"You have to wait."
A hermeneutic phenomenological exploration of unaccompanied minors waiting for asylum response in Norway

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Be quiet, you said to me.

And reminded me.

That you are still there

What tomorrow will be, I know not?

Forgive me, that I cannot speak of tomorrow.

But today, I am still here.

Ali Ahmade, 15- Afghanistan.

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Summary

Waiting is a term used in our everyday language, and when we are confronted with it, it sometimes becomes difficult to inhabit it, especially when we have no known options to revert to. In this dissertation, I have explored the experience of waiting for asylum responses for young asylum-seekers seeking asylum in Norway. As a start, I explore how unaccompanied minors (15-18 years of age) are constructed within the Norwegian policy documents (2004-2016) and what dilemmas this creates to their identity as "unaccompanied". Within this analysis, the overarching challenge is that policy discourses blindly assume certain identities and assigns them to categories like unaccompanied minors. In as much as this helps to communicate about the newcomer, it glosses over the actual individual realities of seeking asylum as an unaccompanied minor while taking for granted their actual vulnerabilities. Taking this as a starting point paints an overall picture of what expectations the political and societal systems have for the newcomers, unaccompanied teenagers. Even though the expectations are not made explicit, they become exclusionary since the ones coming, unaccompanied minors are unable to meet them and thus must wait indefinitely to be invited in.

This dissertation's central challenge is how it is like to wait as an unaccompanied minor, sometimes unwelcome, without identity (what can identify them) and strange to the Norwegian ways of being and living. Qualitative research has been carried out involving policy document analysis as stated above. Equally empirical fieldwork has been carried out involving teenaged unaccompanied asylum-seekers that seeks to explore the lived meaning of waiting for asylum as they experience it. This is done within reception centers and schools where these teenagers are. In addition, their teachers are also observed in class and interviewed about their experiences of being a teacher for unaccompanied teenagers. I employ a hermeneutic phenomenology inspired by the Utretch School and specifically Max van Manen's phenomenology of practice. This project involved four teachers from two high schools where unaccompanied teenagers were admitted and ten unaccompanied teenagers. The exploration took the form of interviews with teenagers and their teachers and observations at the reception centers where the teenagers lived, in football grounds, cafés and classrooms.

The studies as will be shown in this extended abstract evolved from the original research question each exploring an area that emerged from empirical fieldwork and document analysis as shown above in study one.

Study two of this dissertation explores the lived realities of welcoming and hosting unaccompanied minors when the host- Norway is not ready especially after a short stay in the country. What is phenomenologically explored here is the lived experience of waiting for a welcome, a hospitality that sometimes is inhospitable to teenagers without parents. How must they start to wait when their expectations of waiting as not going to take long, is thwarted from the onset? How are they prepared to live even though temporarily within such confines of society with its political and legal realities that are unclear to these newcomers? How can the caregivers and teachers encounter these waiters? What is challenging and difficult to live with at this moment for the unaccompanied teenagers and

what this study makes explicit is the idea of dependence that empties them of expectation and hope from the onset.

Study three on the other hand, takes a further step by phenomenologically exploring the ambiguities and difficulties of a prolonged waiting, one that has lasted between one and half years to two years. In this study, what comes to the fore are the realities of waiting as a relational experience that often is not experienced as such, rather the unaccompanied teenagers are longing for such qualities as goodness, a home that has qualities of a home and to be able to be at home in the new language- Norwegian. When these qualities that could have made waiting bearable are missing, these teenagers are rendered invisible within the Norwegian society and school. What we question in this study is whether there is a possibility to consider such children as part of our next generation to pass-along some values worth of living with, in this life?

In the final study, the qualities of teaching the unaccompanied teenagers are explored from the teacher's perspective. This study shows that from the onset, teaching focuses on subject matter delivery that is at the core of curriculum requirements coupled with professional and societal demands. Yet as lessons progress in the classroom interactions, the teachers are re-awakened to the realities of misunderstandings and disinterest from the students. From a phenomenological point of view, we explore the idea that such teaching that seems unfocused or failing creates the possibility for the teacher to see the realities of these young asylum-seekers, something that they could have been blind to. Thus, the question that we open ourselves to as we explore this study is who am I as a teacher to this child? How is it like for me to teach in the way that I teach? In the end, we suggest that at the core of teaching, the asymmetrical pedagogical relation guides and sustains the aims and hopes of the teacher and student. And it is this possibility of a pedagogical relation that might make waiting for asylum response bearable, if taken seriously.

The explorative study (Study One) and the empirical studies (Studies Two, Three and Four) sustain the idea that, waiting is situated, personal and difficult, more so to vulnerable and unaccompanied young people seeking asylum, especially when it is uncertain and beyond them. Thus, their experiences are meaningful, contextual and there is a possibility to encounter them in pedagogical ways that speaks to their humanness. What is made explicit in this dissertation is that all children matter, regardless of where they come from, and as fellow human-beings, especially adults, we have an enduring responsibility to encounter them as human-beings worthy of humanity.

List of articles

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Wills Kalisha, (2020). Being an unaccompanied- a dilemma for policy? Representations of unaccompanied teenagers in Norwegian policy. *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education*, Vol 14, Issue 3, p. 177-190.

Article Two

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Article Three:

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Article Four:

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1. Introduction

In 2012, while doing fieldwork in Dadaab, one of the largest refugee camps in Africa, I met a group of girls. Some had traveled for more than 200 kilometers on foot to reach this border refugee center, while others were born in this camp. Our conversations were in hushed whispers, a mixture of Swahili, Somali, and English so long as it made sense. What was noticeable about these girls is that some had stayed in dilapidated, harsh conditions, waiting, and hoping that someday peace would return, and they would go back to their mythical home. Others hoped for resettlement to another peaceful place with hopes of making it their home. In the refugee camp, they experienced a Kenyan education curriculum that could neither integrate nor grasp their contextual realities. Theirs was a life of being seen and not heard; they were girls forbidden by culture and religious practices from talking to strangers or expressing their views.

Nevertheless, they hoped for a brighter future. Interacting with the girls and being with them in such circumstances could be numbing and rewarding to share in their experiences. I wondered if there was a better way to await an uncertain future. They came from a shadowy past, made to inhabit this insidious present that does not seem to end while having a hope that maybe one day a future will be brighter. How is it even possible to say something that would be meaningful in such situations? None of them could apply to leave the camp to go to another destination. There was no possibility of integration into the Kenyan culture or going back home to their country.

Living and studying in Norway as an immigrant has presented tensions in moments of waiting for approval of work and study permits. Sometimes I have to wait without knowing when a decision will be made. There is no comparison between my experiences and those of this study's boys' and girls' lived realities. Some of them have been in transit for seven to ten years without their parents, looking for a safe country. Nevertheless, my experience colored my position as a researcher. I constantly had similar experiences of waiting, the frustration of being new to a culture, different ways of doing things, learning a new way of expressing oneself. Nevertheless, I must allow the experiences to emerge so I can see them for what they are.

This dissertation explores the varied experiences of waiting for asylum response by young unaccompanied teenagers in Norway. It starts from a point where political discourses represent their collective identities with an exclusionary language that puts them in a state of uncertain but "temporal" waiting. Waiting for asylum is experienced at the beginning when the anticipated welcome and hospitality are unavailable and still essential. The young become voiceless, belonging neither here (in Norway, in schools or reception centers where they are received) nor there (where they came from or a third country). Even though teachers and other adults are willing to relate pedagogically to them and share in their experiences, the legal, societal demands constrain such endeavors. In the end, it is only the state and its decision either to allow them to stay or to leave that matters.

Upon arrival to Norway, the political and legal circumstances allow entry as minors (since they are under 18 years of age) but do not promise settlement. This is something

they realize after being in the country for a while. Their reasons for travel notwithstanding, they are accommodated in good quality reception centers operated by the directorate of immigration (UDI[1]) responsible for investigating their claims of residency. Since they are neither minors (below 15) nor adults (above 18), their state of being in-between (16-18-year-olds) casts them in a legal limbo; considering them children is decidedly not possible and considering them as asylum-seekers is sometimes improbable. Thus, to stay temporarily becomes the official political discourse. The uncertainty of settlement within this temporal period becomes a reality when they are kept waiting for either asylum interviews; no one knows when it will be or are given non-renewable temporary residence permits.

This dissertation describes the concrete lived realities of being unaccompanied and experiencing waiting for asylum in such an exclusionary political environment, phenomenologically. The stories of these young adults that I have interacted with are beyond description. Even though some of them are not as extreme as Ahmed and Siya (see below for a brief description of their stories), most of them have encountered the brunt of war, been victimized, tortured, or had to be separated from their parents along different borders as they tried to cross to different countries. They cannot trace their parents, and very few of the participants can ascertain their parents' whereabouts or legal guardians. Some live out of fear of identifying their parents since they may become targets of attack back home when it is discovered their children are still alive. This is true especially for those teenagers that are at risk of recruitment into militia groups.

Given the circumstances, I wondered what it meant for young people to be in a state of waiting for asylum for an unknown period. To understand their realities was rather difficult. My immigrant status and the ability to share personal stories of waiting for residence permits and how life is for me in Norway created entry points at initial engagement, but not enough to grasp the meaning of their experience. Their experience of being in a state of constant waiting, where some have waited between seven and ten years before coming to Norway, cannot be grasped and described in a manner that would show us what it is like to live this way. As Kumar, one of the participants, once said, "no one told us that we would have to wait." Most participants thought that by being allowed entry and given a place to live in the reception center with an assurance for an asylum interview, the process would be faster and easier. As we evolved in our interactions and gained confidence with each other, understanding evolved from what they had to experience while waiting to what it means to be an asylum-seeking unaccompanied teenager in Norway. For this reason, my research ambition was to gain insights into the meaning of waiting, of being received as an unaccompanied teenager, of encountering adults and being taught while they wait for imminent deportation or resettlement.

[1] Utlendingsdirektoratet (UDI)

For what purpose?

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC)- (Lidén, 2019; Søvig, 2019) anticipates that all children presumably are taken care of politically through legislation as well as being personally cared for. This becomes necessary, especially when the basic family unit, traditionally expected to safeguard the young, has broken down or does not function as expected (Engebrigtsen, 2002, 2012). There are children around the world whose family units disintegrate because of cruelty towards them due to war, persecution, or death, circumstances that threaten their lives like famine or fear of being recruited as child soldier's or child-trafficking, among other issues. This dissertation highlights a specific category of unaccompanied teenagers who have traveled from far-flanged war-torn nations, some from protracted crises beyond humanitarian help, seeking asylum in Norway. I open up their lived realities of being received and placed in situations where they have to wait indefinitely for asylum responses. I explore this indefinite waiting, how their identity as unaccompanied minors is framed within political discourses from what they tell and retell. Policy work frames the government strategy of welcoming and dealing with this group of children and sets the indefinite waiting premise. Young people's experiences, as interpreted through policy, upon arrival become existential questions for them. For example, how long must they wait to know they can stay or leave? Why are they not being cared for as minors, yet they are constructed as minors and treated as adults- to be? What is the meaning of learning a new language, or lacking qualities of home within reception centers, adapting to new cultural signs or symbols, interacting with others who might not understand or help with their situations? These concerns and realities matter to these teenagers personally, for they live and endure the moments as themselves in a personal and meaningful or meaningless way.

To undertake such a research endeavor is to take unaccompanied teenagers seriously as human beings, not as peripheral categories which only become relevant when their situations are beneficial to the media. Like any other child, they should be considered as the next-generation worth of caring for, being responsible for, sharing important cultural or societal values with, and developing systems that will safeguard their childhood or adolescence even if it is in transit or for a temporal moment. My understanding of what it means to be a pedagogue and, more importantly, a human being with concern for the vulnerable other whom I encounter, is at stake.

What does it really mean to wait? In everyday language, waiting in asylum situations takes the form of such sayings like "it will not be so long" or "you are here only temporarily." As human beings, we desire reassurance that the uncertainties we face might be over sooner than we thought. However, the reality of one's future being controlled by another makes waiting, as a human phenomenon, ambiguous and more serious, troubled, and existentially loaded. These nuanced experiences of waiting for an asylum response open up possibilities in understanding what it might mean to live this way.

I hope that my research questions and how meaning in this text evolve open spaces for new ways of understanding the existential meanings that these teenagers reveal in the descriptions of their lived realities.

Research aims and question

This main research question guides the dissertation: *What is it like to wait for asylum response as an unaccompanied minor?* This question forms the basis for the document analysis (Study One) and empirical data collection, including the phenomenological interpretations and descriptions of the three empirical studies (Studies Two, Three, and Four) that form this dissertation. I describe the research aims via the four studies. For a detailed overview of the research design and the studies' timelines, I refer the reader to Appendices nine and ten, respectively.

