big difference, no. Yes, Yes, a big difference. Because there is not the same employment agency, it does not exist. If you are ready to study you'll find jobs for yourself. There is no Employment Service in Turkey.
- No, I understand. So what is different?
- Yes, Yes. Turkey is not difficult for me. Turkey easy. My homeland. I know Turkish [laughter], I know which way is better for me. Which way I'm going to...
- Go?
- Which way I should go for it to be easiest on me. I know. I do not know in Sweden which way that suits well for me.
- It's hard?
- Yes, Yes, it is better. Better better. I heard many times they provided aid to them. Maybe my chance, my opportunity cannot [laughter].
- Oh, yes.
- I do not know. Yes, they help, they help, they got, they've got the internship. They don't know Swedish either.
- No, exactly. Would you be able to describe a normal day? What you do in Malmö in your life? What's a normal day when you wake up, what do you do then?
- Ehm, can you?
- I ask again. If it is a regular day, what do you do when you wake up until you go to bed?
- Yes, Yes. I wake up. I woke up at seven o'clock, shower forward, blah blah blah, get dressed and then cycled to school. I've been studying Swedish, the school great for me. Really Fun. And then after school, came home, I have eaten lunch. After I visit to [library close to place of residence]. They are really nice to me. The first time I came to Sweden, I went to the libraries. I met the person,

her name is Nuhan, she is really nice. She help to other immigrants. She also knows Swedish, incredibly good Swedish for English. And three times a week I searched to the Språkcafé. Before I start Swedish A, B, C, studying. Studying now, I got homework help. Sometimes I read a book and tell what will happen next. It is great. Also Eva, Eva ... And Kristina. She's really really nice. Really wonderful.

- That's good. Would you like to change something about your situation or your life as it is now?
- Change?
- Change? That something could be different in your life as it is now?
- No.
- Nothing? You are satisfied with how everything is now?
- Yes, I'm happy.
- Mm. Then we'll see, then I have a task here for you. We'll see if I can find it. You should get to complete this thing. This [showing network chart]. Then we've got you there in the middle, it's you, and then you have friends, family, relatives, you know what it is?
- I know.
- Formal contacts, it is that government agencies or Employment Service or. Here you have your school then.
- Work, etc.
- Spare time and organisations, it can be when you get to Språkcafé or when you go to the library. So I want you to fill in the people you meet in Malmö, in various categories. And those who you are closest to, you know they are near me, they are marked close to the middle. And the look is a little further away, they can be out here at the edge. Understand?
- Understand. I'll write when they are close, I write this [close to middle].
- Close, yes.
- When they...
- Further away, yes.
- I write there [outer area]?
- Yes, exactly.
- [Filling out network chart: relatives] Family, I have no family in Malmö.
- Then you can leave that.
- My husband's relatives live in Copenhagen.
- But you might go there sometimes?
- Yes, I go not so much.
- But if you hit them sometimes you can write if you want.
- [Filling out network chart: family] Family. I met my husband through the internet and telephone.
- But now, he lives in Malmö?
- He doesn't live in Malmö.
- He lives in Copenhagen?
- No, my husband's relatives live in Copenhagen. My family lives in Turkey.
- Oh well, your husband and your daughter too?
- No.

- Okey, now I understand [laughter].
- Okey, okey [laughter]. They also have relatives.
- [Filling out network chart: friends] I write the name?
- Mm.
- Yes.
- [Filling out network chart: spare time/organizations] Recreation, organizations... Språkcafé. Walk in the park?
- Mm.
- Walk...
- Walked.
- [Filling out network chart: work/education] Stroll. Mm. Okey. Work/education...
- If you meet people in your school?
- Yes, okey. My teacher or?
- My teacher.
- Classmate.
- Mm.
- [Filling out network chart: formal contacts] Contacts... It does not exist.
- No, but then you do not need to fill that in, only if you know that there is someone you met who...
- No.
- No. Okey. How many of these would you say, are there many who are, such as your friends and people in the school, there are many who are also from Turkey? Or from other countries?
- Yes, Yes, they're also from Turkey. They are Turkish. No, there isn't.
- Not that many who speak Swedish?
- No.
- Those from Turkey. Perhaps from Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan. She is Turkish.
- So you're talking Turkish when you meet?
- Yes.
- If you would choose which part is most important for you here in Malmö, which is most important?
- The family.
- Mm. That's good. If you would have done this if you lived in Turkey, it would have been a big difference? Had looked different?
- Yes, yes. Because there are many many friends in Turkey. Colleagues. I have worked in the plastic surgeon, maybe 30. 20 female working together. There are many and relatives and cousins and blabla, I have many, many, many. I have not in Sweden. It is really hard for me. Really hard.
- I understand. Do you find it hard to make friends? You meet friends who speak Turkish?
- I met them in school. In school, pupils are Arab, I cannot Arabic. I am Turkish. Also friends from India, they are, and China, they are really nice. They don't meet many times. I met with them many times. It's really, really easy for me. It is not good for me, learning Swedish, practicing, I can't find the Swedish people, Swedish friends or Swedish or Swedish buddies... I live in an apartment,

in my buildings live two Swedish family. They are really nice. I have not annoyed them. Once my husband told them: "My wife needs to meet Swedish, if you want to visit us and we offer coffee". No, they were like: "No, no, I do not have time to time". Yes, yes [laughter]. When I meet them in the elevator, they are really nice. Good good good.

- You know, sometimes they say about Swedes that we are a little difficult, a bit closed, a little hard to get to know. You think so?
- No, no, I focus to learn Swedish only.
- Mm, but I mean when you meet people in Sweden, do you think they can be a little difficult to get to know? Just like your neighbor, they are nice to talk to, but they might not have time to meet? They are for themselves?
- I do not know.
- No, you do not know?
- I think too that I learn Swedish, that I live in Sweden. I don't live in Turkey. I need to learn Swedish soon.
- I understand.
- When I thought about which way is better for me, I see just friends, there are Språkcafé. I visit the Språkcafé [laughter].
- It's great.
- Great. But there are alternatives, I don't feel sad. There are other options as well. Many many.
- Would you generally say that you are a person who generally can count on other people? Do you understand "trust"? Are you good at trusting other people?
- Trust?
- Trust other people.
- I don't know English.
- You feel confidence or your, what to say, in your family, so we rely on each other. That you feel you can help each other. Have you or are you good at feeling against people you meet?
- Yes, Yes.
- You trust them?
- I understand, fifty percent. My family?
- Yes, your family, I think that you trust. You feel that you can help each other.
- Yes, Yes.
- Mm. But if you meet people you don't know, do you have an easy time saying that you trust you too? You think they're going to help you?
- Yes, yes, yes.
- Do you think it is different when you meet people in Sweden and in Turkey?
- Yes, yes. Turkey people really really nice. I tell you, if you think I am not Turkish, no. It is the most important way. Turkey's people are not as Sweden's people. The Turkish people, I moved to an apartment with neighbours visited us: "Welcome, welcome". We drink coffee together. It is common sense. There is no Sweden. Not the same way. The offer of coffee or sandwich, food, lunch. They offer everything. They're talking, ' Oh, what's going on? '. They talk about their events. When I met others, travel to Turkey, Istanbul, Alanya or Antalya, met Turkish family. Maybe you met twice, in direct contact with each

other, "Hey, where do I get?". They talk fast. They contact. They quickly make contact. Not the wait, wait, wait. "We do not know, I cannot". Not in the same way. Really really easy Turkey, because I heard a lot of (...) people or (...) they looked the first time Turkey and they were in Turkey, perhaps two years. Turkish you learn really really hard than Swedish. Really really hard. They learn Turkish fast. I asked them: "Why? Why you learn this fast Turkish?". They told me if they met his Turkish friends often, they offer, they talk, they tell, they help. Everything. Not everything, sometimes there are also bad people in Turkey.

- Yes, of course. I understand what you mean.
- Yes, Yes. Because I am not the same. Not the same.
- No. Is there any special situation if you feel you do not... If you feel that it is difficult, as you tell me now in Sweden, we are a little hard to talk to? Is there any special situation? So is there any time especially that it was hard that I could not talk with..?
- [Someone is coming in, talking to Derya]
- Yes, where were we? What we said? Yes, if there are any special circumstances that you think it's extra hard? Difficult to..?
- Yes, yes. I'm [age]. I spoke only Turkish. I think only Turkish. When I try to speak Swedish, I'm Turkish, speaks Swedish. Turkish grammar and Swedish grammar, on the contrary.
- A hassle?
- Yes. When you speak English, it is easy for them, it's really really hard for me, because I don't speak English well. Not, not, before really really hard for me. Because I do not dare, just quiet quiet quiet, I listen to them I dare not, I can't. I think only Turkish. I'm talking, I spoke perfect Turkish. I am thinking of just the perfect sentence, blah blah [laughter]. Apparently, sentences, I think.
- Yes, it's hard with the language.
- Yes, yes, yes. But it is not difficult for me. But really really hard before me.
- If you would go home alone here in Malmö, maybe in the evening, would you feel afraid or that it was not safe? It was hard to go home myself?
- No.
- No?
- No, well I go in burial park [laughter].
- Oh well, the graveyard? You dare to go there?
- Yes, I visited this Språkcafé. And out there was dark and I had to go the cemetery, by the cemetery. And I am very scared and I rode very fast. I was thinking: "They don't wake up, they don't wake up" [laughter].
- It is scary [laughter]. It wouldn't dare. But it is good. Do you feel that people here as you hit trust in you, so that they know, that they feel it is fine with you? You see, the people that you meet here? To, what to say, that trust, that they know, understand you trust? They know that you want to help them? If you meet people you haven't met before?
- If they need help, I will help them. It is not important whether I know or don't know. If they need help, I will directly help them. Reflex [laughter].
- That's good.

- It is great. I just feel it. When they need help, I will help. I might need help, they did not help, they decide.
- Mm. What do you think is the most important thing, perhaps you have already responded to, to make you feel inside the society here? You should feel that you feel at home here? You've talked about language, that you think is most important here in Sweden for them to feel good for you? What is most important, then?
- One more time.
- What is most important to you, in this society, to feel that you are in? Feel at home here? What is most important? Do you think that it is most important with language, with the job, with friends? To make it feel good for you here?
- First family, most importantly. Also after studying Swedish. It is really really important. After friends.
- Mm. Are you feeling at home here when you live in Malmö? Do you feel that it is your home? You don't get home?
- I understand home [laughter].
- You understand home. Yes, that's good [laughter]. Do you know if when you live here it feels like your home, making you feel at home?
- Yes. Feel.
- It took a long time to feel?
- No.
- It went fast?
- Fast. I live downstairs. I have a large balcony. The sun will fall directly on my balcony, I'm... My apartment, I am very happy.
- That's good. It was all my questions. It is done.
- Yes [laughter]?
- Thank you very much.
- Thanks the same, thanks.