Study One- Being an unaccompanied – A dilemma for policy? Representations of unaccompanied teenagers in Norwegian policy

This study is based on an analysis of four Norwegian whitepapers that thematize the possibility for inclusion of unaccompanied asylum-seeking minors in Norway. It approaches the Ph.D.'s main research problem from a political, socio-semantic representation of unaccompanied minors in Norwegian public discourse. Thus, it explores the question; *How are unaccompanied teenagers constructed in official Norwegian policy (2004-2016)? How do such constructions change over the chosen period? What underpins such constructions?* This paper aims to describe the socio-semantic representation of unaccompanied minors in four whitepapers to answer this question. This article raises critical questions about the inherent logic of representing unaccompanied minors as a collective identity that essentializes them through a political language.

Study Two – While we wait: Unaccompanied minors in Norway – Or the hospita(bi)lity of the Other

This study asks; *How do we encounter those waiting and how do we respond to their waiting?* This study approaches the main research question through a phenomenological analysis of hospitality from the unaccompanied teenager's perspective. Here, initial experiences of reception and encounters with the hospitality from the onset are explored with the unaccompanied teenagers' descriptions.

Study Three: "Å være ingen eller noen – unge enslige asylsøkere om venting på godhet, et sted å leve og muligheten for et liv" – (To be nobody or somebody. Young unaccompanied asylum-seekers about waiting for goodness, a place to live and the possibility of a life).

This study asks, *In what ways is waiting as a common experience and as a difficult life (pre)condition lived and described by unaccompanied minors?* As a point of departure, the study examines the phenomenological exploration of waiting for asylum response after a period exceeding one and a half years. At this point, some have either received a rejection letter to their application or temporary permits to stay until they are 18. Others

still wait for an interview. Thus, this dissertation's main question is approached from every day waiting for an asylum verdict with a focus on goodness, space/place, and future prospects which are longed for.

Study Four: Failure as an opening to teaching realities of life. The case of teaching unaccompanied minors in Norway.

This study asks; W*hat pedagogical dilemmas are core when teaching unaccompanied minors in Norway?* This study looks at how the realities of life for unaccompanied minors are mirrored in the teaching they receive in Norwegian schools while they wait for asylum responses. It describes phenomenologically the teacher's descriptions of teaching events that failed or were meaningful to them (teachers) in their interactions with the unaccompanied teenagers.

Timeline of the interviews and interactions with participants

The timeline in appendix ten illustrates how the studies evolved through document analysis, initial contact with unaccompanied teenagers, and what changes happened during fieldwork.

Research design

I refer the reader to appendix nine, where I give an overview of the research design, the core material, main research questions, theory, and analytical procedures in the four studies.

Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation consists of an extended abstract and four research articles. Chapter One gives a brief introduction, outlining the research aims and questions. Chapter Two contextualizes the study by describing the status of current research on unaccompanied minors seeking asylum within the Nordic states and Norway specifically. Chapter Three considers the theoretical perspectives used in the dissertation. Chapter Four describes the methods and the methodological reflections used in the analysis of the articles. The reflections in chapter four are based on methodological challenges and a critique of the methodology used while discussing validity and trustworthiness. Chapter Five discusses findings/contributions in the articles. Chapter six discusses the findings and what implications the findings might have while working with unaccompanied minors in the Norwegian educational/migration context. Chapter Seven offers a conclusion. Finally, there is a presentation of appendices.

Studying Experience

Refugee and migration studies seem to unconsciously adopt some general assumptions of homogeneity of experiences and/with identifiable stages like; "the routine incorporation of the language of loss (e.g., of traditions, culture, identity) as a consequence of becoming a refugee; the prominence of psychological interpretations of displacement" Malkki (1995, p. 498). In as much as this "experience" is homogenized

to represent the experience of migration, this dissertation takes experience as a "lived experience." Lived experience is taken to indicate a subjective experience in a moment (see van Manen, 2014) that might differ significantly from other forms of experiences. I elaborate this further in Chapter four.

Seeking Asylum

The word asylum is derived etymologically from its Greek equivalent, "*asulon* which signified a sanctuary or inviolable place of refuge and protection from which one cannot be forcibly removed without sacrilege" (Masschelein & Verstraete, 2012, p. 1197). From the start of the 18th and 19th centuries, seeking asylum was the reserve of the mentally weak, prisoners, or those that needed psychiatric help, most likely away from normalcy in a secluded environment (Foucault, 1995). Within these confines, the secluded would be "diagnosed and treated according to the newest insights of psychology and other disciplines" (Masschelein & Verstraete 2012, p. 1198). Within the Greek sense of the word asylum, it presupposes that the rights of the "victim" would be respected as a fellow human being regardless of the reasons he/she seeks asylum. The French pedagogue Fernand Deligny contrasts the English word asylum to its French equivalent *asile* (Masschelein & Verstraete 2012). In his rendition of *asile,* it encompasses the word *'île'* meaning an island in English. The spatial connection that is at the heart of the word asylum sadly is the meaning that is in extensive usage where one seeks asylum and is secluded from ordinary life to an island or far from the general population. The same logic is used in setting up reception centers, detention centers, and refugee centers today (see the discussion in chapter 3.1.2).

To seek asylum has been associated with the persecuted people from the beginning of the 20th century because of "reasons related to politics, nationality, race and possible membership of a particular social or political group" (Peters & Besley, 2015, p. 1368). To be an asylum seeker, especially after the Second World War (WWII), was complicated due to reasons beyond oneself that created the forced movement to seek protection. In most cases, protection was granted politically for a specific period or until a time when the "victim" can be recognized as a citizen. Roger Zetter writes, "the contemporary drivers of displacement are complex and multilayered, making protection based on a strict definition of persecution increasingly problematic and challenging to implement" (Zetter as cited in Peters & Besley, 2015, p. 1369). The circumstances under which people, especially children, are forced to move, leaving their parents or being left by their parents, are complicated and sometimes hard to determine. As many scholars have observed, poor governance, political withholding of resources, environmental changes, and poverty have recently complicated the initial understanding of what it means to grant the right to asylum (Bauman, 2016; Howard, 2008; Papastephanou, 2017). To grant asylum means to assume that it is a right, and the one giving has the legal right to offer it. This is complicated by international legal frameworks that conflict with the national understanding of the same. Shall protection and the eventual right to asylum be considered for those that do not meet the criteria of being persecuted? Worse still, many countries require one to evidentially prove that persecution happened to receive that right (Lidén, 2019).

To be unaccompanied minor seeking asylum, apart from being young and vulnerable, is increasingly becoming challenged in receiving asylum. The political and legal

frameworks like the Dublin Convention (Djampour, 2018) limit the minor to one state of seeking asylum at a time and gives the discretion to handle the cases within host nations' legal limits. Fingerprinting by Eurodac[2] allows access to information about the minor by all nations. Increased surveillance and monitoring of movement coupled with highly restrictive immigration policy by many European nations make it challenging to listen to individual stories behind every asylum seeker to be granted asylum. If the reason for giving asylum would be predicated on persecution, how can that be measured and ascertained?

This dissertation draws on young-asylum seekers' multilayered stories, some of whom have been seeking asylum for more than half of their lives without parents. To give the reader a glimpse of the stories behind the participants in this dissertation, I will illustrate three examples of movement experiences from their countries of origin to Norway.

The journey to Norway

As a seven-year-old boy, Ahmed witnessed his parents and some parts of his village destroyed by a bomb. He was rescued by humanitarian agencies and treated for more than a year for injuries incurred after the bomb went off. While undergoing treatment, the clinic that he was sheltered in was attacked, and he was kidnapped by the criminal gangs where he was forced to be part of them. His refusal resulted in torture before he escaped. Ever since he has been in various refugee camps in three separate countries where efforts to seek asylum or protection alone without a guardian failed, he arrived in Norway as a 16-year-old boy in October of 2015[3]. He has never had any formal schooling, and after staying in Norway for some time, he got admission to a high school while waiting for an asylum interview.

Siya was born in a refugee camp. Her mother was born and raised in the same refugee camp in the 1980s and lived there until she was ten in 2009 when they got resettlement offers in Yemen. This offer was for her and her mother. While in Yemen, war struck again, her mother was killed, and Siya was taken as a slave for three years until humanitarian agencies rescued her. The agency that rescued her could not secure her asylum in any of the European countries they tried seeking in. She found her way from Yemen to Germany, then Sweden, and later found herself in Norway. There, she was in a situation where she could not prove that she was enslaved or where her parents were originally from. She had no papers to show where she was born, who her parents were, or her nationality. Additionally, she arrived in Norway at a time when temporary permits had been enforced for all unaccompanied teenagers between 16-18 years of age.

Lumire fled his country with his parents after a prolonged period of war. He was 11 and with his two siblings he went to a neighboring country. In this neighboring country, they encountered their "enemy," that is the militia group that was killing them in their home country. His parents were abducted to work for the militia while he and his siblings were hostages in case the parents refused to work or ran away. Unfortunately, war erupted between the militia and soldiers from a Western country, leading to their rescue.

[2] Eurodac system- is a database system for all asylum seekers entering the EU and shared among its member states including those who have ratified it like Norway. The Dublin convention provides a control mechanism for asylum seekers to seek asylum in one EU country per time- see (Djampour, 2018).
[3] See an elaboration on October children in section 2.3.2

Together with his family, they lived in a refugee camp for two years. Within the refugee camp, boys were being abducted and recruited to join militias, and parents threatened to allow their children to go and fight. They fled with their mother to a third country on foot. While at the border of the third country, he was separated from his mother. He had to travel alone to that country and was forced to work in plantations for a year without pay until he found a way out. He escaped by hiding in a container with goods on transit to Spain. He was discovered in the container while on transit and later handed over to German authorities. From Germany, he traveled by train to Norway and arrived as a 15-year-old in 2014. He had not been called for an interview by the time he was 16 in 2015. It was at this point that the immigration law changed. He would stay temporarily until he turns 18 and then return home. He did not know if his mother and siblings were alive. He received news of his father's death while traveling to Norway from Germany.

I have intentionally chosen to hide countries of origin for anonymity purposes. The stories tell of a troubled movement caused by reasons beyond the young people's control. With these stories, they seek asylum at a time when laws have changed becoming more restrictive for those in their age group. Their story remains only a story.

Terminologies

Migration researchers such as Derluyn and Broekaert (2008), Engebrigtsen (2012), Eide (2007), and Watters (2012) use terms such as unaccompanied minors and unaccompanied asylum children/refugee vaguely. The terms minor and child are social and cultural constructs that could be problematic with different contextual meanings[4]. When the term "minor" is used in this research, it refers to underage persons who have not achieved the age of majority, 18 years. However, some researchers like Pastoor & Aadnanes (2013) reference the Norwegian equivalent of "alone teenaged refugees," primarily when older "minors" between 15-18 years are referred to. This study adopts the term's young persons or teenagers since this study's participants were between 15 and 18 years old.

Researchers and policymakers tend to agree that being unaccompanied means without, legal parent or caregiver. In some cases, disputes arise when it cannot be documented that the said teenager was separated or unaccompanied. In most cases, being unaccompanied means one might have traveled in search of asylum or refugee without their parents or caregiver or might have been separated from the said caregiver *en route* to the destination. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) defines an unaccompanied teenager as "children under 18 years of age who have been separated from both parents and are not being cared for by an adult who, by law or custom, is responsible for doing so" (UNHCR, 1994). Researchers seem to use separated children and unaccompanied minors interchangeably, making it hard to differentiate (see also Halvorsen, 2002; Richason, 2017). This study uses unaccompanied teenagers to specify their status and not as a homogenizing term. The term unaccompanied minors I s equally used whenever it is linguistically required to clarify age differences.

The terms asylum-seeker and refugee seem to have shared etymological origins yet with different applications. To be a refugee, one must be "outside his/her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons

[4] For example, legal consent age and end of compulsory schooling Norway is 16 years, while in other European countries like Netherlands and parts of Eastern Europe, minors are up to 18 years of age.

of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution" (UNHCR, 2010, p. 14). Based on this definition, the assumption remains that the reasons for movement are involuntary and, therefore, it is difficult to differentiate clearly between who, for example, a refugee is and who an immigrant is (Derluyn & Broekaert, 2007). Immigrants, in most cases, could have moved voluntarily in search of a job or for economic reasons. However, to be a refugee means that one has been identified as such by responsible organizations like UNHCR or other humanitarian agencies and seconded to seek that status or asylum in the said nation. This can be done either via a quota system or through the identified organizations that guarantee asylum upon entry. This complicates the recent movement of people, including children who come from either politically unstable countries or economic hardship areas, fearing conscription into armed gangs, forced marriages, or threats to their lives (Hilde et al. 2013; Lidén, Stang, & Eide, 2017; Malkki, 1995; Sözer, 2019). In this case, the movement is termed involuntary, meaning the claimant is unknown to the host nation, and their claim might take time to determine. Watters (2008) argues that concerning unaccompanied minors; it is difficult to determine whether travel is voluntary or involuntary, given that the underlying reasons could be beyond their making; for example, wars caused by western invasions (Bauman, 2016), climate change, famine/poverty, and regional upheavals. The believability of an asylum claimant like unaccompanied teenagers involves multi-agencies, and because of the bureaucratic processes involved, decisions take longer than expected- see (Study One). For this study's purposes, an asylum-seeker is understood as one who is actively seeking asylum and a refugee as one whose asylum status is determined.