10.10 Interview with Saba

10.10.1 Original

- Om du kan berätta lite om dig själv först. Vad du heter, hur gammal?
- Ja. Hej, jag heter Saba och jag kommer från Iran. Jag är [age]. Jag har en dotter som bor i Iran fortfarande. Jag väntar på Migrationsverket beslut för henne.
- När kom du till Sverige?
- För ett år sedan precis.
- Och varför valde du Sverige, att komma hit?
- Ja, det kanske är lite svårt att förklara, men i mitt land jag var, jag jobbade i grupp som jobbar för kvinnor och kvinnorätt. Vi hade många aktiviteter... Aktivi..?
- Aktiviteter?

- Aktiviteter om kvinnorätt och kvinnoproblem i Iran. Och också lite politik, saker jag vill jobba och vi gjorde. Men det var åttonde mars 2013...
- 13? Förra året?
- Förra året. Vi hade en program om kvinnor åttonde mars.
- Kvinnodagen?
Kvinnodagen, ja. Efter programmet vi polis följade oss och sedan vi kände vi kan inte stanna i Iran.
- Det var farligt eller?
- Det var farligt, de ringde många gånger och de följade några mitt kompisar, mina kompisar, som vi jobba tillsammans och vi gjorde alla programmet. Till exempel vi gjorde, vi hade ett grupp... Heter det ett grupp?
- En grupp.
- Vi hade en grupp, musik, vi hade en teatergrupp och dansgrupp och också vi hade en kvinna som pratade om lagar. Om kvinnolagar och kvinnorätt i Iran. Men vi förstod det efter polis kontrollerar, och vi förstår det. Det var någon som ringde polis eller, vi vet inte vem var han eller hon. Men ja, hon eller han pratade med polis och sa något om denna grupp, om vår grupp. Ja, sedan blev det problem för mig och mina kompisar och min syster också. Och sedan jag, det var jättetråkigt för mig därför jag lämnade min dotter i Teheran. Hon har ingen för att ta hand om sig. Ja. Och sedan vi, resan jag bestämde att åka till Sverige. Därför jag är här, men det var jättetråkigt för mig hela förra år. Hela åren. Jag gråtade mycket, jag hade många problem i mitt hälsa. Min mage, min hjärta, mitt hjärta, mitt huvud. Fortfarande jag har problem. Men ja, det är bra, jag började SFI, och studera svenska på universitet. Ja, det går bra, jag har kurser där. Och i juni jag ska göra testprov international prov, jag ska skriva SFI. Jag ska hitta jobb, söka jobb. Kanske på dagis kanske, jag tycker om. Kanske i en förening för kvinnor, jag tycker om också att jobba med barn och med kvinnor. Därför jag tror jättejätte viktig. Jätte viktig att kvinnor vet om själv, om liv, om sig, om livet och om män, om samhälle, om politik, om allt. Det är jätte viktig.
- Jag förstår. Varför du valde du Sverige? Vad visste du om Sverige, vad var dina tankar om Sverige innan du kom hit?
- Nej, det var inte val för mig. Därför jag var kontroll, poliskontroll för mig i Iran. Min syster bor här i Sverige.
- Ja, precis, det var därför du kom till just Sverige
- Ja, därför, därför. Hon hjälpte mig. Ja.
- Vad visste du om Sverige? Visste du någonting om landet?
- Nej, jag visste inte så mycket innan. Men nu jag känner lite bättre och lite mycket om Sverige. Ja, jag tycker i Sverige man kan ha aktivitet om något om vill. Om någon vill. Till exempel jag tycker om att jobba med barn, nej med kvinnorätt. Eller politik. Man kan gå direkt. Men i mitt land, eller något land som har diktatur...
- Diktatur?
- Ja, diktatur regering.
- Regering, ja.
- Man kan inte göra något tyvärr. Men nu jag känner jag kan göra allt om jag vill. Ja, men det är svårt, det är jättesvårt för invandrare som bor i ett annat land. Allt

- är ny, vi har problem med ekonomi, i lägenhet, jobbet, men ja. Vi har många problem. Men finns hopp, jag tror. Ja, det finns hopp. Man måste kämpa. Om man vill, man kan gå. Man kan hitta.
- Men om vi pratar om det som är svårt när man kommer till ett nytt land, vad tycker du är svårast? Svårast?
 - Först språk. Är jätteviktigt, man behöver prata, lyssna, ja allting. Allt är nytt på språk. Till exempel man måste lära svenska, you know. Om man kan prata engelska man kan inte använda bara engelska. Man måste försöka att lära svenska. Jag tror finns en bra system för att lära svenska, SFI är jättebra system. Men har problem också denna system, ja.
 - Ja. Mm.
 - Ja, och efter språk, jobb, att arbeta är mycket svårt och mycket viktigt. Man behöver jobba. Till exempel jag jobbade i mitt land i 25 år nästan, men nu här i Sverige jag vet inte hur jag kan hitta jobb som tycker om. Eller jag jobbade i några olika saker, olika jobbet, men nu är jag [age], och jag har många problem i hälsa. Men jag måste jobba till 65 och jag första, jag måste prata mycket bra svenska och jag måste förstå mycket bra svenska och sedan jag måste gå och söka jobb. Men jag vet inte, det går bra, man kan hitta efter två eller tre år, man kan hitta jobbet eller nej. Så jag är inte, det är jättesvårt. Kanske, till exempel en person, i sitt land var ingenjör eller en specialist på dator eller var matematiklärare eller var läkare, ja, men när hon eller han kom till Sverige, till nytt land, det blir mycket tråkigt. Därför de ger inte, de ger inte jobb samma. Man får jobba med något annat?
 - Man måste jobba restaurant eller café eller annat. Ja, det är jättesvårt. Ja.
 - Har du varit kanske, du sa Migrationsverket, olika myndigheter? Authorities, du förstår vad jag menar? Träffat olika sådana formella personer?
 - Ja.
 - Och när du har träffat dem, litat du på att de vill hjälpa dig eller tycker du att de kanske inte hjälper dig?
 - Ja, de var bra. Nej, jag kände inte att dålig eller... De var snäll, ibland de var jättestress liksom. Min handläggare var 65 år gammal, och hon hade också problem med hjärtat jag tror. Hon var mycket mycket stress. När vi hade möte jag sa: "Hej". "Hej, hej Saba, kom, kom, kom, jag har inte tid, vi måste sluta snabbt". Och sedan jag blev också stressad. Vad hände? Glömde allt. Till exempel jag hade många frågor, men när jag träffade honom, henne, jag också blev stressad [laugther]. Men jag vet inte allt, ofta också arbet har... Nej, kontor?
 - Kontor.
Människorna har problem, stress mycket, men jag förstår inte varför. Också finns många byråkrati i hela kontoret. Till exempel man måste vänta lång tid, till exempel en beslut. Jag tror de måste tänka på människorna som väntar. Till exempel jag känner en, några unga pojke, pojkar...
 - Pojkar, mm.
 - De väntar lång tid för att ta uppehålls..?
 - Uppehållstillstånd.

- Uppehållstillstånd, ja. De väntade många år. En av dem väntade fyra år. Han bodde i Sverige, hela landet, Kiruna och Skåne, hon bodde. Efter fyra år när hon, när han, tog uppehålls..?
- Uppehållstillstånd.
- Tillstånd, och efter fyra månader kanske han åkte till ett annat land för att besök hans familj. Och hans familj sa där borta, sa till honom hans bror, hans uncle... Hans morbror?
- Hans morbror, hans farbror døde, dog.
- Dog, ja.
- För tre år sedan. Men han visste inte.
- Ja, gud. Vad hemskt.
- Ja, jätte, jätte. Han blev mycket orolig och ledsen efter. Också jag känner många...
Det tar lång tid?
- Ja, ja, men jag tror man måste tänka de lever. Därför de ska börja svära, de ska jobba, de är ju ung. Men varför man måste vänta lång tid? Det är ingen bra den.
- Tycker du att det är annorlunda än i ditt hemland, alltså om du jämför med Sverige och Iran, är det olika då?
- Ja, ja, mycket olika.
- Ja, men jag menar just den här, att man träffar med myndigheter och sådana personer, är det olika än i Sverige? Förstår du?
- Lite.
- Det här att det tar lång tid i Sverige, med olika beslut, hur är det i Iran?
- I Iran också finns många problem, i till exempel kontoret och lagar också, vi har problem. Men de... Till exempel på Skatteverket, de gör många flera fel. Skatteverket jag tror är jätteviktiga plats och jätteviktig kontor, men jag tänker varför de gör fel. De gör fel att till exempel, jag är skild för 23 år sedan. Så, jag kom till Sverige och efter Migrationsverket jag gick till Skatteverket för att registrera. Jag visade mina papper, men de skrev gift.
- Jaha, de trodde fortfarande att du var gift?
- Men jag visade två gånger mina papper, separation, mitt ID-kort, mitt Iran ID-kort. Men fortfarande jag är gift i personbevis, och jag känner många många kvinnor i Malmö. De kommer från Iran, Afghanistan och också jag känner från Kina och Syria också, jag känner många kvinnor, de har samma.
- Konstigt.
- Mycket konstigt. I mitt land Skatteverket är jättejätteviktigt, och de gör fel inte. Till exempel jag är skild, jag är skild och de visste registrera. Så det är jätteviktigt. Jag har barn, jag har barn. Men i Sverige de vill skriva att du har inte barn.
- Vad konstigt.
- Ja, konstigt [laughter].
- Skulle du kunna beskriva en vanlig dag när du bor här i Malmö? Vad händer en vanlig dag?
- Vanlig dag. Ja, till exempel, en dag jag vaknar, jag går till promenera, jag känner vilken bra väder och vilken fint väder. Idag är solen, idag är inte kallt. Men efter

en halvtimme är kallt, efter en halvtimme, timme kanske, det blir kallt, det blåser. Och efter dagen kanske det regnar. Men det är inte så tråkigt...

- Farligt?
- Farligt [laughter]. Men jag går till skolan, jag åker buss ibland, men ofta jag cyklar till skolan. Jag ser många människor från annat land och från svensk människor, jag ser (...), de ibland hurry up...
- Jaha, bråttom?
- Ja, de har bråttom. Ibland de hämtar barn, ja hämtar barn, i parken de pratar med varann. Ja. Jag också tycker om grupper i Malmö eller kanske i hela Sverige finns. Det är jätteviktigt att finns, om man kan gå till en grupp...
- Som en organisation?
- Ja, och sitter och pratar och lyssnar. Och har kontakt. Man kan ha kontakt med andra människor. Det är jätteviktigt. Men tyvärr i mitt land det finns inte så... Inte så många?
- Nej, inte så många. Det kanske finns, men bara till exempel människorna har problem i hälsa, de har community eller..?
- Ja, precis.
- NGO eller, men de jobbar inte, de har inte, de känner inte så bra. Därför finns inte programmet för orolig, bara teater, kanske de hjälper med något. Lite, göra något för människor. Men i Sverige jag ser mycket i skolan (...), gemenskap, jag visste inte förra vecka, förra vecka min kompis sa till mig kom till gemenskap på Spångsgatan..?
- Spångsgatan, mm.
- Spångsgatan, och jag gick där och var en man och han pratade om politik och val i Sverige. Det var jätteintressant för mig. Han var jag tror socialdemokrat, han var socialdemokrat, ja han pratade mycket. Och jag förstod inte så bra, men det var bra. Därför jag alltid alltid, jag dröm i mitt land att man kan göra samma där. Att man kan prata om vad man tycker, vad tänker, vad man vill.
- Säga vad man vill?
- Ja, vad man vill. Men det är jätteviktigt. Om du kan prata, du kan prata om vad känner du om samhälle, finns något fel samhälle man måste säga. Man måste kunna säga. Till exempel jag kan prata fel och brister, också jag kan skriva en artikel i Sverige.
- Precis, alla får veta?
- Ja, efter, kanske efter ett år när jag kan skriva bra svenska eller när jag kan prata mycket bra, kanske jag ska gå och göra den.
- Ja, men gör det. Det är bra. Man ska säga vad man vill, tycker.
- Jag tror här i Sverige finns mycket bra system för samhälle. För samhälle. Innan när jag var i Iran i mitt land, jag tänkte i Europa eller Sverige därför min syster bor här, hon pratade och berättade till mig, för mig. Hon berättade för mig lite om Sverige. Ja, det finns demokrati, det finns många, några olika partier, de har aktivitet. Jag känner, ja det är jättebra. Sverige är jättebra landet. Land, landet. Men jag känner finns i Sverige också problem om politik, om demokrati, kanske... Jag känner många många svenskar tänker på social liv, eller socialdemokrat...
- Socialdemokrati ja.

- Samma. Men finns kapitalism här, jag känner, men kanske är fel av mig, jag vet inte. Men jag känner finns, finns, nej kapitalism högre än demokrati eller socialism.
Det finns båda också?
- Det finns båda, ja, det finns båda. Men jag vet inte. Jag har en exempel. Förra vecka hos SVT1 det var... Det var?
- Det var.
- Det var olika partierna, de hade debatt och de pratade. När Stefan Löfven...
- Löfven, mm.
- Skulle prata med, och svarar den frågan. En kvinna som kontrollerar program...
- Debatten?
- Ja, debatten. Hon bråkade honom några gånger, det blev. Men jag vet inte varför? [Laughter]
- Ja [laughter].
- Men när Fredrik Reinfeldt pratade hon sa ingenting, tyst. Också Folkpartiet när han pratade, Folkpartietledare, också de sa ingenting.
- Mhm. För att hon kanske är lite åt det hållet?
- Ja [laughter].
- Ja [laughter]. Jag förstår.
- Men jag tror. Med kristdemokrati och är olika, det är jämlikt land för allt. Du måste prata och jag måste prata också.
- Alla ska prata?
- Ja. Det var mycket.
- Nej, det är bra. Finns det något med din situation, ja, du får säga, vad vill du mest ändra med din situation i Sverige? Är det något... Jag tänker alltså på att din dotter ska komma hit, men finns det något annat som du helst vill ändra på?
- Ja, först jag tänker mycket på min dotter. Jag hoppas att hon kan komma...
Kunna?
- Kunna komma, mm.
- Kunna komma snabbt till mig för att hon väntade ett år. Hon känner inte så bra, hon är orolig mycket. Också jag är inte så bra. Jag tänker mycket mycket, jag kan inte fokusera på svenska, att lära mig. Efter den jag tänker på lägenhet, och efter lägenhet jag tänker på jobbet. Ja, och sedan, jag ska börja aktivitera samhället och (...).
- I den ordningen? Ja, jag förstår. Nu ska vi fylla i den här, om du vill.
Ja.
- [Showing network chart] Det här är du i mitten, så har du vänner, familj, släkt.
- Ja, vad är släkt?
- Relatives. Det kanske du inte har några i Sverige? Formella kontakter är som myndigheter, alltså Arbetsförmedling eller Skatteverket. arbete/utbildning är ju din skola. Och fritid/organisationer, det är kanske när du kommer till Språkcafe eller andra...
- Ja.
- Och så ska du fylla i de personer som du träffar, människor som du träffar när du bor i Malmö. Och om du tycker att de står nära dig, de är nära vän eller nära familj, närmare mitten. Annars, långt ut. Du förstår?

- Mm, ja.
- Precis, om det är en nära vän, en bra vän, då är det närma mitten, nära dig. Här borta [outer area] kanske är någon du har träffat lite bara. Så får du fylla i olika personer som du träffar.
- [Filling out network chart: formal contacts] Formella...
- Ja, om du har någon? Kanske inte?
- Ja, jag har. Kanske jag vet inte, min läkare. Jag träffar min läkare alltid.
- Ofta, ja, men då förstår jag, då har ni kontakt.
- [Filling out network chart: work/education] Skolan... Jag har många svenska vänner.
- Du känner många svenskar?
- Ja.
- Hur har du träffat dem?
- På Språkcafé, på Stadsbibliotek och ja, det var en konsert före, jag var där.
- Du var där?
- Jag var där. Jag träffade en flicka som är sjunger...
- Sångerska?
- Ja. Hon också spelar teater, hon är lärare för barn, nej, barn och vuxna som har ingen...
- Psykiskt? Mm. [Conversation with someone coming in]
- [Filling out network chart: friends] Svensk vänner...
- Det är många av de som du känner då som är svenskar? Eller är det många som kommer från Iran? Eller de flesta du träffar du pratar svenska med här i Sverige? Känner du många här som kommer från Iran, som du kan prata persiska med?
- Ja, jag känner.
- Känner många?
- Ja.
- Men det är båda.
- Båda. Och jag har hon, fyrtio år gammal, hon har två barn. Hon har också mycket mycket problem, med mycket stress. Varje dag, varje dag, jag pratar med känner. Vi pratar varandra, med varandra. Och hon har inget hopp. Hon vill orolig, hon ska kom tillbaka i Iran. Men hennes barn vill inte tillbaka. De brukar till skolan, de brukar skolan och vänner.
- De har fått vänner? Ja.
- Vänner ja. Så.
- Mm.
- [Filling out network chart: spare time/organizations] Förening...
- Mm. Är du med i någon förening?
- Mm.
- Vad är det för förening?
- En förening för iransk kvinnor, finns olika, Iran och svensk förening.
- Mm, Svensk-Iranska föreningen?
- Ja.
- Ja, precis. Just det, det vet jag.
- (...) Kanske i framtid, skola. Det är viktigt.

- Ja, jag tänkte precis fråga, om du ska välja en av de här, vilken tycker du är viktigast för dig i Malmö? I ditt liv här?
- Här, först skolan, then min syster och hennes son, och sedan mina vänner. Sedan ja, de också [pointing at spare time/organizations].
- Att ha många kontakter? Mm. Ja, vad bra. Det är klart?
- Ja.
- Jättebra. Då, bara några frågor till. Skulle du säga att du är person som litar på andra personer? Förstår du? Do you trust people? Har du lätt för det?
- Ja, ofta. Jag kan. Ja. Först jag tänker positiv och jag... Och vad sa du?
- Lita på?
- Jag litar på någon. Och sedan, jag träffar och pratar lite och jag kände det inte är så...
- Du är lite försiktig?
- Ja. Och sedan.
- Det är bra.
- Men först.
- Först alltid när det är en ny människa?
- Ja. är det olika i Iran och i Sverige med personer du träffar generellt?
- Ja.
- Är det olika? Vilken är mer eller mindre, litar du mer på folk i Sverige eller mindre?
- Kanske mindre i Sverige, därför jag är ny i Sverige. Ja. Sakta, sakta kanske det blir bättre.
- Jag förstår. Finns det någon speciell situation du kan tänka på när du inte litar på människor? Inte litar?
- Kärlek.
- Ja, då ska man vara försiktig.
- Om privat relation för kärlek. Man kan inte lita på easily.
- Ja, precis. Det är svårt.
- Och jag känner nej, med bara jag ska vara här vanlig relation först. Jag vet inte, men jag har några dåliga...
- Erfarenheter?
- Erfarenheter, ja.
- Det är svårt.
- Det är svårt, jag kan inte lita på.
- Om du skulle gå ensam hem i Malmö när det är mörkt eller natt, skulle du känna dig rädd?
- Nej.
- Inte?
- Nej, jag känner allt säker. Ja, jag rädd inte, jag har inte. Alltid. I mitt land också, det var problem men jag aldrig, never, jag är aldrig...
- Aldrig rädd.
- Jag har inte rädd.
- Vad bra, vad skönt [laughter]. Skönt att du slipper det.
- Ja [laughter].
- Känner du att människor som du träffar här i Sverige, litar på dig oftast?