2. Contextualizing unaccompanied minors in Norway

In this chapter, I discuss three perspectives that have emerged in the recent research on the reception of asylum-seeking unaccompanied youths ranging from legal, psychosocial, and pedagogical standpoints. These perspectives, apart from each representing a research tradition with their own theoretical assumptions, they contextualize this dissertation while clarifying the implications of political decisions and actions to unaccompanied teenagers arriving in Norway. Within the psychological perspective, the unaccompanied teenager's status as asylum-seekers is synonymous with issues like trauma, mental illness, and vulnerability because of their age. This characterization meets the ideal of functionalism that links the teenager to the loss of identity, home or country, and a sense of belonging. Second are the rights or legal orientations that consider what it constitutes to be an asylum seeker with rights and obligations due to all residents of a state. Third, the pedagogical perspective considers the prospects of socializing them into the cultural norms while "imparting" relevant skills for the future, primarily upon repatriation or resettlement. The perspectives highlight exclusionary mechanisms that set-in motion a stage for waiting either for their psychological problems to be solved or to be included in the proper legal categories or within educational systems.

For a historical understanding of how unaccompanied children have been received in Norway, I refer the reader to appendix eight. In the appendix, I have given a detailed historical evaluation of how they have been received in Norway and what political actions/responses and attitudes have been assumed since the 1930s to the date.

Legal perspective: Asylum-seeker/refugee, minor, and or unaccompanied minor?

As highlighted in the two UNHCR and the Norwegian 1989 Action plan definitions of unaccompanied minors[5], these young asylum-seekers are categorized into three political identities, minors, asylum-seekers, or refugees/unaccompanied (Derluyn & Broekaert, 2008). These concepts create identities that, throughout research and policy, work to define their subject depending on which one is taken as a universal category or a particular one. In a classic hegemonic struggle, asylum-seekers political identity is created through an "antagonistic struggle about inclusion in or exclusion from the nation-state" as claimed by Vitus and Lidén (2010, p. 65) following Laclau and Mouffe. The antagonism is evident when legal interpretations contradict other interpretations from research, particularly the state's interpretations that create a particular identity. For example, research points out that by age, unaccompanied minors between 16 and 18 are children (Lidén, 2019; Vitus & Lidén, 2010). This is mostly made evident when cases concerning them are appealed at the EU court of arbitration, where the definition of a minor is broader than the Norwegian definition (Søvig, 2019). The political identity of a child sets in motion discursive struggles between their vulnerability and a claim on their inviolable rights as children, which in Norway remains antagonistic.

[5] I refer the reader to Appendix eight for this definition and a historical overview of the reception of unaccompanied minors in Norway

What is central in Nordic research on children's rights is that when one of the two political identities becomes a "universal" construct, the child's position changes (Stretmo, 2014; Ulrika, 2012; Vitus & Lidén, 2010). The practice of constructing unaccompanied asylum-seekers in this duality first as asylum seekers and then children or teenagers means that particularity might supersede universality, resulting in a dilemma or ambiguous treatment. What is daunting for this study is that the category of "unaccompanied" and asylum-seekers are used concurrently in most research named above, while advocating for preferential treatment as children according to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (see Lidén, 2019; Søvig, 2019). For this reason, legal rights fashioned around asylum-seeking children might be in limbo depending on a country's prerogative to give them. When the asylum seeker category is invoked, credibility is questioned, and aspersions cast about their age at the point of entry.

Lidén (2019) points out that doubting a claimant at the point of entry and declaring that age-testing is voluntary[6] for them when in actual sense, it is a measure of believability, amounts to a violation of their rights. Two things can be observed at the point of entry concerning age-testing. First, it is claimed to be a voluntary process (in principle) and consensual[7] (in-law), and two, it determines the credibility (in practice) of ones given testimony. Any of the "volunteers" in this program who refuse or do not show up for either dental or skeletal development checkup taint their credibility, which is summed up in a report to UDI that will determine the asylum case. In 2015, the Norwegian Organization for Asylum-seekers (NOAS) reported that most unaccompanied minors who claimed to be 16 or 17 underwent age-assessment. This is a common practice in Sweden and Denmark too (Lidén, 2019; Lundberg, 2016).

Additionally, documentation of identity for most of these minors is reportedly unavailable. Thus, by implication, if one's age is between the age bracket (16-18), their asylum-seeking process begins from the point of doubt and lack of credibility. In the end, it affects the overall asylum response and, indeed, their period of stay.[8]

From a Swedish point of view, Stretmo (2010) and Lundberg (2016) argue that the Swedish Alien's Act does not distinguish between children or adults in considering the grounds for asylum. In most cases, children are considered alongside adults or their parents. Thus, the asylum-seekers political identity takes precedence over the age or actual category of the claimant, in this case, teenagers, making their reception and waiting for asylum response somewhat ambivalent. Therefore, considering them as unaccompanied and asylum-seeker becomes more daunting on the claimant's side to prove their believability and credibility of their claims (Johnson, 2013).

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[6] At the point of entry, unaccompanied minors who declare to be 16 and obey or who the case officer doubts their testimony, must "voluntarily" agree to age testing.

[7] According to the Personal Data Act (2000 and changes in 2018), such collection of sensitive personal information requires legal consent. This is especially because consent obtained without law can be felt as given under pressure and therefore cannot be regarded as a voluntary consent.

[8] The age-testing takes more than three months, then the actual asylum-interview and another 3-5 months waiting for the response. This could be prolonged where case officers deem it necessary to investigate the case and also where there is a rejection and in case of appeals.

That notwithstanding, a key difference within the Nordic research on these groups' rights is between "interests" and "rights." Rights are linked to a particular status like a minor or child, which includes but is not limited to appropriate caregiving or schooling. What is becoming apparent in research is that rights shift when particular categories are emphasized over universal categories and when interests override or seem stronger than appropriating rights to these asylum-seekers. Lundberg (2011) claims that child-specific perspectives that are in line with UNHCR's guidelines are overlooked in favor of an institutional and adult view of what is in the child's best interest from a Swedish perspective. From a Norwegian perspective, when caregiving for teenaged unaccompanied asylum-seekers was taken over by UDI, municipalities, and private institutions, it became meshed up and challenging to appropriate child-sensitive care to them (See Study One and also, Hilde et al. 2013). While the younger asylum-seekers were under child protective services, the older ones were seen to be discriminated against, and their rights to receive professional child-care infringed on. (Pastoor & Aadnanes, 2013) The tension between interests and rights becomes what (Søvig, 2019) refers to as redundant in law. The interpretation of care from a Norwegian perspective depends on the state's interpretation since CRC's general comments on care for unaccompanied minors are "softer" (p. 277) unspecified. CRC in 2015 recommended that Norway "[e]nsure*s* that unaccompanied children in all municipalities, including those above 15, receive good quality care" (p. 280).

Further, Pastoor & Aadnanes (2013) argue that unaccompanied minors are not cared for by institutions approved by the Child and Welfare Services, thus not covered legally under parliament's relevant Acts. When care is undefined, especially for those under UDI, yet legally all foster homes and childcare institutions have to be established under the Child Welfare Services, supervised by the county governor and equipped with professionals able to help needy children, this care is threatened. In Pastoor & Aadnanes assessments, the reception centers and caregiving for unaccompanied minors between 16-18 years are undefined either as a foster home or care institution under existing child welfare service legal frameworks and therefore puts them at risk of being cared for by whomever UDI deems to be relevant to care for them, exacerbating their vulnerability.

Good quality care is unspecified and left for UDI to decide its scope. This redundancy is manifested in other areas like the provision of education that is a right to all children under the age of 18 in other countries like Denmark and Sweden (Stretmo, 2010; Vitus & Lidén, 2010). Nonetheless, the right to education for 16-to 18-year-olds is dependent on residency in Norway (Lidén, 2019; Pastoor & Aadnanes, 2013). Meaning, for example, the participants in this dissertation, whenever possible, might be allowed to go to school but have no obligation to finish and might not receive accreditation or a diploma to show what they have achieved. In the end, their being in school could be as good as a waste of time or as a way of keeping them busy while they wait for asylum-response.

October children- Caught in-between legal changes

When a law changes, it drastically affects the targeted group in ways unimaginable to many. Here, I try to show how, when the immigration law was amended, it affected

many of the children who arrived in October of 2015, a majority of whom were participants in this study- (see the timeline in Appendix 10), who were staying pending deportation in October of 2017.

The principle of reasonableness in the amended Immigration Act of 2008 (AID, 2008), allowed for further consideration of the cases that do not meet the threshold for determination on humanitarian grounds under section 38 of the Act. For example, leniency is observed where a child[9] is proven to have undergone persecution, torture, or was forced to join an armed militia or might have been smuggled as a sex slave. However, as of 2016, the Immigration Act was amended, and the reasonability clause was repealed (Lidén, 2019). By implication, if one receives a rejection under section 28[10], the considerations under section 38 (humanitarian grounds), where a thorough assessment of "the child's best interests are weighed against other interests in particular immigration considerations" (Søvig, 2019, p. 282), were set aside. Thus, the changes in effect allowed the forceful return of unaccompanied asylum seekers to their home-countries or intensification in the use of temporary permits until they turn 18 years. Article 3(1) of CRC allows host states to override the child's best interests when other interests are more substantial (Engebrigtsen, 2012; Søvig, 2019).

In most cases, the state has the discretion to decide what immigration issues are weightier at any given time, and under the revised Section 28 of the Immigration Act of 2016, the unaccompanied minor can be returned to their home country as an internally displaced person when they are of legal adult age. For example, the Norwegian government's argument primarily for Unaccompanied Afghani asylum-seekers is that it is safe to return them as adults and as internally displaced persons than it is as a child. Thus, 315 unaccompanied teenagers in 2016, 364 in 2017 (Valenta & Garvik, 2019, p. 128) from this country were given temporary residence permits (NOAS, 2016), awaiting return on their 18th birthday. Once they are back in their home-countries, irrespective of what side of the conflict they were in, they are outside the jurisdiction of UNHCR, which is solely responsible for refugees. In principle, due to fingerprints shared under EURODAC, such an asylum seeker cannot seek asylum anywhere else other than Norway. In practice, such a change in the law as NOAS reports resulted in the disappearance of many unaccompanied minors, especially the so-called "October children"[11] from reception centers in November of 2017 after the new law took effect in October of 2017[12].

In the process of undertaking this Ph.D. project, many of the participants that I had developed friendships with were uncertain of their stay, especially mid-2017. At the same time, the reception centers they were housed in were closed, and the minors sometimes relocated without notice, as they recounted during interviews with them. The

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[9] I use a child here in reference to the language of the Act

[10] Under section 28 of the immigration Act, assessments have to be made in order to consider whether an asylum seeker qualifies as a child or an adult. These assessments include age-testing.

[11] "The October children" are Afghan asylum seekers who came to Norway as unaccompanied minors-seeking asylum in the fall of 2015. Many of these, according to the Norwegian authorities, turned 18 years in the autumn of 2017 and thus lost the protection they had as minors- see (Valenta & Garvik, 2019, p. 130)

[12] As of 2018, the asylum-seekers were allowed to be reassessed especially those who had rejections/temporal permits under certain considerations that were not specified. Additionally, the Dublin convention III was introduced that allowed them to seek asylum in another EU member state and their cases transferred there (see Djampour, 2018)

law symbolically affected those that arrived in October of 2015 but had implications for those that had arrived earlier and had no way out, especially in seeking protection. The uncertainty was a burden a majority could not bear and therefore disappeared from reception centers while many were traumatized and remained indoors for an extended period.

This far, the legal perspective that determines inclusion or exclusion of these minors and the length of waiting has allowed us a glimpse of the ambiguity and redundancy that is characteristic of seeking asylum as a 16-18-year-old and unaccompanied. Residence rights are portrayed as "scarce goods, and the challenge to arrive at humane and just criteria on how to distribute them" (Hagelund, 2003, p. 145) is left at the discretion of either the case officer or the dominant political discourse of the time. It is the discretion of the state to control immigration. Nevertheless, control often affects the balance between different interest groups making rights limited and interests undefinable but at the government's discretion.

Psychosocial perspectives

The psychosocial perspectives revolve around unaccompanied minors' developmental fragility and vulnerability necessitated by experiences of war and migration. Several kinds of research position these teenagers narrowly as outsiders in normal childhood (Djampour, 2018). They are portrayed sometimes as "mentally unstable subjects, bearers of experiences that are not linked to notions of childhood, particularly when they are seen as lonely" (pp. 39-40). The Swedish equivalent to unaccompanied is "*ensamkommande* which loosely translates to "alone-coming" (p. 39), which has undertones of abandonment. A closer look at the psychologically oriented research on unaccompanied-ness illustrates the theme of abandonment or isolation and leans on psychopathology by linking traumatic experiences of migration and separation from parents or caregivers to the actual identity of being unaccompanied (Derluyn & Broekaert, 2008; Eide & Hjern, 2013; Ulrika, 2012). This research portrayal follows normative assumptions about parenthood and childhood. In some instances, there are biased understandings of a lost childhood because parents abandon their children during the war (Engebrigtsen, 2002, 2012), or childhood that is not confined to a "home" setting. These understandings do not address the complexities of individual experiences of isolation/separation and are biased towards a cultural understanding of an ideal family and upbringing. Thus, such theorization legitimizes the caregiving and child-friendly notions as enshrined within the Norwegian and more broadly within child protection practices in the Nordic states, while othering the unaccompanied teenagers from ordinary teenagers or children since their childhood is portrayed as abnormal and nonfamilial.