- Mhm, jag vet inte, ja, jag känner.
- Vad är det som är viktigast tror du för att du ska känna att du kommer in i samhället här? Att du känner att du..?
- Vad är den så? En gång till.
- Vad är det som är viktigast för att du ska känna dig inne i samhället? Alltså, inside of society or feel inside?
- Kanske som människor de har problem, de säger, de säljer narkotika och polis måste kontrollera mycket då.
- Så att man känner sig trygg med att de tar hand om det?
- Ja.
- Känner du dig då, i vårt samhälle här, att du är hemma här? Känner du dig hemma eller att du är på insidan av samhället här? Om du förstår frågan?
- Jag känner samhälle...
- Att du känner att "Här är jag hemma", här känner jag att jag... Att du känner att du är, du förstår? Feel at home or that this is your home?
- Aha. Nej, det är svårt. Igår jag grätade mycket, därför allt jag känner är bakom det, när jag tittar bakom det fönster. Vid fönster jag ser staden, ja allt är så fint, det finns många fina parker, fina byggnader, fina människor också, fina gata. Men jag tror, jag känner inte.
- [Conversation with someone coming in] Men det här är?
- Fortfarande kanske efter några år eller...
- Det tar några år kanske? Kanske tar någon tid, men nu jag känner inte att det är mitt hem.
- Jag förstår. Det tar lite tid. Det var min sista fråga. Det var klart. Tack så mycket.
- Tack så mycket.
- Det var jättespännande.
- Ja, tack.

10.10.2 Translation

- If you can tell us a little about yourself first. Your name, how old.
- Yes. Hi, my name is Saba and I come from Iran. I'm [age]. I have a daughter who still lives in Iran. I'm waiting for the Migration Board decision for her.
- When did you come to Sweden?
- One year ago exactly.
- And why did you choose Sweden, to get here?
- Yes, it might be a little hard to explain, but in my country I was, I worked in a group who work for women and women's rights. We had many events... Activities..?
- Activities?
- Activities relating to women and women's issues in Iran. And also a little politics, things I want to work, and we did. But it was the eighth of March 2013...
- -13? Last year?
- Last year. We had a program on women eighth March.

- Women's Day?
- Women's day, yes. After the program the police following us and then we knew we could not stay in Iran.
- It was dangerous or?
- It was dangerous, they phoned many times and followed some of my friends, my friends, as we worked together and we all did the program. For example, we did, we had a group... Is it called a group?
- A group.
- We had a group, music, we had a theatre group and dance group and also we had a woman who was talking about laws. On the laws of women and women's rights in Iran. But we understood it after police checks, and we understand that it was someone who called police or, we do not know who he was. But yes, she or he was talking to police and said something about this group, about our group. Yes, then it became problems for me and my friends and my sister too. And then I was really sad for me because I left my daughter in Tehran. She has no one to take care of her. Yes. And then we, I decided to go to Sweden. That's why I'm here, but it was really sad for me all of last year. Throughout the years. I cried a lot, I had many problems with my health. My stomach, my heart, my heart, my head. I still have a problem. But yes, it's good, I just started SFI, and studying Swedish at the University. Yes, it's fine, I have classes there. And in June I will do test sample international test, I'll write the SFI. I'll find a job, look for a job. Maybe in kindergarten, I might think about. Perhaps in an Association for women, I like to work with children and with women. Therefore, I think really really important. Really important that women know about themselves, about life, about themselves, about life and about men, about society, about politics, about everything. It's really important.
- I understand. Why you chose Sweden? What did you know about Sweden, what were your thoughts about Sweden before you came here?
- No, there was no choice for me. Why I was checking, police check for me in Iran. My sister lives here in Sweden.
- Yes, exactly, that is why you came to Sweden?
- Yes, because, because. She helped me. Yes.
- What did you know about Sweden? Did you know anything about the country?
- No, I did not know so much before. But now I feel a bit better and a bit much about Sweden. Yes, I think in Sweden one can have activities about something. If someone wants to. For example, I enjoy working with children, no, with women. You can go straight. But in my country, or any country that has dictatorship...
- Dictatorship?
- Yes, dictatorship government. Government, yes. You cannot do anything unfortunately. But now I feel I can do everything I want. Yes, but it's hard, it's really difficult for immigrants who live in another country. Everything is new, we have problems with the economy, in the apartment, job, but yes. We have many problems. But there is hope, I think. Yes, there is hope. You have to fight. If you want, you can go. You can find.

- But if we're talking about it, which is difficult when you come to a new country, what do you think is the most difficult? The hardest?
- First language. Is very important, we need to talk, listen, yes everything. Everything is new to the language. For example, you have to learn Swedish, you know. If you can speak English, you cannot use only English. We must try to learn Swedish. I think there is a good system to learn Swedish, SFI is great system. But also this system has problems, yes.
- Yes. Mm.
- Yes, and by language, job, work is very difficult and very important. One needs to work. For example, I was working in my country for 25 years almost, but now here in Sweden I don't know how I can find jobs that I like. Or I worked in a few different things, different job, but now I'm [age], and I have a lot of problems in health. But I have to work until 65 and I first, I have to talk very good Swedish and I have to understand the very good Swedish and then I have to go and look for a job. But I don't know, it's fine, you can find after two or three years, you can find work or no. So I'm not, it's really hard. Perhaps, for example, a person, in his country, was an engineer and a specialist in computer or was math teacher or doctor, Yes, but when she or he came to Sweden, to new land, it becomes very sad. Therefore, they do not provide, they do not provide the same jobs. You may work with something else?
- You have to work at restaurant or café, or else. Yes, it's really hard. Yes.
- Have you been maybe, you said the Migration Board, different authorities? Authorities, you know what I mean? Met with various such formal people?
- Yes.
- And when you have met them, do you trust that they would help you or do you think that they might not help you?
- Yes, they were good. No, I didn't feel that bad or... They were kind, sometimes they were really stress as well. My administrator was 65 years old, and she also had heart problems I think. She was very much stressed. When we had the meeting, I said: "Hi". "Hi, Hi Saba, come, come, come, I don't have time, we have to stop quickly". And then I was also stressed. What happened? Forgot everything. For example, I had many questions, but when I met him, her, I also became stressed [laughter]. But I do not know everything, often also work has... No, Office?
- Office. People have problems, stress a lot, but I don't understand why. There are also a lot of bureaucracy in the offices. For example, you have to wait a long time, for a decision. I think they need to think about the people who are waiting. For example, I know, some young boy, boys ...
- Boys, etc.
- They wait a long time to take residence..?
- Residence permit.
- Residence permit, yes. They waited for many years. One of them waited four years. He lived in Sweden, across the country, Kiruna, Sweden, she lived. After four years when she, when he took residence..?
- Residence permit.

- Permit, and after four months, he went to another country to visit his family. And his family said there, told him his brother, his uncle... His uncle?
- His uncle, his uncle died, died. Died, Yes.
- Three years ago. But he did not know. Yes, God. How awful.
- Yes, giant, giant. He became very anxious and sad. Also I know many...
- It takes a long time?
- Yes, yes, but I think you have to think they live. Therefore, they'll begin swearing, they will work, they're young. But why do you have to wait a long time? It is no good.
- Do you think it is different than in your home country, if you compare with Sweden and Iran, is it different then?
- Yes, yes, very different.
- Yes, but I mean this, that you meet with the authorities and persons, it is different than in Sweden? Do you understand?
- A little.
- It is here that it takes a long time in Sweden, with different decisions, how is it in Iran?
- In Iran also many problems, such as the office and the laws as well, we have a problem. But they... For example, in the Tax Office, they make many more errors. The Tax Office I think are really important and really important office, but I think why they are wrong? They make errors that, for example, I am divorced 23 years ago. So, I came to Sweden and after the Migration Board I went to the Tax Office to register. I showed my papers, but they wrote married.
- Oh, they still believed that you were married?
- But I showed two times my papers, separation, my ID card, my Iran ID card. But still I'm married in person, and I know many many women in Malmö. They come from Iran, Afghanistan and also I know from China and Syria too, I know many women, they are the same.
- Strange.
- Very weird. In my country the tax is really very important, and they don't make mistakes. For example, I am divorced, I'm divorced and they did register. So it's really important. I have children, I have children. But in Sweden they would write that you do not have children.
- That's strange.
- Yes, strange [laughter].
- Would you be able to describe a normal day when you live here in Malmö? What happens on a typical day?
- Ordinary day. Yes, for example, one day I wake up, I'm going to walk, I know about the good weather. Today it's sun, today is not cold. But after half an hour it is cold, after half an hour, maybe an hour, it gets cold, it's windy. And the following day perhaps it rains. But it's not so boring...
- Bad?
- Not so bad [laughter]. But I go to school, I take the bus sometimes, but often I cycle to school. I see many people from other countries and Swedish people, I see (...), they sometimes hurry up...
- Well, in a hurry?

- Yes, they are in a hurry. Sometimes they pick up children, yes children, retrieves to the park they talk with each other. Yes. I also think about groups in Malmö or maybe throughout Sweden. It's really important to see if we can go to a group...
- As an organization?
- Yes, and sit and talk and listen. And have contact. You can have contact with other people. It's really important. But unfortunately, in my country there is not so ...
- Not so many?
- No, not so many. There might be, but just like people have problems in health, they have community or..?
- Yes, exactly.
- NGO or, but they do not work, they have not, they feel not so good. Therefore, there is no program for troubled, just theatre, maybe they will help with anything. A little, do something for the people. But in Sweden I look much at school (...), community, I didn't know last week, last week my buddy said to me come to the community at Spångsgatan..?
- Spångsgatan, mm.
- Spångsgatan, and I went there and there was a man and he was talking about politics and elections in Sweden. It was really interesting to me. I think he was a Social Democrat, he was a Social Democrat, yes he talked a lot. And I did not understand so well, but it was good. Why I always always, I dream in my country that we can do the same there. That we can talk about what you think, what's on your mind, what you like.
- Say what you want?
- Yes, what you like. But it's really important. If you can talk, you can talk about what you feel about society, there is something wrong society you have to say. You have to be able to say. For example, I can talk about faults and shortcomings, also I can write an article in Sweden.
- Exactly, everyone gets to know?
- Yes, after, maybe after a year when I can write good Swedish or when I can speak very good, maybe I'll go and do it.
- Yes, but do it. it is good. You should say what you want, think.
- I think here in Sweden is very good system for society. For society. Before when I was in Iran in my country, I thought in Europe or Sweden because my sister lives here, she talked and talked to me, for me. She told me a bit about Sweden. Yes, there is democracy, there are many, a few different parties, they have activity. I know, yes it is great. Sweden is great country. Country, country. But I feel there is in Sweden also issues about politics and democracy, maybe ... I know many many Swedes think of social life, or a Social-Democrat ...
- Social democracy, Yes.
- The same. But this is capitalism, I know, but maybe it is wrong of me, I don't know. But I feel, see, no capitalism higher than democracy or socialism. There are both too?
- There are two, yes, there are both. But I do not know. I have an example. Last week of SVT1 it was... It was?