Moreover, the asylum-seekers in question are teenagers, some of whom have been separated from their caregivers or parents for more than seven years before seeking asylum. As we saw above, their status as teenagers is unrecognized, and as illustrated in Study One, their category is replaceable, at will, within recognizable categories by the state. Developmentally, they are at a point of liminality, which is in-between childhood and adulthood, exacerbated by their status of neither being home nor belonging to where they are, thus hanging in this suspension while waiting for asylum response. Psychologically, a child is marked "child" because of age, which is the "rudimentary

source of identity" (Norozi & Moen, 2016, p. 76). The period of waiting for asylum response coincides with a complex process of "assuming an adult identity… loss of family values and questioning ethical values like do not kill… *compounded by* lack of role models" (Derluyn & Broekaert, 2008, pp. 322-323, emphasis in original). In extreme cases, their state of being unaccompanied is automatically seen as an "illegitimate and cynical attempt to pursue claims and gain access to a wide range of welfare benefits" (Watters, 2007, p. 396). Additionally, in some municipalities in Norway and Sweden, they are seen to "overstretch the school capacity" (Steen, 2010, p. 194). Equally, since most minors are of non-Western origin, there is a subtle fear for "their direct impact as they are visibly different and presumed to import a foreign culture" (p. 194).

While this characterization seems to point to a "lack" and "problems" associated with the unaccompanied teenager's experience of war, it seems to fit in a normative sequencing of stages of trauma and susceptibility to mental and social problems. What is noticeable is that vulnerability is often linked to an eruption of war, separation or disruption of ordinary life, movement or exile, trauma, or depression, which should be remedied via issuance of residency permits, then resettlement or repatriation. The danger here is to take a "functionalist view of society" (Malkki, 1995, p. 508), where displacement and uprooting become anomalies and automatically point to one's loss of "identity, traditions and culture" (p. 508). While some of these assumptions might be true, they become indicative of the unaccompanied asylum-seeking teenagers' situation without taking into consideration the complexities that characterize individual migration or movement and personal experiences of exile. In Study Three of this dissertation, the in-depth descriptions of these teenagers' reflections point to existential issues of being lost in language and sometimes unable to understand what is going on in schools and reception centers. This includes the inability to meet goodness in people that makes enduring waiting for asylum a daunting task.

What is clear from this psychosocial understanding is that these teenagers' vulnerability as articulated in policy and research (Sözer, 2019) becomes a one-sided ontological construct that furthers the reproduction of global humanitarian discourses and perceptions of vulnerability as a condition of disadvantage for the unaccompanied minors. Thus, to remedy the ambiguous vulnerability, care, as suggested by Engebrigtsen (2012) and Søvig, (2019) as meshed and redundant, could perhaps be akin to "interventions in the name of alleviating vulnerability." (Sözer, 2019, p. 6). However, the normative assumptions embedded in these discourses blinds us from seeing the actual experiences of the unaccompanied teenagers (whether social or psychological) of waiting for asylum-responses. For example, the vulnerability of unaccompanied minors is only highlighted for its significance on their being unaccompanied while pointing to their fragility and abandonment (See for example, Eide and Hjern (2013). No distinction is made with, for example, the vulnerability of orphans in foster homes manned by Child Welfare Services. Study One pointed out that vulnerability is only "valuable" for asylum purposes when physical disability or documented cases of child trafficking; otherwise, other "vulnerabilities" might as well be seen as usual. The use of "children as vulnerable" in policy discourse, as Malkki argues, reinforces "the institutional, international expectation of a certain kind of helplessness as a refugee characteristic" (Malkki, 1995, p. 388). Therefore, what is noticeable in the Norwegian case is an enhancement of the

essentialist models of categorizing vulnerability and accentuating the vulnerability of unaccompanied asylum-seeking children solely marked by chronological age. When age becomes the *apriori* marker of vulnerability, the category of unaccompanied minors-becomes one that *blinds us*, as to what is contained in their being vulnerable. Thus, instead of being normative essentialism, it becomes biological essentialism that accentuates their uncertainty. Certain sicknesses like post-traumatic stress disorders (PTSD), are identified as severe psychological diseases affecting those fleeing wars but is not a sufficient reason to warrant protection within Norwegian Immigration practice-(Lidén et al., 2017). It is only assumed to be a cause of psychological problems and vulnerability and nothing further.

Furthermore, the problematic discourse prevalent in a psychosocial perspective points to behavioral difficulties in school, which are challenging to manage because of different school experiences (Sønsterudbråten, 2010). As Mougne (2010) documents, and as the participants in this dissertation pointed out some had finished primary and secondary schooling. Still, others had no school experience at all. The differences in experiences are "ruled out" via mapping tests conducted before admission is granted, as we illustrated in Study Four. Even though school is a place that accepts differences, the different educational experiences are thrown out when tests that cannot ascertain a child's level of understanding are administered (Study Four). Thus, it is only safe not to problematize these teenagers as problematic based on standardized computerized mapping tests/psychological and behavioral tests. These tests, in the end, as Study four points out, make teaching challenging unless there is an opening to the unplanned reality of allowing the real individual experiences of, for example, being unable to learn because of technological inexperience or language barriers be a learning moment. As study four illustrated, these realities showed moments when learning failed, but teaching that was open and concerned about the students' realities happened in some instances. Thus, it is safe to point out that personal experiences and the realities of exile, movement, and waiting for asylum response become important in understanding these minors' experiences.

Educational/Pedagogical perspective

The dominant educational discourse surrounding unaccompanied minors/refugee children within the EU and Norway revolves around a rights-based approach to education- that is, education for all (Auger-Voyer & Perez, 2014; Lidén et al., 2017). Any critical responses to what should happen to those seeking asylum seem to be an urgent call that *we* should "instill (s) some courage in our politicians we get to work faster to reintroduce education" (Devine, 2015, p. 1376). The sense of agency is, at best, "univocal" (Papastephanou, 2017, p. 5). It does not state what education should be for, other than the heightened call for being hospitable by host nations and offering a 'safe' space to be integrated and socialized in the new environment. The research on education for unaccompanied children seems to follow the rights argument, where education should be compulsory for all children, albeit as a "fourth pillar of humanitarian response… after food, shelter, and health" (Zeus, 2011, p. 257). Even in cases where an argument is made either in policy from the EU perspective for including all asylum-seeking children within educational systems, it is noted that the common practice within the EU is to offer language training until residency is sorted out (Andrey & Tagarov, 2012).

As highlighted above, the differential treatment of asylum-seeking children as outsiders in the educational system stems from systemic failures and legal lacunas. As noted above, an increase in temporary permits for asylum-seeking teenagers like those of this study puts them within the blind-spots of educational goals and general education being a right. Sønsterudbråten (2010) documents a pilot program that offered educational opportunities for those with temporary permits from a Norwegian perspective. This program was geared towards helping them achieve relevant skills in information technology and communication, including entrepreneurship, student-driven businesses, in addition to individually supervised job-seeking skills. The goal was to prepare them for return. As Sønsterudbråten highlights, the existing dilemma, "to return home with a course diploma or a Norwegian primary school certificate does not open possibilities for further education or work, in the same way, one can show work experience or a concrete skill" (2010, p. 39). To gain any experience or concrete skills would require active work participation, which is not possible for those without legal residence or still seeking asylum. Thus, since some are placed directly into high-schools or introductory classes, or vocational schools, teenaged asylum-seekers educational goals are directly connected to integration. Nevertheless, integration presupposes a valid stay, which, to most of the unaccompanied teenagers, settlement and asylum responses are unclarified. Therefore, as Hilt (2014) argues, the newly arrived children and, in this case, unaccompanied minors included remain as stepchildren in the school system.

What is interesting is that the curriculum that focuses on their integration in Norwegian society (Valenta, 2015) has, in the recent past, shifted to a focus on their teacher's competencies. A strategy, *Competence for Diversity* 2013-2017, was developed to prepare teachers in teaching Norwegian as a second language, equip them with multicultural skills and skills on how to combat radicalization in schools (Lødding, Rønsen, & Wollscheid, 2018). Cross-cultural education and the relevant skills teachers need in the changing dynamics of schooling become only relevant because of the continuous availability of the "step-child" that is, introduction class- in the Norwegian school system (Hilt, 2014), necessitated by the large numbers of asylum-seeking children. To be competent as a teacher by implication means understanding "difference" and providing relevant "educative" solutions that eventually lead to a reduction of difference and assimilation into existing acceptable categories or a move to the teacher's side by the student. Pastoor (2016) criticizes the Norwegian school system for lacking competent refugee teachers, who understand, despite the training received, the unique challenges of being a newcomer in a new environment, seeking-asylum without parents. This critique is directed to teaching that gives central pedagogic focus in understanding the newcomers not as 'different' or within categories that they are ascribed to, but their lived realities as human beings. Teachers in Study Four pointed out moments they failed to realize their concern for the student was beyond professional understanding, but of being concerned about what the student is experiencing at the moment and whether the teacher can care for the students studying. Here it does not mean emotional care but risky care, where their own professional beliefs are at stake for the child's sake.

A phenomenological perspective to researching unaccompanied minors

Suppose one were to look at the psychosocial and educational perspectives above, for example. Does it mean that unaccompanied children should be looked at from a group perspective, emphasizing their collective identities or as problems or as unique irreplaceable human beings? Does knowledge gained from the different traditions have to be understood separately within those traditions, or can there be nuanced understandings within qualitative research? The choice, for example, to ask what causes emotional and mental anxieties during waiting for asylum yields a set of results that may illuminate our understanding of cause and effect[13] (see, for example, Valenta & Garvik, 2019). The research trend above is to problematize issues from society, for example, integration and or researchers' points of view as rights issues and or as educational problems. In the end, as Pastoor (2016) noted, schools are the only best place where refugee competency can be practiced among teachers, and pupils can be socialized as they wait for asylum response.

Additionally, while responding to the refugee crises in 2015, Devine frames education in terms of what it can do to "refugee children," including protection, bringing a sense of normalcy and security with teachers' help (2015, p. 1376). Together with Pastoor (2016), Devine's views push asylum-seekers issues of integration, psychological, and rights as ones that can be understood educationally, which instrumentalizes education. The priority for unaccompanied asylum-seeking teenagers from the society's perspective is to be educated for a better future either in Norway or upon repatriation. The danger with this view following Vlieghe and Zamojski (Forthcoming) is that they perform "a functionalization of education and educationalization of society." Education, for example, should achieve the political goals of integration and inclusion of unaccompanied teenagers, equipping them with valuable skills for the job market while socializing them into existing societal norms. These "purposes" of education ends up making it a goal for something other than itself. I understand this as a call to seek a research methodology that understands human phenomena from their own reality and not from other traditions or society's realities.

In as much as these studies point us to a problem, they somehow distance the researcher from the research process in some instances, especially where the researcher is an observer and reporter of the happenings in the human world. As a qualitative researcher, one needs to understand the context and shared meanings emanating from research contexts. Understanding, as Schwandt clarifies, is an "intellectual process whereby a knower (the inquirer as subject) gains knowledge about the object (the meaning of human action) (Schwandt, 2000 as cited in Sævi, 2005, p. 45). In this make-up, the processes of interpreting, reflecting, wondering about the research are reduced to cognitive activity. This reduction presupposes that one apprehends and brackets their pre-understanding(s) and prejudices of the human situation and describes or tells the situation from a distance. Descriptions of situations and research materials do not happen in a void without understanding one's interpretations and personal biases, even when they are eschewed in a particular tradition. Personal understandings and histories in the

[13] Here I have in mind what Valenta and Garvik show in their study as emotional problems and anxieties are caused by prolonged periods of waiting and the uncertainty of waiting.

research situation contribute to a personal interest, concern, and care for the phenomenon being researched, and this, as Gallagher argues, "conditions our interpretations" (1992, p. 91). As observed, the situation of waiting for asylum responses, the conditions pre-set for the teenagers, and continuous psychological and emotional changes coupled with changes in the political climate (Study One), make it hard to understand the complexity of the situation.

To approach this complexity as it is, is to put one's understanding at risk while exposing oneself to the possibility of not understanding what is happening or associating causes to effects. This risk becomes even more potent than a direct analysis of the situation. However, an analysis of what is happening gives the background to the research possibilities that a phenomenological understanding presupposes. For example, in Study Three, we highlighted incidences of risky care, where the interpretation of driving Ahmed to a karate competition could have been seen as an illegal act by the teacher, for Ahmed had already lost his asylum application case. The teacher performs a risky venture of harboring "an illegal" in his car for the sake of the "illegal" getting of a karate belt. With this, interpretation goes beyond rational cognitive processes to allowing one to be addressed by the situation.