- It was.
- It was different parties, they had the debate and they talked. When Stefan Löfven...
- Löfven, mm.
- Would talk to, and answer the question. A woman who checks the program...
- The Debate?
- Yes, the debate. She's teasing him a few times, it became. But I do not know why? [Laughter]
- Yes [laughter].
- But when Fredrik Reinfeldt was talking she said nothing, silence. Also the Liberal People's Party when he spoke, people's party leader, also said nothing.
- Mhm. Because she might be a little in that direction?
- Yes [laughter].
- Yes [laughter]. I understand.
- But I think. With the party and is different, it is egalitarian country for everything. You have to talk and I have to talk too.
- Everyone should talk?
- Yes. It was a lot.
- No, it's fine. Is there something about your situation, well, you may say, what would you most change with your situation in Sweden? Is there something... I think, maybe, that your daughter will come here, but is there anything else that you would like to change?
- Yes, first I think much of my daughter. I hope she can get... Be able to?
- Come, mm.
- To be able to come quickly to me because she waited a year. She feels not so good, she is very upset. Also I'm not so good. I am thinking very much, I can not focus on Swedish, to teach me. After I am thinking about the apartment, and after the apartment I am thinking at work. Yes, and then, I'm going to start to activate society and (...).
- In that order? Yes, I understand. Now let's fill this in here, if you want. Yes.
- [Showing network chart] This is you in the middle, so if you have friends, family, relatives.
- Yes, what is the relatives?
- Relatives. Maybe you don't have any in Sweden? Formal contacts is agencies, Employment Service, or Tax Office. Work/education is your school. And spare time/organizations, it is maybe when you come to Språkcafe or other...
- Yes.
- And then you should fill in the people you meet, the people you meet when you live in Malmö. And if you think that they are close to you, they are a close friend or close family, closer to the middle. Otherwise, far out. You understand?
- Mm, yes.
- Exactly, if it's a close friend, a good friend, then you put him or her towards the middle, near you. Over here [outer area] maybe someone you've met a little only. You'll get complete different people you meet.
- [Filling out network chart: formal contacts] Formal ...
- Yes, if you have any? Maybe not?

- Yes, I have. Maybe I don't know, my doctor. I meet my doctor always.
- Often, yes, but then I understand, then you will have contact.
- [Filling out network chart: work/education] The school... I have many Swedish friends.
- You know many Swedes?
- Yes.
- How did you meet them?
- On the Språkcafé, at the public library, and yes, it was a concert before, I was there.
- You were there?
- I was there. I met a girl who sings...
- Singer?
- Yes. She also plays theatre, she is a teacher for the children, no, children and adults who have no...
- Mentally? Mm. [Conversation with someone coming in]
- [Filling out network chart: friends] Swedish friends ...
- Are there many of those who you know then that are Swedes? Or are there many who come from Iran? When most of you met you speak Swedish with here in Sweden? Do you know many people here who come from Iran, that you can speak Persian?
- Yes, I know.
- Many?
- Yes.
- But it is both. Both. And I, she, forty years old, she has two children. She also has very many problems, with a lot of stress. Every day, every day. I talk with her. We're talking to each other, with each other. And she has no hope. She would worry, she will come back in Iran. But her children would not return. They tend to school, they usually go to school and friends.
- They've got friends? Yes.
- Friends yes. So.
- Mm.
- [Filling out network chart: spare time/organizations] Organizations...
- Mm. Are you in any organization?
- Mm.
- What is it?
- An organization for Iranian women, various, Iran and Swedish organization.
- Mm, Svensk-Iranska föreningen?
- Yes. Yes, exactly.
- That's right, I know.
- (...) Maybe in the future, school. It is important.
- Yes, I was thinking just ask if you should choose one of these, what do you think is most important to you in Malmö? In your life here?
- Here, first school, then my sister and her son, and then my friends. Then yes, they also [pointing at spare time/organizations].
- Having many contacts? Mm. Yeah, that's good. It's done?
- Yes.

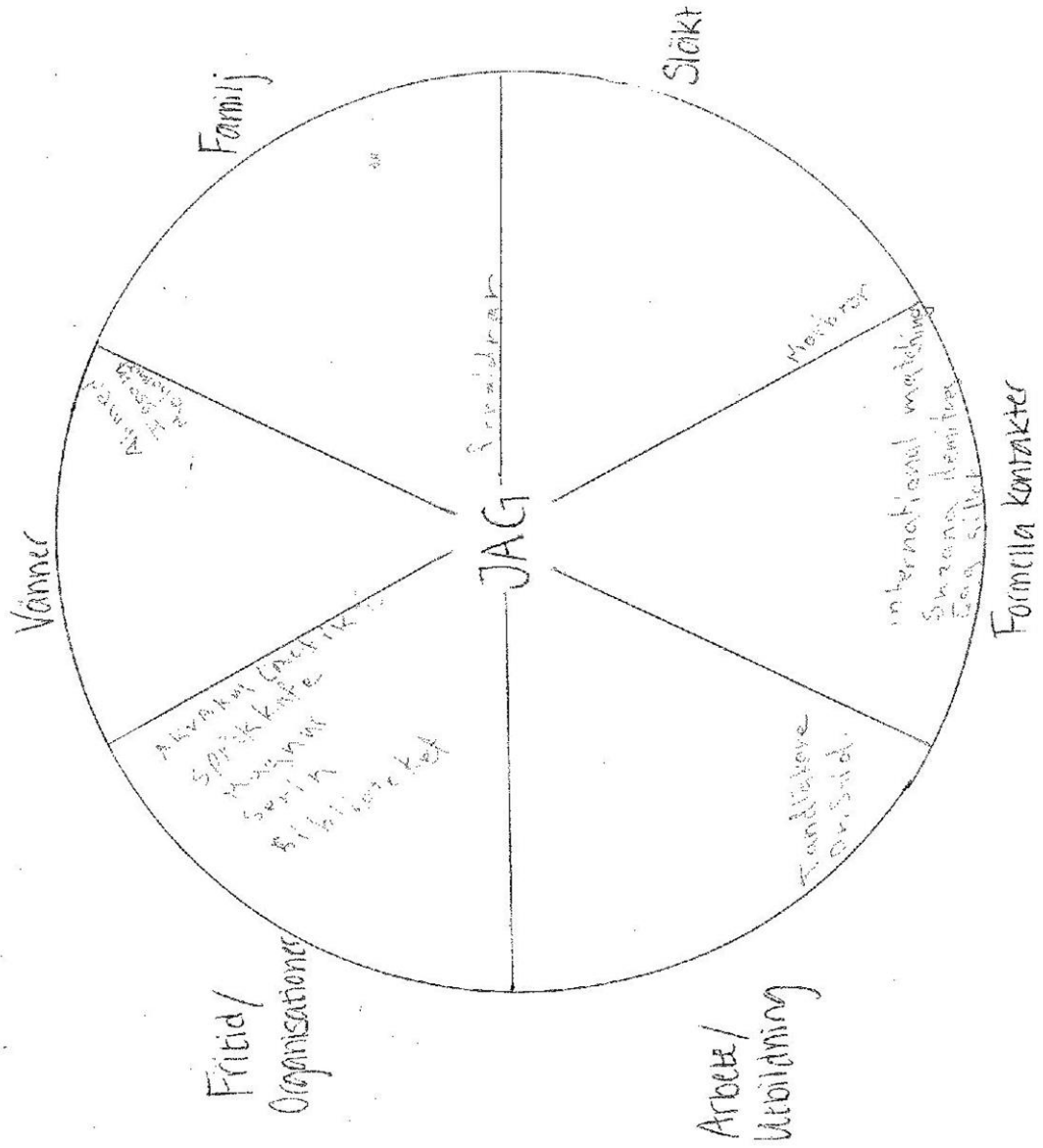
- Great. Then, I have just a few questions left. Would you say that you are a person trusting other people? Do you understand? Do you trust people? Is that easy for you?
- Yes, often. I can. Yes. First I am thinking positive and I... And what did you say?
- Trust?
- I trust no one. And then, I meet and talk a little and I felt it is not so...
- You are a bit careful?
- Yes. And since.
- It is a good thing.
- But first.
- First always when there is a new person?
- Yes.
- Is it different in Iran and in Sweden with the people you meet in general?
- Yes.
- Is it different? What is more, or less, do you rely more on people in Sweden or less?
- Perhaps less in Sweden, because I am new in Sweden. Yes. Slowly, slowly, it might be better.
- I understand. Is there any special situation you can think of if you don't trust people? Do not trust?
- Love.
- Yes, then you should be careful.
- If private relationship for love. One cannot trust easily.
- Yes, exactly. It is difficult.
- And I know of no, I'll be here with just normal relationship first. I don't know, but I have some bad... Experience?
- Experience, yes.
- It is difficult. It is difficult, I cannot trust.
- If you were to go alone home in Malmo when it is dark or night, would you feel scared?
- No.
- No?
- No, I know everything for sure. Yes, I'm not afraid, I have not. Always. In my country, too, there was a problem but I never, never, I'm never...
- Never fear.
- I have no fear.
- How nice [laughter]. Nice that you can get away from that.
- Yes [laughter].
- Do you think that the people you meet here in Sweden, trust yourself mostly?
- Mhm, I don't know, Yes, I feel it.
- What is it that you think is most important for you to feel like you are going into society here? That you feel you..?
- What is that? One more time.
- What is most important to make you feel in the society? Thus, inside of the society or feel inside?

- Maybe that people they have a problem, they say, they sell drugs and police must control a lot then.
- So that you feel confident that they will take care of it?
- Yes.
- Do you feel that, in our society here, that you are at home here? Do you feel at home, or are you on the inside of the society here? If you understand the question?
- I feel society...
- You know that "here I am at home", here I feel I... You feel like you are, you understand? Feel at home or that this is your home?
- Aha. No, it's hard. Yesterday I cried a lot, because all I know is behind it, when I look behind the window. In the window I see the city, everything is so nice, there are many fine parks, fine buildings, nice people, nice street. But I think, I don't know.
- [Conversation with somebody coming in] But this is?
- Still, perhaps, after a few years or...
- It takes a few years maybe? May take some time, but now I don't feel that it is my home.
- I understand. It takes a little time. It was my last question. I'm done. Thank you very much.
- Thank you very much.
- It was really interesting.
- Yes, thank you.

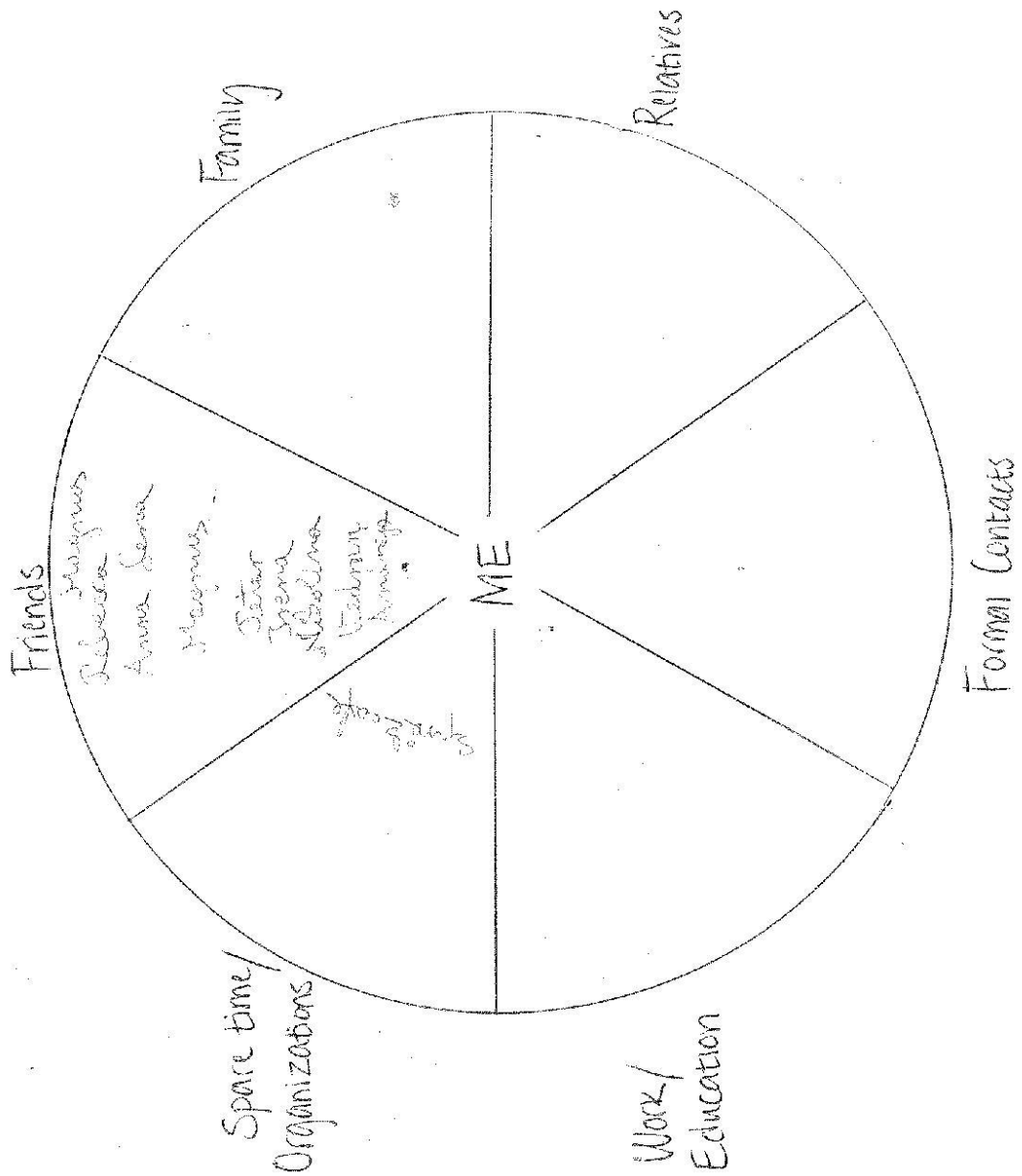
11 Appendix 3 – Network charts

These network charts have been scanned from the original copies. I have added censoring of names of family members where mentioned, to keep the anonymity of the interviewees. Also, the sixth chart has mistakenly been labelled “Mahmoud”. This is the network chart for Muhammad.