How can waiting for asylum responses be told theoretically? Or how can one be told how to understand the teenager's experience of waiting for asylum responses? How can teachers' experience of their teaching be expressed in ways that can be felt and understood? Rather than approaching this study by telling, we take as a point of departure in these teenagers' lived experiences waiting for asylum responses together with their teacher's experience of teaching them. The nuanced understandings are described from anecdotal material gathered and reflected upon with the researchers' understanding. The task of a phenomenological inquiry is not exclusive to describing the situation as it is. However, it is embedded in an onto-epistemological understanding of the nuances as they are while opening them for discussion. The encounter between a researcher and the phenomenon being researched requires the researcher's awareness of him or herself at the moment, a deep involvement with what elicits the researcher's interests and his or her understanding of it (van Manen, 2014). The questions we raise in this study are deeply embedded in questions of existence in a human world where meanings generated in the interactions are profoundly personal but also as shared values and beliefs. We take understanding as Gadamer (1981) explains,

> Understanding, like action, always remains a risk and never leaves room for the simple application of general knowledge, of rules to the statements or texts to be understood. Furthermore, where it is successful, understanding means a growth in inner awareness, which, as a new experience, enters into the texture of our own mental experience. Understanding is an adventure and like any other adventure is dangerous… But…[it] is capable of contributing in a special way to the broadening of our human experiences, our self-knowledge, and our horizon, for everything understanding mediates is mediated along with ourselves. (p. 109)

In this endeavor, a phenomenological task encounters the other in their subjective world of experience(s), including the researcher's own experience of the world. This understanding goes beyond the ideal-type reality constructions to understanding what *understanding* might mean. It is not a re-construction of reality but rather a search for a

perspective that sees waiting for asylum responses as part of their being, their existence where a demand is made for a response, a response that affects one personally, and who they are. This endeavor involves borrowing others ' lived experiences of the situations they experience before interpretation and capturing the encounter in its lived sense as one interacts with others.

3. Theoretical perspectives- temporality and waiting?

The unaccompanied minors of this dissertation find themselves in situations already designed for them to wait. The legal framings of their temporary status and their problem-centered psychological analysis create an environment where they must wait for the uncertain outcome of their asylum response, even where it is already pre-determined. In this section, I draw on some theoretical understanding of waiting as an experience that is beyond the control of those experiencing it. The understanding in this dissertation is that the participants left their homelands under circumstances that denied them access to normal life and cast them in situations where they are dependent on others to bring a sense of normal. The sense of normalcy they are after has constantly evaded them irrespective of their status as minors or children. Therefore, having to wait has become the order of life that is constantly shifting their idea of home, identity and what can be in reality a sense of belonging to a place or a homeland.

As a start to this chapter, an exploration of how waiting is theorized anthropologically, where it is seen as an exercise of power over the wait-ers. With this anthropological understanding, a self that is subjugated and rendered powerless to the forces of waiting is examined within the philosophical and sociological understanding of proximity and identity. My ambition here is to point out a connection between waiting and a longing to belong that might begin as a far-fetched idea. As young people near or are within the host nation's confines, this idea becomes impossible to achieve. Thus, their identity is only seen as a replaceable one to what is known or can be easily characterized. The theoretical understandings used here point to waiting as an experience that they must undergo regardless of the outcome and have no control over when one phase starts or ends. Through this exploration, I highlight that waiting is not just about the cause and effect but also an existential experience that affects these teenagers' lives in ways that are meaningful, painful, and sometimes hard to understand.

Waiting- a general anthropological view

The question of waiting is woven into how people use their time when, for example, aspirations and chances are put on hold for reasons beyond them. Therefore, to explain in simplistic terms what waiting might be, cause and effect spectrums are sought after that explore power differentials and its effect on the experience of time of the "waiters." Crapanzano refers to this as social entrapment (1986), and Bourdieu (2000) relates to it as an indirect effect of power. From an anthropological standpoint, their theorizations reveal a growing weariness about waiting as a form of subjugation for the underprivileged, dominated, or colonized peoples. Following Bourdieu, one needs to,

> Catalog and analyze all the behaviors associated with the exercise of power over other people's time both on the side of the powerful (adjourning, deferring, delaying, raising false hopes, or conversely, rushing, taking by surprise) and on the side of the 'patient' as they say in the medical universe, one of the sites par excellence of anxious, powerless waiting. (Bourdieu, 2000, as cited in Auyero, 2011, pp. 5-6)

From a theoretical standpoint, this cataloging presumably helps to understand the schema of dominance in order to expose the hegemonic power struggles that make waiting a temporal activity with possibilities of demanding submission from those waiting. If we take this understanding from this vantage point, the time used in waiting is a governable space, and the waiters are governable bodies in a Foucauldian sense (Foucault, 2007). Thus, cataloging the happenings during waiting offers a platform to document the time that is often seen to be lost or passed unnoticed during waiting. In effect, it empowers the waiters with knowledge of the “governing techniques” (Foucault, 1995, p. 198). However, in the end, it remains a catalog and waiting a period of powerlessness as Bourdieu highlights while commending on the powerlessness of the situation of the main protagonist in Kafka’s novel *The Trial:*

> His uncertainty about the future is simply another form of uncertainty about what he is, his social being, his ‘identity,’ as one would say nowadays. Dispossessed of the power to give sense, in both senses, to his life, to state the meaning and direction of his existence, he is condemned to live in a time oriented by others, an alienated time. This is, very exactly, the fate of all the dominated, who are obliged to wait for everything to come from others, from holders of power over the game and over the objective and subjective prospect of gain that is can offer, being, therefore, masters at playing on the anxiety that inevitably arises from the tension between the intensity of the expectancy and the improbability of its being satisfied. (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 237)

Waiting in the sense illustrated above is defined as a medium to exercise power. It invisiblizes those involved while emboldening those exercising the powers. For example, this dissertation participants arrived as unaccompanied and were placed within reception centers for adults. Here, nobody could differentiate them from, for example, with other children who have parents. As the reader can see in appendix 10, many of the unaccompanied teenagers were moved around in various reception centers, and as seen from their stories in Study Three, a number of them went unnoticed by the system for many years without having an asylum interview. Their relationship to the state and to the situation they find themselves in makes the question of the experience of waiting complicated and, at best, ambiguous. As we saw above, on the one hand, if their status were to be considered as children, then they would become legitimate, humanitarian subjects deserving legal recognition. Nevertheless, since their status is sometimes considered as “fraudulent, frivolous, or otherwise “bogus” asylum-seekers undeserving of status” (Haas, 2017, p. 76), they are thrown into a waiting that is unclarified, beyond what they know, for their asylum status is undetermined. Seen this way, unaccompanied teenagers' status as asylum claimants represents a double-bind or a simultaneity that carries a potentiality that waits for protection while equally waiting for deportation.

Further, waiting is complicated by awaiting to be “adult,” which is instead not waited for since it has its legal and political ramifications. Their dual positionality of being either “resident-in-waiting “or “deportee-in-waiting” creates subjects who exist on the borders of life, an in-between childhood, and adulthood, in between nations (their homeland and Norway or another unknown country) and an unclarified status. This uncertainty somehow calls into question and intertwines the exertion of power and the feeling of powerlessness, and the sense of entrapment (Crapanzano, 1986), while at the

same time setting the stage for living in or on their borders. It might be safe to say at this moment that the lived experience of waiting for asylum responses perhaps lies on the borders of uncertainty and in-between-ness of these teenagers, their expectations of response, and the existing legal and political frameworks. As Levinas says, "One can exchange everything between beings except existing. In this sense, to be is to be isolated by existence" (Levinas, 1987, p. 42). Even though waiting exists as a form of uncertainty and somehow isolates its "victims"[14] in a state of powerlessness as an inactive moment as Crapanzano foresees, it somehow has the potential to be lived as a human experience with its tensions and difficulties. For in existing, the mode of being an asylum-seeker is exposed to waiting for a response. This exposure might isolate and blur other boundaries until the awaited for "object" is either received or denied.

For purposes of this study, the young asylum seekers are explored as being "stuck" in a process that is not of their own making and by processes and procedures beyond them. As Hage (2009) explains, in today's world, there is a celebration of those who come out on the other end of being "stuck." At the same time, when teenagers are seen to wait for too long or to have unknown outcomes of their asylum application, they are seen to have "lack of agency" or have an inability or an unwillingness to endure and 'wait out' a crisis" (pp. 97-98). What might this mean to the experience of being in the moment of waiting for asylum response? For more than ten years, some of the dissertation participants have waited for a status, either asylum or refugee status. They were forced to abandon their homes and family as children and now they are teenagers without a possibility of either status. Can this be a lack of agency? While waiting, one "lives through" the experience in its inseparability with the world, a reception center, sharing their time and space with others waiting and caregivers as well as encountering themselves as they grow and develop. This interconnectedness of life cannot be captured in isolation but must be looked at for what it is.

Stuck in the process – Existential limbo

To understand what it might mean to be stuck in an existential limbo, in this section, I try to retrace the journey towards Norway, which some occasions started in a refugee camp or ended up in a refugee camp before arriving in a host country. Here I use two metaphors from two countries where refugees or asylum seekers come from, not as a way of essentializing those coming from these two states, but as a way of demonstrating the way being stuck in life blows us like wind, whispering possible places we can find safety. Thereafter, I use Bauman's idea of proximity to point out that proximity does not mean a shortening of distance but its suppression, which exacerbates the situation rather than making it better for teenagers waiting. Ranciere's ideas of immigrants having no name and Derrida's idea of the complexity involved in defining identity are used to illustrate how categorizing immigrants' beforehand results in misplacing and overpowering with identities that they do not belong to. In the end, they end up having no name and no place.

[14] I use the word victim not to objectify those experiencing but cautiously to amplify the experience of being caught up in waiting.

From the refugee camp to the reception center – a limbo?

As stated above, most of the older unaccompanied minors find themselves in-between integration and return, a state that to some is unclear, creates uncertainties, a moment described as being stuck (Hage, 2009), lacking control (Haas, 2017), an absence of present or a lack of full existence. Such a clear stance makes the present the locus of their suffering, one that is inhabited with others. To capture these ideas, an exploration of the state of being in limbo while waiting is critical. I start by exploring waiting as a longing from the refugee camp to the reception center while developing on Bauman's ideas of sociality.

The event-to come[15], as Dastur understands it, is "what descends upon us [and] a new world opens up through its happening. The event constitutes the critical moment of temporality – a critical moment which nevertheless allows the continuity of time" (Dastur, 2000, p. 182). In this disclosure of the event of waiting, the self undergoes a transformation where the world, as in Romano's words, "introduces a gap, a break, the opening of a rip, a gaping hole into which the former world collapses and with it selfhood as the project of potentiality-for-Being" (Romano, 2016, p. 51). In Dastur, we encounter the event as an opening of a new temporality – a continuation of time, albeit under a new world. In Romano, the happenings of an event distort the world, creates a relation between the self and the new world, bearing in mind that the old world is distorted and therefore, only fragmented in the self. The ground on which this new self-occupies is unstable, with no chance to know what is in the event for the self, for the event only opens a "reserve for the future" (p. 50). The hope for the self at this moment is that it does not lose it*self,* for example, in despair even though the I the *who I am*, seems to be stuck, could be caught in between wanting to stay, wanting to become *other* – belong beyond the current premises. At this moment, I refer to the real yearnings of the self at the moment of applying for asylum. These yearnings have not happened in a vacuum, they have been sustained along the way from the moment an event, say a war, or political upheavals, severe hunger or famine, persecution, which are framed as causal reasons for movement or immigration, are set in motion.

To clarify this yearning and longing here, we can start from the refugee camps where some traveled to seek asylum in Europe and finally Norway. Research shows that the configuration of the refugee camps is a "social void… at best not meant for human cohabitation" (Bauman, 2002, p. 344) and highly securitized (Kalisha, 2015). In most cases, they are located on the borders to the refugee's homeland, almost in a no man's land where they are not genuinely belonging-to-the-place, "being 'in' but not 'of' the space they occupy" (Bauman, 2002, p. 344). Examples are the Lampedusa refugee detention center in the Mediterranean Sea, the Christmas Island refugee detention center in Australia, Dadaab refugee camp located on the border between Somalia and Kenya. Coupled with the continued protracted-ness of the refugee situation, especially in the global south, the yearnings for away-out, either peaceful return to a homeland or a third country, is palpable. To stay in these spaces of detention or refugee camp, one exists as no-one, uncategorized and without legal coverage (Kalisha, 2015).

[15] As pertains to this study- that event is the receiving of an asylum response, most preferably a positive one.

While researching Somali refugees in Dadaab, Cindy Horst reflects on the anthropological significance of the term *buufis*[16] as commonly used among refugees in this camp. This term means to "blow into or to inflate" (Horst, 2006, p. 143). To the refugees, it means "someone's desire, hope, longing or dream to go for resettlement" (p. 143). This notion stems from a long-standing desire to leave the protracted refugee situations, the deplorable living conditions without any hope of either returning home or resettling elsewhere. To have *buufis*, foregrounds a desire that is always transitory, in motion, projecting a self that is unattached, continually seeking a place to land beyond the refugee camp.

On the other hand, for the Afghani refugees, in her study of why Afghani unaccompanied minors travel to Europe in search of asylum, Mougne concludes with an Afghani proverb that "trees only move in the wind" (2010). In her study, the dangers of being a boy- child in Afghanistan includes being forcefully kidnapped for ransom, or to be recruited as child soldiers or as sex slaves or witnessing the death of your parents and left alone to fend for yourself as a teenager, pressures them to move *by the wind* to other countries of safety, and finally to Norway. I use these two examples here, not to essentialize the prevalent political reasonings for flight, but to point to a continuous desire, longing, and yearning to belong that, nevertheless, is constantly put on hold. This desire, set in motion by events beyond their knowledge and control, has created possibilities for movement, yearning for protection regardless of originating in camps[17] or directly from wars/conflict. While in Norway, the longing and waiting shifts from a fear of death or hunger or slavery to being stuck between the unknowable political-legal and policy changes or to outrightly being in-waiting for deportation like the "October children."

We notice in waiting for asylum response a tension between a *self* with desires for a movement of Selfhood towards the Other, relationally, and simultaneously, which seems to produce *self* and *Other*. It might be understood as encouraged by a desire to belong, which is still a *desire*. To these young asylum-seekers, waiting becomes a process of moving in between *being* (unaccompanied and asylum-seeking children) *and becoming* (residents or having a status other than unaccompanied or asylum-seekers) that validates and invalidates their movement of selfhood "between being *here and now*, and longing for *there and then*" (Kumsa, 2005, p. 8) What is significant in this situation is a *stuck-ness*, that is not stuck. However, it might be a state of identity desire to be otherwise than what it is now. *Buufis* is no-longer inflated to be deflated upon arrival, but proximity to resettlement is near, perhaps a reality, a *not-yet* state, ensues. It is like we see in Study two, a dwelling on the threshold of hospitality, a yes that says, "you are welcome," but it means, "you have to wait."

Now, they live in reception centers, a heterotopia (Foucault, 1986) of sorts. Heterotopias, according to Foucault, stand in complex configuration and relationship between space and time. They are in contradistinction to utopias ("unreal spaces, mythical"- p. 24) since they exert a kind of simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the space in which [they] live" (p. 24). Some of the reception centers they occupy, were once grounded in

[16] I do not use this notion to refer to the unaccompanied teenagers coming from this refugee camp, but as a theoretical category to substantiate the idea of longing and being stuck.
[17] In this study, a number of participants had lived in refugee camps partly before embarking on a journey to seek asylum, or along the way as they travelled to seek safety.

a reality of tourism and farming (see Study Two), now invisible to them and the current governing of this space. In these heterotopias, space and time are configured in a complicated relationship with one another. They enable the "juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible" (Foucault, 1986, p. 26). Even though the space of the refugee camp has been compared to a reduction of human life into "bare-life" (Agamben, 1998), what these spaces (reception centers) represent is an invisiblization of what they formerly were and transposes them into what they are now.

A Western understanding of a tourist center could be with a good sunset view, near an ocean or far in the woods. On the other hand, a farmyard could be seen as a place of production and livelihood that disappears into the spaces now created to wait for a transition into the unknown for the unaccompanied teenagers. The tourist imagination of a 'fleeting time' or going 'native' and the farm imagination of a 'sedentary life' have been juxtaposed with the indefinite time of waiting for asylum response. The farming life expected waiting for crops to grow and mature up, harvested, and consumed, and after that another endless cycle of planting. Or for animals to grow, be used for meat or reproduce others. In the farming analogy, there is a waiting that is pre-determined by nature and almost certain, yet it invokes a certain kind of patience and waiting by the farmer. Unlike what these spaces once were, open to tourists and farming, "heterotopias are not freely accessible like public place" (Foucault, 1986, 25). The reception center is compulsorily allowed for asylum-seekers and staff, and permission for entry for non-residents must be sought. The imagination of a 'free' self from the ravaging wars or famine is immediately replaced in transitory temporal space with its own complexities of living with one's own issues and troubles' contradicting the imaginations of what it could have been or what was, either in this space or before coming to it. The lived sense of this space might be available in the fleeting time of the now, known and experienced in its certainty and feared for what it might contain in the future.

Furthermore, the teenagers I interviewed have been moved between these spaces, farmyards, tourists' hotels, and former school centers. Each space with its histories must be inhabited with its new occupants with a different history. Now, here they are, in a palpable waiting…what to do?

Proximity – near yet far?

The studies we have highlighted in Chapter Two above point to a political discourse that frames the problem of seeking asylum and refugees as a third-world problem (Djampour, 2018; Malkki, 1995; Stretmo, 2014). Malkki has argued that this notion is an oversimplification of the impoverishment that characterizes the third world as symptomatic with frequent wars and conflicts that came with it, without establishing the root of the problem. Beneath this argument, Bauman sees a structural deception of the West as the root cause of mass production of movements of people because of its high "demand for cheap labor" (Bauman, 2016, p. 9) coupled with "the fatally misjudged, ill-starred and calamitous military expeditions" (p.10). In this logic, Western societies seem to be built on an eccentric desire for order-building where an order is characterized by laws and a moral code, and a right to inclusion. Whenever the opposite arises, lawlessness abounds and therefore creates what he refers to as the undesirables or wasted life. If this logic is correct, then the movement of asylum-seekers as a result of Bauman's

prognosis brings to the shores of Europe and Norway involuntary asylum seekers who might be unwelcome. What happens when they have arrived, and someone must take responsibility for them?

Occupying the space of the reception center does not presuppose a shortening of distance by being in a supposed country of resettlement; it is not yet defined as proximity[18] a "suppression of distance" (Levinas cited in Biesta, 2004, p. 245). The unaccompanied teenager's entrance goes against the grain of order-building in Bauman's (2004) logic. For the space of orderly lives, anticipates "a rule-governed space," where those that are not yet 'subjects' of this realm remain on the peripheries of society as the excluded-included (Hilt, 2015) until an inclusion decision is made. Nevertheless, newcomers' logic of admission presupposes and demands identification with existing ways of being and doing things, including learning the common language. This identification (see Study One and Three), as we saw, happens even for those waiting for the right to inclusion (asylum response) or exclusion (a rejection or expatriation). What is somehow ambivalent if one reads Ranciere's logic of a political subject is that the incomers do not enter a new space ready to seamlessly take up existing positions or categories (Ranciere, 2003, cited in Biesta, 2011). Their entrance disrupts the existing categorization and ordering of people's life even before inclusion. The unaccompanied teenagers of this study were included in schools and neighborhoods, where their presence meant a disruption to normalcy- they cannot understand the common language, the teachers have to devise ways of teaching that are akin to a child being taught how to speak.

Creation of order?

If we go back to Levinas idea of proximity, their nearness to what was desired, to a place where one has to take a moral decision and respond to their needs, proximity is suppressed and instead becomes an "attention, a waiting" (Biesta, 2004, p. 245). Thus, proximity becomes a moment of waiting, being attentive to take action (where the action is on the side of caregivers or teachers, guardians for these young asylum seekers). In this situation, there is a possibility for social bonds to be created, albeit temporarily until "society" enters in as a third party to create order. For example, as illustrated in Study One, the staff occupy a double role of caregiving and working on behalf of UDI in reception centers. In instances of sensitive issues that might jeopardize their cases, an impasse might ensue. Here attention dissolves into inattention and waiting into impatience, especially when society in the form of government enters the scene to demand order, creating uncertainties. Who can be trusted with what? The teachers in Study Four were conflicted after experiencing unexpected repercussions of sharing their students' behaviors with their supervisors. In Study Four, the teacher, Mona, regrets when her consequence pedagogic leads to a student's expulsion. Her actions were not intended for the consequences they had on the student. Would she trust her superiors with information about the students? This creates an environment of fear, which does not correspond to the order it was to create.

If we follow Bauman's understanding, specific arrangements are created to ensure the orders created are adhered to by different actors in society (Biesta, 2004). The first arrangement is where the efficiency of the process is preferred to the actors. Bauman

[18] Proximity is used here as a closeness to both place and others.

says the first is an “assuring that there is distance, not proximity between the two poles of action – the doing and the suffering one” (Bauman, 1993, p. 123). Here, the effects of action have been removed, “beyond the reach of moral limits" (p. 123). In this arrangement for youngsters waiting for asylum response, the staff or caregivers within the reception centers, teachers in the schools where some get admission, become “just one link in a long chain, and they see and have the ability to control only the next link; they can neither see nor control the ultimate and overall aims” (Biesta, 2004, p. 246). UDI in this study is seen to be everywhere, as the respondents quipped (see Study Three). Its omnipresence is an act of control of the system to ensure that every actor like caregivers and teachers, write progress report about these children (see Study Four), report about deviance and any information that could be helpful in the determination of cases, thus, in essence, ensuring the “efficiency of the process” (Bauman, as cited in Biesta, 2004, p. 246). This way, discipline is reinforced and willingness to cooperate for both the caregivers, teachers, and asylum-seekers. Thus, in the end, psychologists' professionalism and teachers as pedagogues who can help these youngsters are stifled. In the end, caregivers' responsibility cannot be accounted for by the government when it goes beyond the confines of what is defined. Nevertheless, what is defined as their responsibility is unclear (Study One).

Essentially, some of the asylum-seekers following Bauman’s second arrangement are de-humanized, by being exempted "from the class of potential objects of moral responsibility" (Bauman, 1993, cited in Biesta, 2004, p. 246). In this dissertation, those between 16-18 years are set on a pedestal of waiting for deportation immediately they arrive and can only be repatriated after turning 18. The two years spent waiting for deportation could be seen as a waste, essentially becoming human waste in Bauman’s (2004) analogy. Even though there is the risk of deportation, the resilience to wait and appeal their cases, hoping that someone might take responsibility and the distance will finally be shortened, still prevails for some. The interesting question that this arrangement raises is who takes responsibility for those deemed not to deserve it?

Therefore, waiting for asylum response becomes inherently unpredictable, rendering [it] the precarious condition for unexpected self-encounters. “Nobody wants to wait” (Schweizer, 2005, p. 778). Still, there is a yearning, a hoping, like *buufis*, which is *presumed* to be blown into their minds, and inflates strong desires to belong to the league of humanity, where there is less suffering and settlement can be realized; where being refugee and a child is no longer a problem, but where one can be considered at least a resident. However, experientially we cannot avoid the inflation into our feelings and minds or the sensations and ideas of where and what would be good or better for us. The continuous process of the fluidity of waiting as longing, therefore, goes on and on in this limbo. In Bourdieu’s analysis, waiting is one of “the privileged ways of experiencing power [as] submission” (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 228). As Bourdieu observes K in Kafka’s play *The Trial,* he notices that power generates “extreme anxiety by condemning its victim to very strong investment combined with very great insecurity” (p. 129). So far, we have traced the unaccompanied teenager’s movement from a refugee camp to a reception center. In this tracing, the power that sets the events of war or conflicts (in most cases), keeps them away from what they would call home. Any imagination of home remains a memory for subjugating fear of what that power can do, exposes them to incidences of persecution, torture, and exposure to an “adult world” of cruelty. Home

and country to others is a dream. On arrival, the power to admit in some instances keeps them in prolonged periods of uncertainty and is practiced at the behest of the government. Thus, they only remain in a state of being closer to protection, or a legal status until it is decided.

No name, no identity?

For society to achieve structure or for the moral impulse to be "domesticated," Bauman argues that an arrangement is made to disassemble "the object of action into a set of "traits" so that it no longer appears as a (potentially) moral self. In this case, actions become targeted at specific traits, not at the person as a whole. As a result, an encounter with the whole person (that is, the moral subject) is highly unlikely" (Bauman cited in Biesta, 2004, p. 246). There is a continuous normative conception of who or what a refugee is and his or her likely behaviors based on group constructions, in addition to the legal perspective discussed in chapter two above. The group constructions propagate a specific view of knowing the refugee or asylum seeker, but only through terms of reference that create a cognizable figure for adjudicative purposes. However, these views keep changing depending on the narrative and political ideology or discourse used either at the borders or during the actual asylum interview. Even though the unaccompanied asylum-seeker is met during the interview, in most cases, it is through an intermediary who acts as the interlocutor between the claimant and the case officer. Hagelien, Utlendingsrettsgruppa, and Jussbuss (2018) and Liodden (2019) argue that there are often conflicting discourses within most of the case officer's analysis of individual country reports where the unaccompanied teenagers came from. This includes the changing political situations in those countries, and therefore, the medical evidence of their ages is believed more than their personal accounts. In effect, as the participants of this dissertation described, their whole individual experiential accounts are left out, their identity becomes fluid, consequentially having grave ramifications on the believability of their narratives (see Study Three). Besides, it is documented that a higher percentage of young asylum-seekers have no documentation of who they are and where they come from (Eide, 2012; Engebrigtsen, 2012; Sønsterudbråten, 2010). This leaves the responsibility to name whom they are dealing with and place them within a particular category proper for the existing system under the government.

In the reception centers, they live side-by-side with other "waiters" and staff, attend school (some), make social bonds (in some situations), however temporal that might be. In Beckett's play *Waiting for Godot*, we are opened to a messy world, absurd one at best, in which the "symbolic order is unable to sustain the momentarily achieved sense of time, place and identity. It constantly collapses as it opens onto meaninglessness and a loss of significance-only to revive momentarily before another collapse" (Cash, 2009, pp. 30-31). In this dissertation, we described in Study Three how the dreaded subject of asylum is best left for the horrors of the nightly dreams. When pre-occupied with a school activity or any other activity, there is momentary forgetfulness of their actual predicament of being asylum-seekers until it is raised, or when a letter of decision is received, or when nearing the 18th birthdate, then it comes back with full force. Even though the waiting for asylum response is significant, it would rather be experienced as a blind spot, forgotten, but this is never the case.

“Powers of wealth and birth”[19]

School, as we saw above, is conceptualized as a place to be socialized. In the merry of an enjoyable assignment in class, for example, or while playing football or conversing with others on other issues, the unaccompanied teenagers' identity, and the place they are in are momentarily forgotten, re-membered again upon re-entering the reception center. This experience is not a preserve of these teenagers, it could be a shared experience at different levels with other teenagers who might not be in similar situations, but it is here that a different understanding of the vanishing of the unnamed, or those that are not equal to any name yet in a democracy, becomes important. In Rancière, we understand democracy as the “power of the people with nothing, the speech of those who should not be speaking, those who were not really speaking beings” (Rancière, 2004, p. 5). He notes that in Platonic laws, democracy was at the bottom of the list that consists of “God’s part as he [Plato] ironically puts it, that is the lot fate, chance or simply democracy” (p. 5). Such an understanding of democracy implies that power is unevenly distributed in a community of the “polis.” However, whenever “power of those without title vanishes, there remains the conflict between the two great titles: the powers of wealth and birth” (p. 8). In this configuration, the ruling class consists of those with the means to control wealth, having a similar ancestry or identity. In this order, others disappear, for example, the worker. In Ranciere’s thought, the disappearance of those with a name creates a vacuum for the immigrant. He writes-

> whenever the worker or proletarian disappears as a figure of political alterity, the migrant remains as a naked, unsymbolisable figure of the other. This other can no longer be counted, even in the name of the uncounted. It can only appear as that which is to be excluded, visibly in excess of any relation to the community. (p.8)

Identity is etymologically derived from Latin “pronoun *is-ea-id,* which translates as *he-she-it:* a point of identification, both by the subject herself, but also, and perhaps decidedly, by the other” (Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos, 2006, p. 9). It is “a faint line that fluctuates between, on the one hand, the obsolescence of identity in the absence of the other, and on the other, the obsessive desire for self-definition” (p. 9). Naming and assigning an identity creates a rapture between a self and its descriptions, where the *self,* and the *I* remains indescribable in the naming within political categories because here, there is a dictum, “I am me, and however different, I cannot be without me” (p. 9). As such, if we follow Ranciere’s argument above, when the worker who in the 1960s-1980s appeared as an immigrant, and now that that category no longer exists in the current order of things, the unaccompanied minor in the order of having immigrated, remains unnamed-unknowable. Politically there is a sharp conflict between the merging of the welfare state and immigration since the child coming from outside did not have space in the original order of welfarism. This child having limited support within the system, for example, health- only in an emergency (Lidén et al., 2017), can therefore not be a worker contributing to its demands in any conception of welfare as it is. S/he is thus stripped of any conceivable name, remains on the periphery of social systems as a customer of the system without proper category, awaiting assignation.

[19] I use this sub-heading from Ranciere (2004).

Having no name means an inability to speak since the Norwegian language is still new and learning this language to be considered a speaking being, is marred with an uncertainty of stay or live (see Study Three). Since at the point of waiting for asylum, they are anonymous, without a proper identity, and the reality of returning being probable, in some instances, the youngsters of this study decided to name themselves. This was overtly done through drawings of maps or routes used to come to Norway and other caricatures that represented animals, trees, or whom they thought they were, with their names inscribed in their languages under the drawings or messages. These drawings were inscribed on toilet walls, ceilings, and in their rooms for anyone who could read and understand to see. This was the complete opposite of the official narratives that ascribes to the idea that a majority have no names or identification. If we re-trace their lives as ‘bare lives (Agamben, 1998), without meaning until one is given, writing names, and giving their biographical and geographical data on walls amounts to a re-assigning of identity, claiming their own *self* while they wait and after they have gone, someone will see and remember them. In Rancière’s terms, they symbolically create a place in the community of those who belong, a place that even if it is rubbed off or painted on, someone might read it, translate it and see them as those who belong to an “order of speaking beings in a community that does not yet have any effective power” (Rancière, 2008, p. 25).

Farah Dubois-Shaik (2014), following Bauman, argues that people (refugees and asylum-seekers) actively contest and negotiate their own identities (p. 717) but in circumstances not of their choosing. In such circumstances where the state has taken custodial responsibilities, and children are on their own, how do they contest such identities? How do those incoming, who have no idea of what sort of category they will be placed in, be able to contest it? One might only be able to contest one’s identity in a place they have a right to be or a status. When in transit or waiting for status or an asylum response, the uncertainty that prevails might discipline them into not speaking and only waiting.

4. Methodological reflections

This dissertation aims to explore the meaning of having to wait for asylum responses for young unaccompanied asylum-seekers. As shown through the studies, this kind of waiting is what they must endure not because they want to, rather the systems in place temporalize their time, forcing a waiting that is indefinite and which cannot be foregone, at least for a majority of the participants. My central concern became how to explore and describe the meaning of these experiences from the point of view of those experiencing them. Therefore, I was concerned about methods that would describe and interpret this experience on its own terms, that is, as it is experienced and lived without oversimplifying or overemphasizing its significance or lack thereof. Therefore, in this chapter, I explore the methodology of this dissertation. I guide the reader through the various methods that I have used to substantiate and focus this dissertation together with my reflections. I engaged with explorative methods like policy discourse and content analysis in Study One, human science methods, philosophical and philological methods in Studies Two, Three, and Four that follow a phenomenology of practice methodology.

The field of migration studies is new and specific research on unaccompanied minors is a recent phenomenon. This research focuses on resilience (Ulrika, 2014) and coping strategies (Valenta & Garvik, 2019) while young people wait for asylum response. Equally important is a focus on motivation in keeping hope alive for possible resettlement and other creative initiatives that make the young asylum-seekers temporary conditional stay possible, especially for those waiting for repatriation (Brun, 2015; Kaukko & Wernesjö, 2017). To go beyond the surface interpretation of waiting for asylum means having an existential interest that transcends facts and effects. Explorative methods that do not offer answers or solutions to what constitutes waiting, but probe the ambiguities, controversies, and experiential aporias that are unsolvable yet existentially lived, became more important to me. Aspects such as *relational encounters*, meanings of *place and space* that they inhabit, and the *uncertainties of the temporality that defines* the waiting they must undergo were of interest to me as I interacted with the participants closely. These aspects were *there* but often glossed over searching for the factual in most research done on unaccompanied children. Thus, hermeneutic phenomenology became the methodology that helped explore the meanings of experiences of waiting, which allows existential meanings and shows this experience as a possible human experience.

The overarching social contexts and discourses that define the political, economic, and social actions towards these teenagers and the basic understanding of what reception and educational actions can be taken towards them were the beginnings that strengthened my fundamental existential concerns. To create this starting point, I explored policy language within social, political, and cultural discourses and how they shape different representations of unaccompanied minors' identities. Identity is fluid, and in most cases, it is taken to be what characterizes a group of people and eventually linking them to certain behaviors and ways of being (Kibreab, 1999; Yuval-Davis, 2010). I amalgamated policy discourse analysis and content analysis to explore identity representation dilemmas in policy discourse to transcend such characterization. This

forms the overarching political measures that the unaccompanied find themselves in upon arrival that forms the waiting platform.

I discuss below in detail how the four studies evolved methodologically. I begin with Study One by detailing the methodological choices I made. In the next step, I combine Studies Two, Three, and Four and give a detailed account of methods used during fieldwork and analysis of the interview materials. Finally, I discuss the validation criteria used in the studies.

Policy discourse analysis- Study One

The post-structural theory postulates that texts like policy texts can only be meaningful if they interact with other texts, broader societal contexts, and readers (Gildersleeve, 2017). The meanings emanating out of the texts and readers' interactions with the texts constitute a discourse. Thus, a discourse is a language in use "in social settings that is mutually constitutive with social, political, and cultural formations" (Greckhamer & Cilesiz, 2014, p. 423). Understood this way, discourse then becomes "a site for construction and contestation of meaning" (Baxter, 2003, p. 6). What is produced from these contestations and struggles are certain realities in the form of knowledge and truths which, on a political and societal level, can be "acted upon as stable, unified and self-evident" (Gildersleeve & Hernandez, 2012, p. 4). If policy is used this way (policy-as-discourse), it regulates social relations and how society understands the message contained in the policy. For example, discourses produce specific characteristics like failures or problematic children or children with learning difficulties. These characteristics are then availed to the described self to adhere to while others, specifically-society, affix these characteristics or labels to the described categories and groups. The ascribed identity, in the end, becomes a site of struggle between the self and what is ascribed to it at one level. At another level, the struggle is between this self and those that ascribed it. It is within such representation of identities as sites of struggle that Study One was anchored. Study One combined policy-as-discourse borrowed basic tenets used in critical discourse analysis and content analysis as analytical methods to understand this struggle as sites of meaning, especially for unaccompanied minors' identity.

Policy-as-discourse uses texts as in policy texts and meanings and or discourses that emanate from them and how they become meaningful when applied in institutional settings (Allan, 2010). What is noteworthy to policy discourse analysis are the dilemmas, ambiguities in policy texts, especially when interdiscursivity is involved. For example, this study (Study One) elaborated that inclusion as a discourse represents other immigrant children as successful in their efforts to be included because of their parents and the education system's efforts. Whenever the same discourse is used referring to unaccompanied minors, the language associated with it points to integration measures that are only suitable for children or youths with a formal status or citizenship. Thus, the use of this discourse amalgamated interdiscursively with other discourses like protection and age as a metaphor constrains the way unaccompanied minors can be represented as their own subjects capable of inclusion.

Critical discourse analysis is employed relative to how the text interplays with discourses and or meanings to represent unaccompanied minors. Here I follow the socio-semantic

model relative to critical discourse analysis developed by van Leeuwen (1996). Before employing CDA, content analysis is used to identify discourse and analyze the thematic focus that constitutes discourse before analyzing the discourses critically. CDA is then applied modestly in interpreting how language represents unaccompanied minors within the fissures of ambiguity and complexity that the discourses reveal. At the final stage of analysis, I combine CDA with other theoretical assumptions like Rose's (1999), analysis of governable spaces through responsibilization. This latter problematizes the government's invisible role in establishing a meshed-up responsibility structure to handle unaccompanied minors at the reception and waiting for the asylum response phase. In this understanding, the actors responsible for ensuring the unaccompanied minors' inclusion disappear from the scene. Legal entities like county councils, reception centers, and volunteer organizations are given unspecified responsibility in their place. In doing this, I ground the idea of identity as a complex interplay between various discourses and how society relates to them that in the case of unaccompanied minors, exclude them entirely even before knowing who they really are. The fusion of methods is fruitful in exposing, at every stage, the dilemmas and difficulties of representing unaccompanied minors as possible candidates of inclusion while the discourse and language used is exclusionary and puts them on a waiting path.

In Appendix 11, I have given a detailed account of how the documents were selected and the analytical procedure that I followed. In most cases, the procedures employed content analysis and discourse analysis at a very basic level.

Selecting documents

In Norway, it is possible to access policy and government documents online via the government portal www.regjeringen.no. The ease of access to documents creates selection problems of what should be relevant. For in-depth reading, I searched specifically for whitepapers whose thematic focus included such topics as unaccompanied minor's immigration, inclusion and diversity, displacement, and educating minority pupils. Documents that did not cover this scope were excluded. The documents' selection was aided by "snowballing" criteria, where references within documents lead to primary source documents. I followed references covering the intended period to account for interdiscursivity where "different discourses and genres are articulated together in a communicative event" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 73). I was particularly interested in the changes in discourses and their representation of unaccompanied minors seeking asylum.

Initially, I had chosen three whitepapers from 2004-2012 (see Study One for more information on the documents). After the refugee crisis of 2015, the government published a whitepaper- "From the reception center to the labor market – an effective integration policy" in 2016. This paper strengthens integration discourses for unaccompanied children while emphasizing legal residency for such services as education for unaccompanied teenagers. For comparison purposes and interdiscursivity, this whitepaper was added.