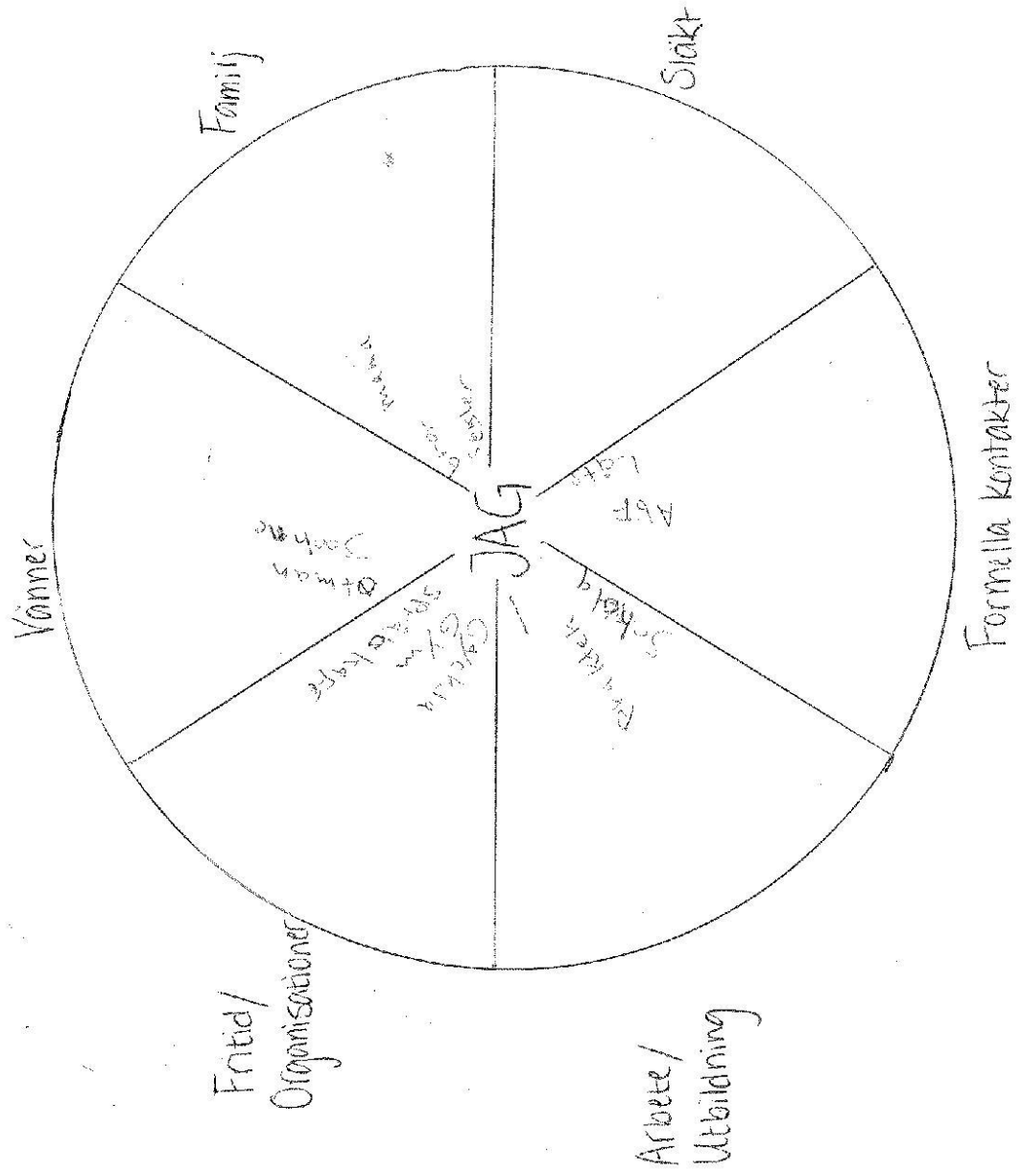
Samer



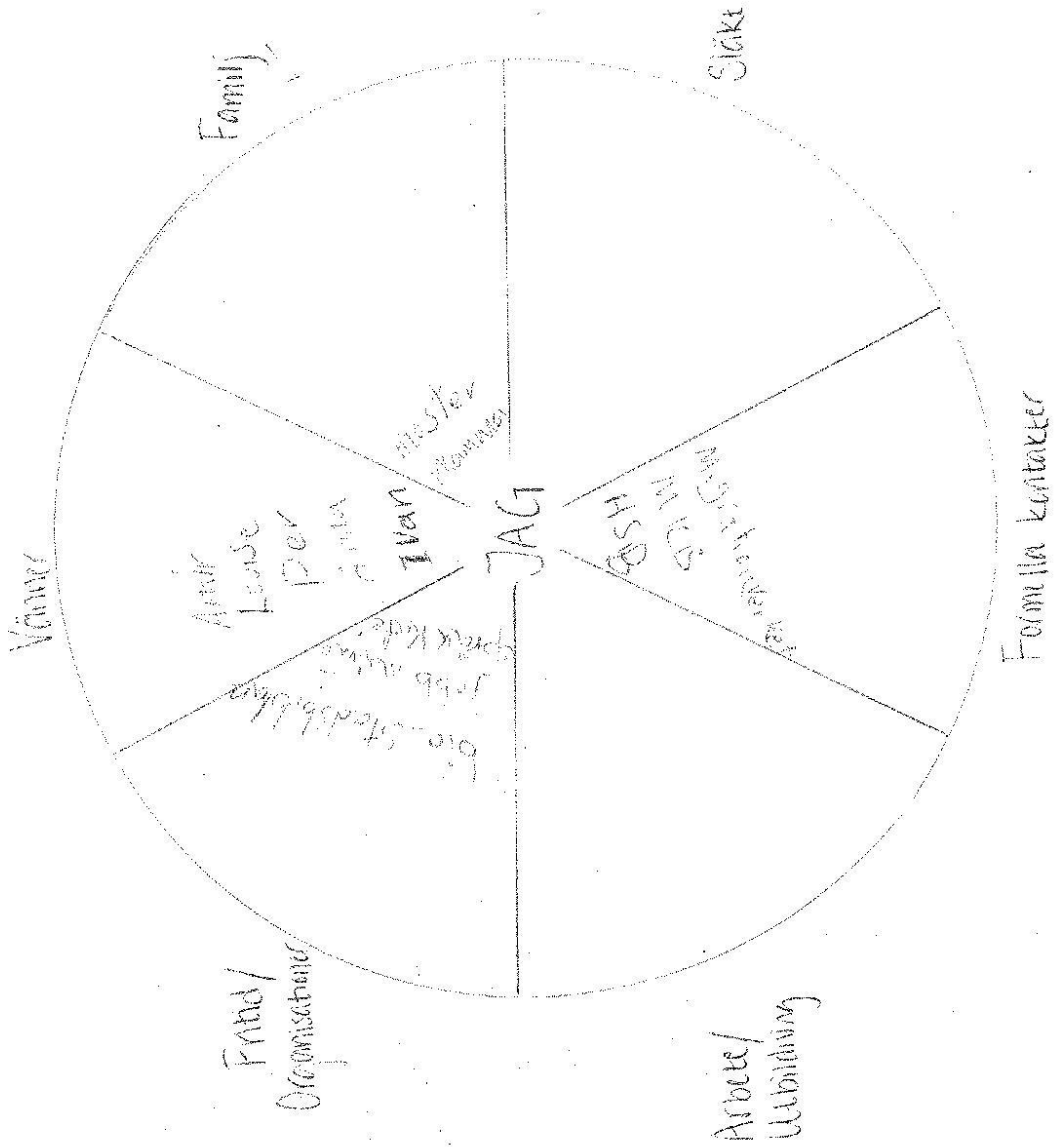
Petar



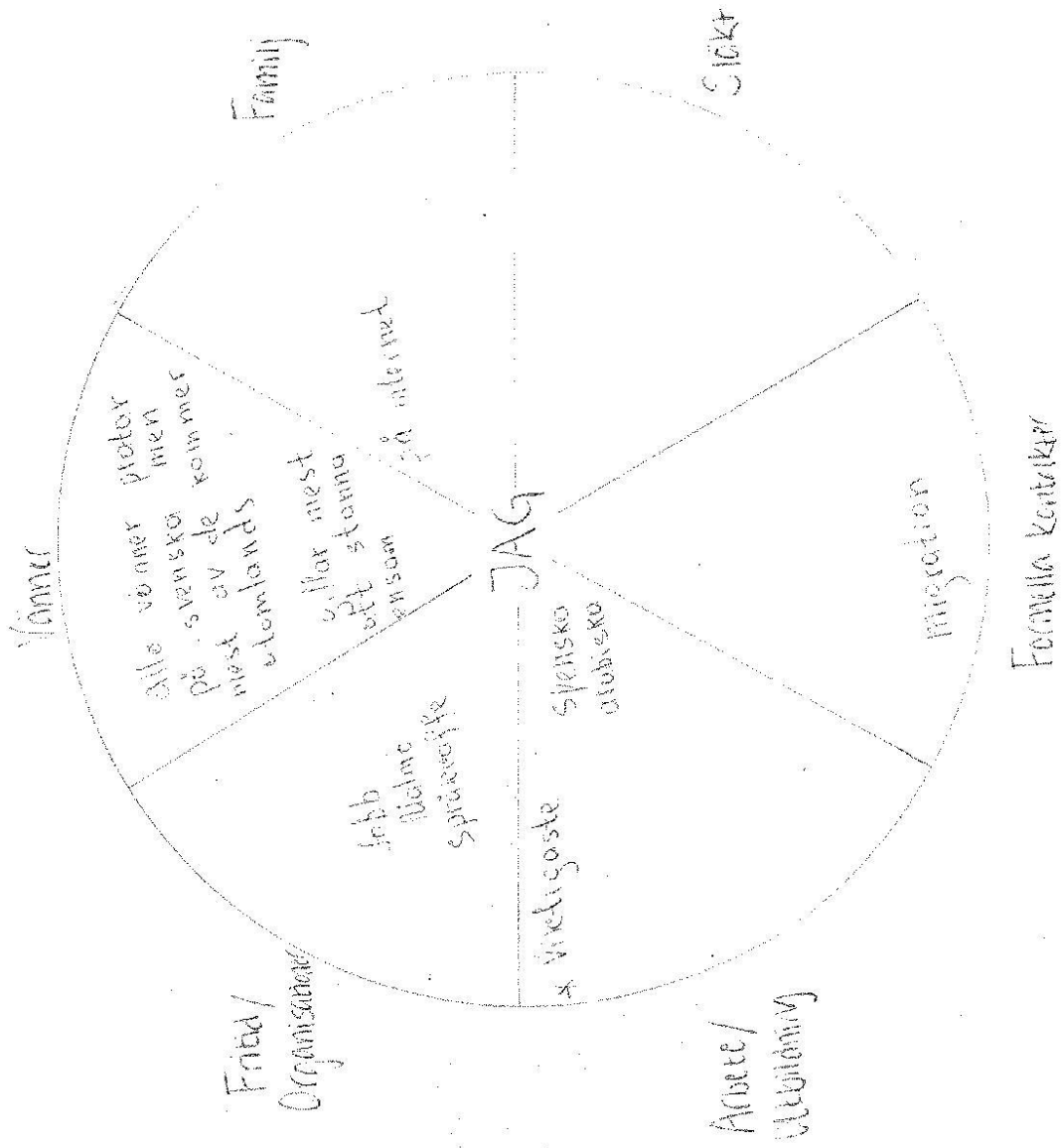
Maurice

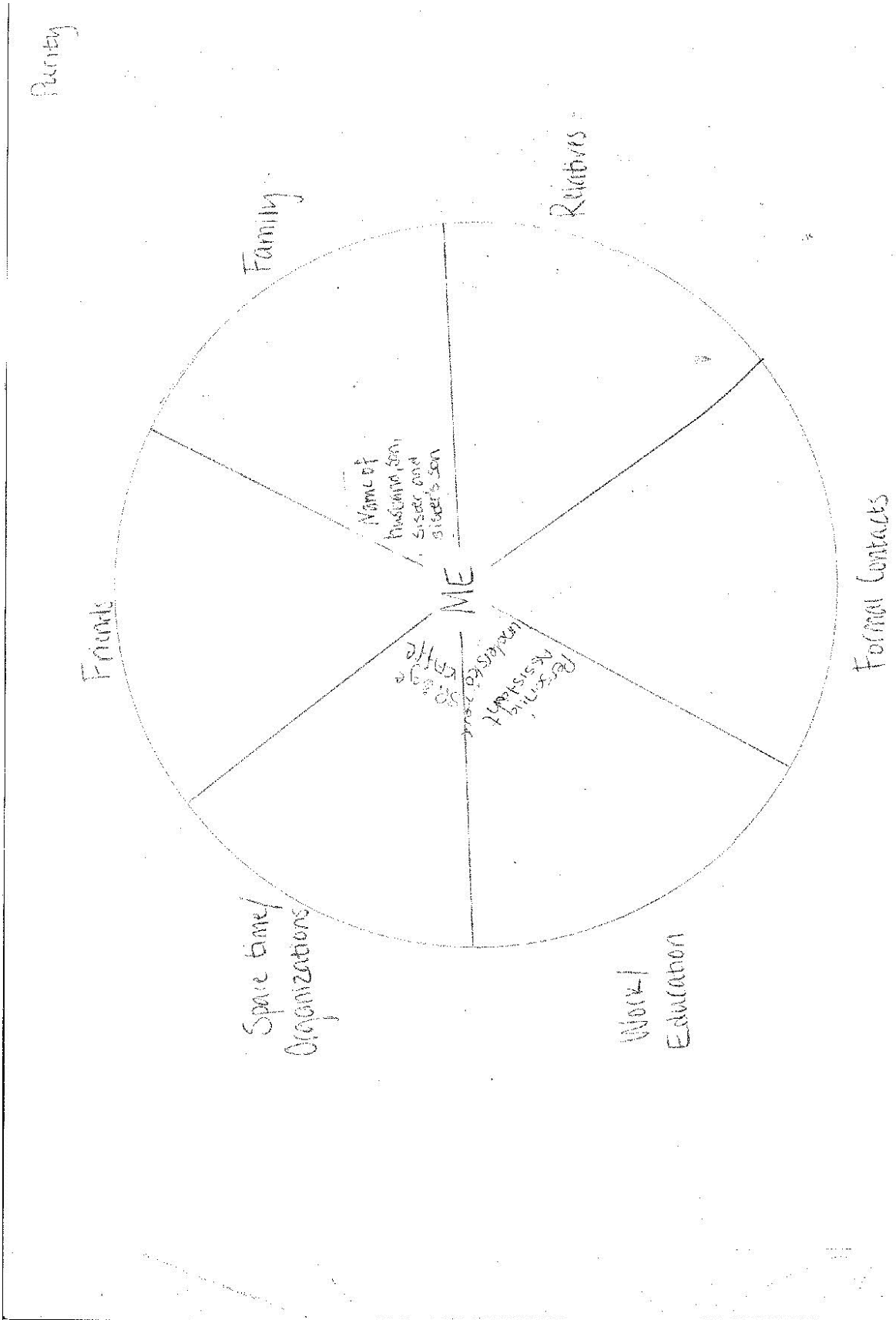