While reading these texts, I focused on how unaccompanied minors are presented as vulnerable and problematic within inclusion and education discourses compared to other immigrant children. Van Leeuwen's (1996) socio-semantic approach emphasizes the use

of language both as a reflector of reality and as a means through which we construct and reproduce the world we live in. As such, looking at how language is used to construct vulnerability within a bureaucratic-political language of policy documents, the taken-for-granted meaning of words can go unnoticed. However, as the reading progressed, I noticed moments when vulnerability was only used to emphasize the condition of unaccompanied-ness and not the state of asylum-seeking. Other moments arose when other discourses like protection became more pronounced in a manner that excluded the older unaccompanied minors from education and integration discourses. Different institutions like schools and immigration offices act as a result of policy. Thus, policy grounds the government's official discourse in its literal form.

According to Allan (2010), discourses have a dual role of embodying the structure of meaning while producing other structures and meanings. For example, during the reading process, I discovered the use of protection as a discourse in immigration documents resulted in creating temporary permits, the disappearance of educational frameworks for older unaccompanied teenagers. As the texts revealed, this changed the social practice of having all unaccompanied children under child welfare services to a division between older (15-18 years, under UDI) and under 15 years of age (now under Child Welfare Services). This observation reconditioned my thematic focus from all unaccompanied children to those between 15-18 years of age. Thus, I narrowed down to sections of documents that addressed older unaccompanied minors; generally, that is, within inclusion and immigration policies, and educational integration where necessary. To vary this focus and see how the changes in discourse resulted in social changes, I compared older unaccompanied teenagers to other categories of children like minority language pupils and descendant children.

Analytical procedure

Bowen (2009) claims that policy documents are unaffected by the research process, remain stable during the research process since they are not made for research (see also-Brinkmann, 2012). This implies one must read them contextually to catch a glimpse of the social realities they are constructing. Thus, it was prudent to read the documents first as texts while holding at bay their constitutive logic and representations then coming to this logic at a later stage.

Van Leeuwen (1996) sees representation of social actors in texts as an avenue for asking critical questions regarding the complex intermingling of cultural, sociological, and linguistic meanings. In his analysis, texts form a part of a story (Smith-Khan, 2017) that cannot only be told through a linguistic perspective alone but must be analyzed contextually to allow possible meanings to emerge. For example, one needs to look at the taken-for-granted representation of language within protection discourses and examine the possible intricate power relationships between them. Thus, this analysis was conditioned partly by Van Leeuwen's socio-semantic approach of identifying linguistic choices and how they shape the discourse that represents the unaccompanied minors. I approached the policy papers contextually with an understanding that meanings derived from the discourses can only be tentative and contingent. Thus, I could go back and forth through the procedure to grasp the possible meanings and logic that can otherwise be taken as conventional meanings.

My reading of the texts revealed that the whitepapers were anchored in an understanding of protection for inclusion that ambiguously categorized the unaccompanied teenagers as a specific target group. I became interested in understanding the rationality behind such a categorization and how its meaning varied over time and became crystallized in the policy. As shown in Appendix 11, Table three gives an overview of the analytical procedure I used in four stages.

Stage one in the table represents the criteria used to choose the documents. Stage two, three, and four show the procedures used in the documents' systematic analysis as I answer the research questions generated in the first stage (for a detailed overview of the questions and other details, I refer the reader to Study One).

Stage one involved a reading of the primary discourses as well as the versions of these discourses. The interest in the primary discourses and categories directed a more focused reading to where the concepts are used, how they are used to represent first the immigrant children, and specifically unaccompanied minors. I compared these representations across the four documents and precisely how the meanings varied and changed over the period covered by the policies. At this stage, the interest was to generate the discourses and category representations in the policy.

Having gathered the discourses and the main categories (immigrant children and unaccompanied minors,) I worked systematically with the theoretical tools to elaborate the meanings of the discourses and the representation of unaccompanied minors. Here I applied a socio-semantic approach. This approach was relevant in revealing aspects of foregrounding discourses like inclusion, education only when general categories like immigrant or second-generation children came into play. The use of a socio-semantic approach made the meanings embedded in the texts visible (van Leeuwen, 1996), primarily how recursively the unaccompanied minor is produced as a temporal category with malleable qualities that can be pliable and fit into other categories.

In the final phase, I worked on a critical interpretation of discourses' interdiscursivity[20] of and what that implies to the representation of unaccompanied minors. This involved placing the meanings of discourses as discussed above in relation to each other. Critically, I analyzed the embedded production of protection and inclusion for the government's benefit while backgrounding asylum-seeking unaccompanied teenagers' realities. This critical reading uncovered unaccompanied minors as a peripheral and, equally, a blind spot within inclusion, immigration, and educational discourses.

Transparency and validity in Study One

The aim of discourse analysis is "to understand how a discourse performs its various functions and effects to construct a certain reality" (Greckhamer & Cilesiz, 2014, p. 425). The dilemma in this study, especially in constructing a specific reality as it is in the texts, is that it is solely based on subjective interpretations that might be difficult to show how valid the results are. Another challenge concerns policy texts, which, as Hilt explains, "often seem impenetrable and self-evident at first glance. They are often based on a selective use of research and tend to have sound evidence for their claims" (2016,

[20] Interdiscursivity "that is how specific discourse and genres are interlinked and constitute particular 'orders-of-discourse', that is ensembles of relationships between discourses in particular social contexts" (Vaara, 2015, pp. 493-494).

p. 71). Thus, the methods were amalgamated to theoretically go beyond the self-evident categories and discourses, as illustrated in the policy texts.

To ensure this study's trustworthiness, I have chronicled in Table Three- (see Appendix 11) above the document selection and analytical procedures. This has involved how texts were read intensively and extensively to provide major discourses and categories and how the specific category of unaccompanied minors emerged within these discourses. I have also shown how meanings were assigned, and interpretations arrived at. Chronicling, as Greckhamer and Cilesiz (2014) show, guided [me] "to be cognizant of the analysis process" (p. 431). I illustrate this to allow the reader to see how every step led to another and how the process becomes circular in multiple ways, going back and forth to confirm and re-affirm meanings and interpretations assigned.

In Table Three (see Appendix 11), I have tried to be as transparent as possible by tabulating and connecting data sets (policy texts) to discourses and my specific reasoning at each stage as it builds up to the final result. The reader can see how the process emerged from a simple data set, connecting it to final results while at the same time providing a relatively "concise visual representation of complex and non-linear analysis processes" (p. 432). It equally helps to show "a chain of evidence" (p. 432) that can only be represented linearly, yet it does not oversimplify the process's complexity. While engaging in this process, I consistently reflected on my role as a researcher with my own biases, opinions, and prejudices and how this can impact the way I see the category of unaccompanied minors being represented in the policy. I read the Norwegian policy texts as an outsider (immigrant) and, in very many ways, came to grips with the reality of how specific policy measures have affected how I am perceived as an outsider. To delimit my personal biases, I remained committed to the policy's original text while critically confronting the same texts with Van Leeuwen's (1996) socio-semantic theory. This confrontation helped me remain objective while being open to possibilities of emerging meanings that become relevant when converged with other similar interpretations of, for example, unaccompanied-ness within Nordic countries, as illustrated by other researchers (Eide, 2012; Engebrigtsen, 2012; Stretmo 2014).

The Qualitative fieldwork

To be positioned as an older unaccompanied asylum seeker, as illustrated by Study One, leads to marginalization at best without the possibility of asylum-status or achieving any educational goals. Study One left at a point where marginalization and exclusion from educational settings were unclear yet possible. The texts left both legal and political lacunas where the possible concrete implications could only be explained by listening to the affected. Study One offered us the political and contextual representation of unaccompanied minors as a category set to wait for repatriation or indefinitely for asylum status. This study offers the overarching background we can refer to, especially when the actual lived experience of waiting for asylum response is explored. In studies Two to Four, I focus on empirical interviews with unaccompanied minors and their teachers. Below, I present the hermeneutic phenomenological method used in these three studies and my reflections on my choices.

Phenomenological methodological focus.

For the three empirical studies (Studies Two to Four), I take as a point of departure in the hermeneutic phenomenology as presented by van Manen (2014) and inspired by the Utrecht school tradition. While following this methodology, I draw inspiration from other scholars like Levinas (2006), Derrida (1992, 2000), Heidegger (2001), Romano (2014, 2016), (Sævi, 2005, 2016), among other continental phenomenologists and pedagogues. Van Manen's concern is to evoke things in their givenness by the power of language. He notes that "phenomenology is concerned with the *pre-predicative* structures of experience, not just *experience* but *lived (prelinguistic) experience."* (van Manen, 2019, p. 10) His concern is that phenomenology should transcend its philosophical foundations by doing an "abstemious reflection on the basic structures of the lived experiences of human existence" (van Manen, 2014, p. 26). In van Manen's understanding, reflection on the lived experience involves real-life issues that cannot be approached within the confines of theoretical understanding but have to be seen for what pathic meaning it might possess, thoughtfully and tactfully (1991). This way, one goes back to phenomenological philosophy, works of art, and other literature, for insights while bearing in mind that the concrete lived experience is the starting point for exploration. Van Manen's agenda with this phenomenological thinking is not to oversimplify it. Instead, he makes phenomenology available to practitioners like educationalists, nurses, nutritionists who encounter varied experiences and phenomena whose meaning easily eludes us when seen from either philosophical or other research traditions.

The concern in phenomenology is to understand cognitively and non-cognitively concrete experiences as lived. For the three empirical studies in this dissertation, one might say that what is important is how the unaccompanied teenagers experience their waiting. This forms the basis for reflecting on the phenomenological meaning structures of the experience. Van Manen warns that "phenomenology does not pose a problem to be solved or a question to be answered" (2014, p. 31), but it is attuned to the ruptures of meaning gained by a thoughtful reflection. He claims further that phenomenology "aims to express in rigorous and rich language, phenomena and events as they give themselves and it aims to investigate the conditions and origins of the self-givenness of the phenomena and events" (p. 61). Language evokes meaning, and the task of phenomenology is to elucidate these meanings in a language that touches readers and helps them experience the meaning as lived. Phenomenology, to be cautious, does not explain or describe the research results from its premises while excluding the subject area one is researching from and its disciplines. Instead, phenomenology "positions itself according to the disciplinary character of the other discipline." (Sævi, 2016, p. 1791). This dissertation has taken a broader existential understanding of life as lived in different spaces, including reception centers, schools, playgrounds, kitchens, shops, and cafés. To explore these concretes lived realities, one needs to understand the meanings held within those concrete realities.

Phenomenology has a shared concern for eidetic reduction – that is, returning to the essential elements that make a phenomenon "what it is, without which it is not" (van Manen, 1991, p. 10). A return to things as they are involving a reflective attitude and an interest in the meanings of the concrete events while questioning the foundation of the

concrete situations within the disciplines they are found in, "in order to sustain its legitimation" (Sævi, 2016, p. 1791). Thus, to use phenomenology of practice is to allow phenomenology as a methodology to bring forth a disciplines' dilemmas and controversies without controlling the results of the research situation.

Experiential meaning

Van Manen claims that "Lived meanings describe those aspects of a situation as experienced by the person in it" (van Manen, 1997, p. 183). To engage the meaning of experience in its totality is nearly impossible. Empirically one can engage an experience as a factum – as an object of study that can be synthesized, broken down, or analyzed cognitively, thereafter generalize it to a larger population. The moment of an experience can best be seen as an event (Romano, 2014) that, in Sævi's words, can "address possibilities more than factualities" (forthcoming). Seeing events as possibility takes into consideration the teenagers' possibility of subjective reasoning and actions. Romano says events are "timeless" (2014, p.1). If we take events in their timelessness, they are provisional, cannot be repeated, and will certainly lose their eventual meanings if we turn them into "rule-based occasions" (Sævi, Forthcoming). Thus, events in this dissertation are taken as that which "precedes itself, is prospective, opens a future and receives itself from this future that it opens, from which and through which it appears… as original time" (Romano, 2014, p. 128). If we follow Romano's argument of experience as an event, then it follows that whatever the participants of this study experience is personal and affects them in the very moment of its happening. We as researchers get the experience already too late, as a reflected upon experience. The phenomenological task then describes this experience as it happened in a language that returns to its happening.

How is this possible? Language in its revealing of a phenomenon is already insufficient, as (Blanchot, 1969/1993) observes. It betrays the experience at the moment of trying to reveal it. Language presents the experience as a representation of signs, pains, sorrows that lacked actual words but gain them in language for it to be recognizable. In Studies Two, Three, and Four, like other qualitative studies, some moments felt like an opening to the experience, yet those very moments were betrayed when the experience was put in language. How can one describe, for example, pain, sorrow, or anger? The teenagers in this dissertation sometimes broke down in ways that were touching and yet very painful, trying to explain their experiences. Their teachers felt emotionally, experientially, culturally distanced in ways that were significantly important to the ways they encountered the teenagers. Thus, I have tried as much as possible to remain closer to the language of their descriptions.

On the other hand, when put into words, the experience's flows and insufficiencies revealed the double connectedness of the experience to those experiencing it and to their world. Where we experience the world creates our context that is meaningful by and of itself. This study is located in an unfamiliar context to the unaccompanied teenagers, whose experience of waiting for asylum sometimes felt strange and endless.

The task of reflecting on their experiences could be equated to a search for meaning, which in Heidegger is compared to disclosure as *aletheia* (