Förberz

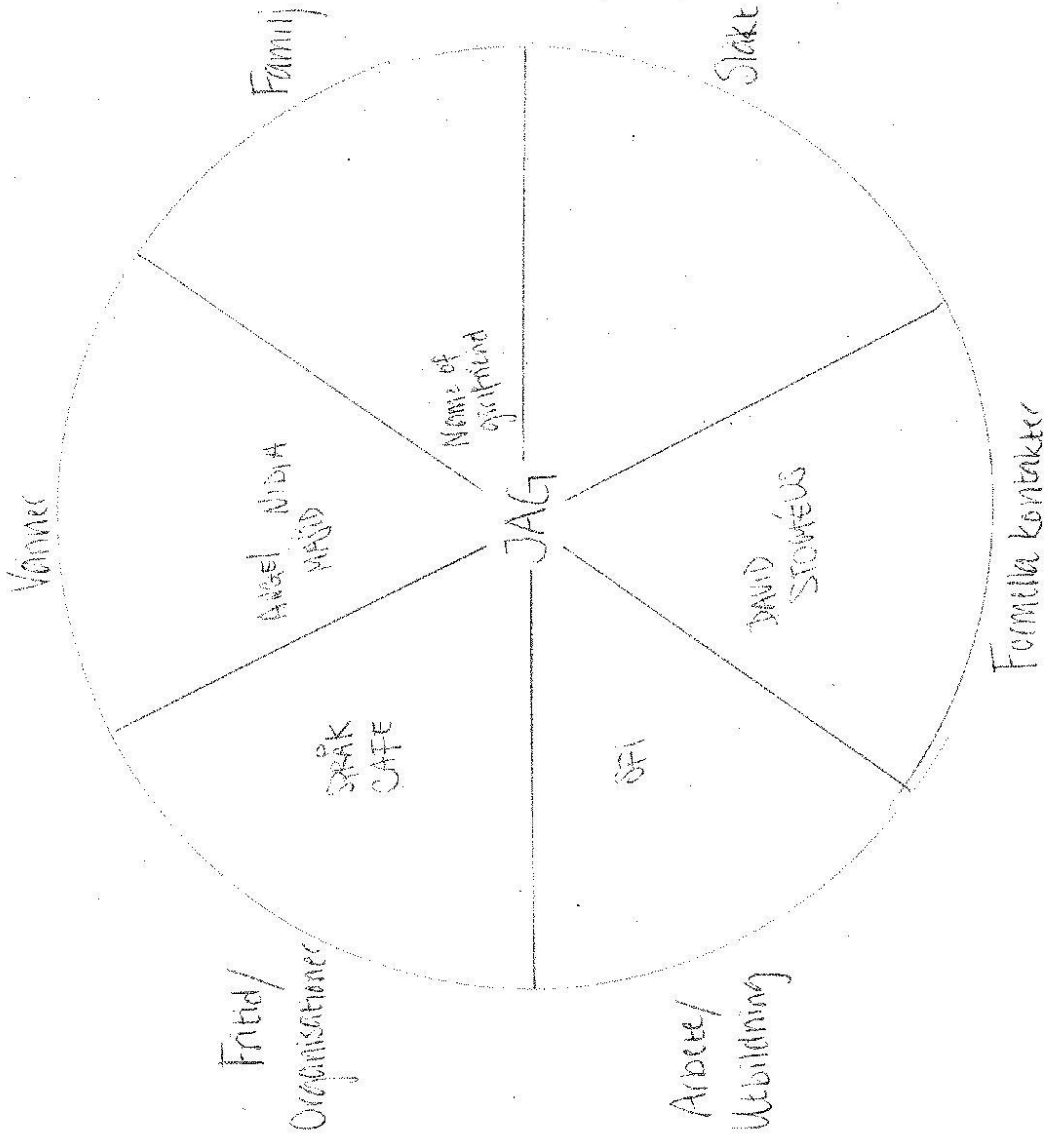


Lara

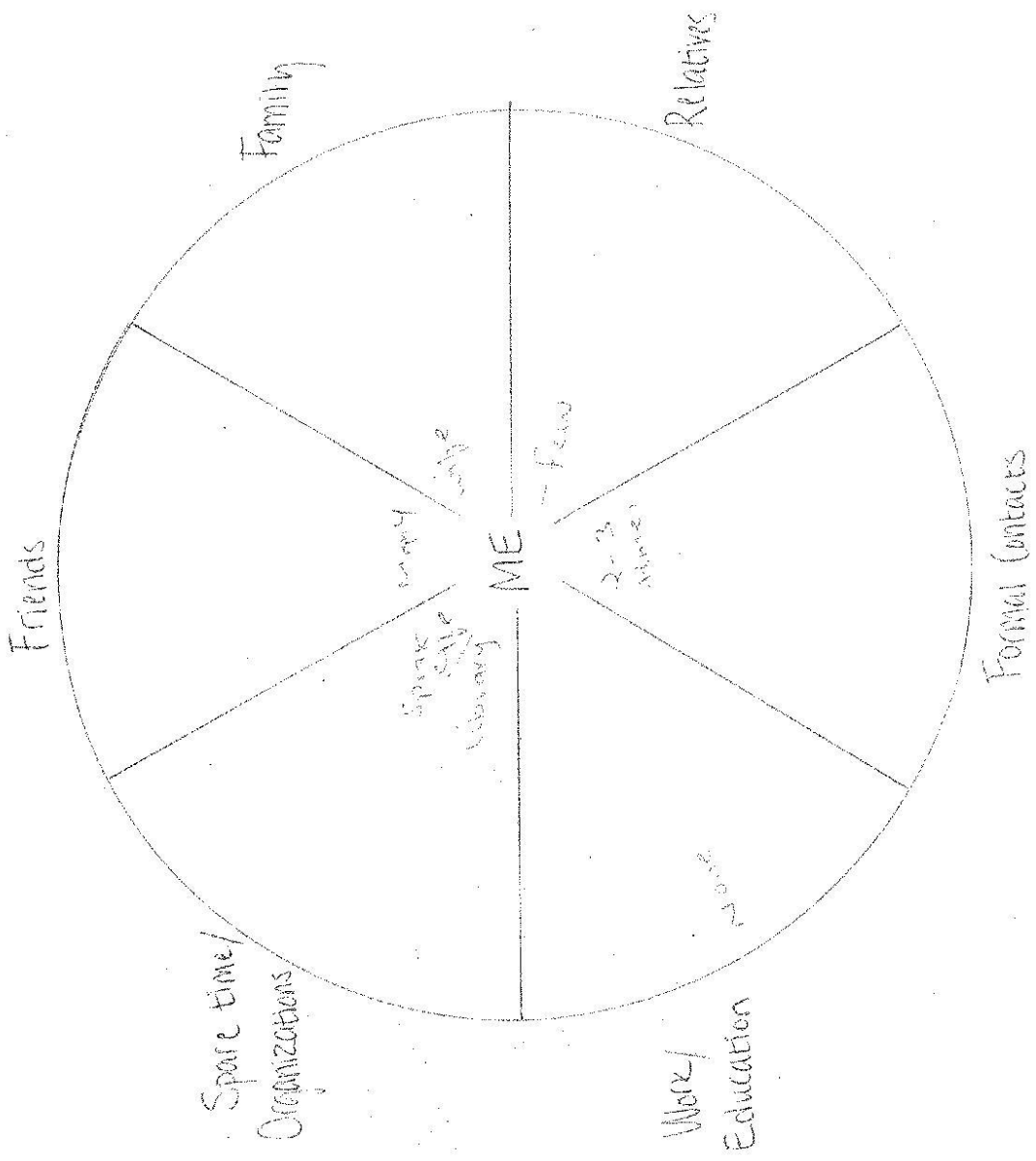




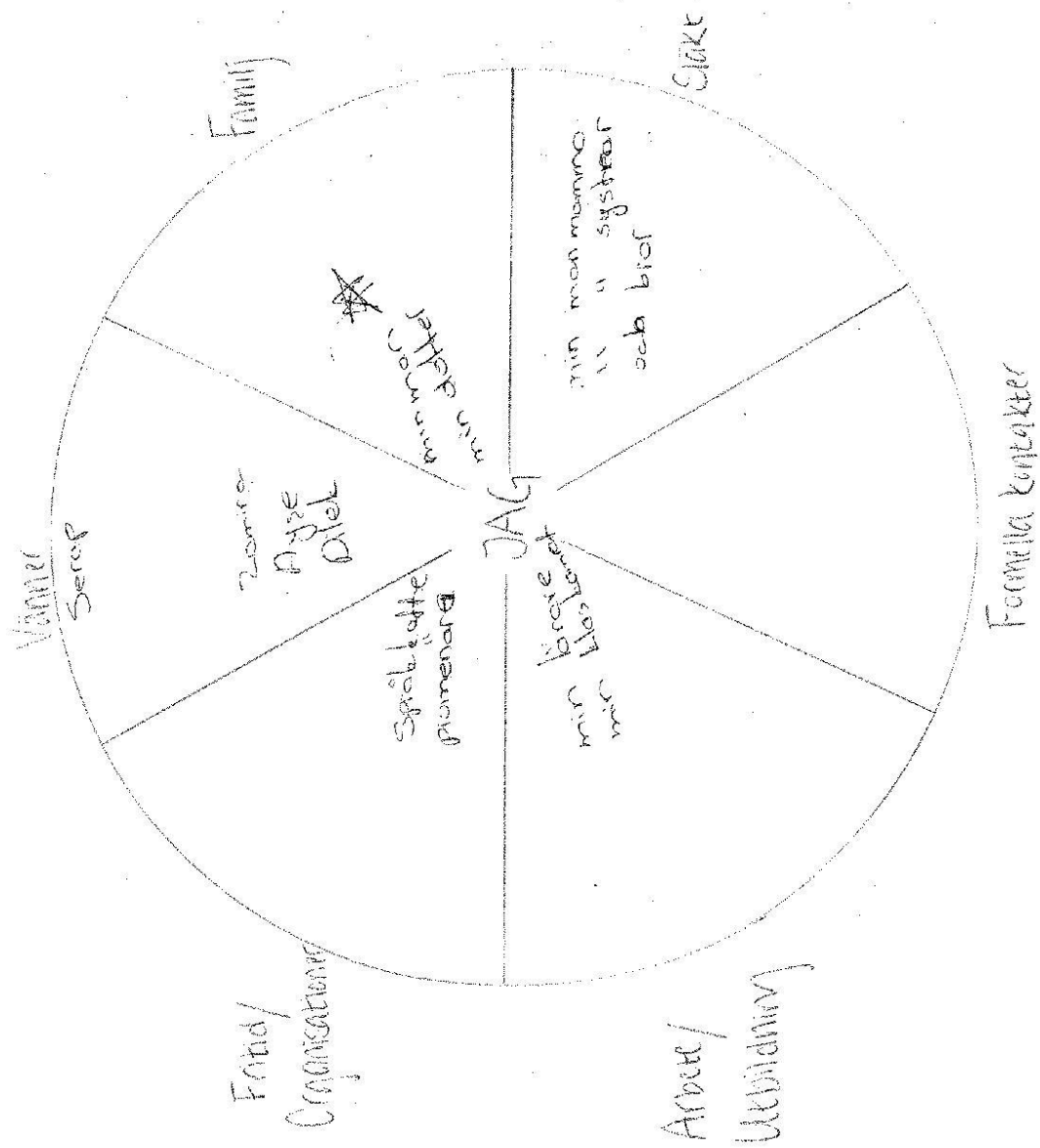
Jag



Mahmoud



De nya



Saba

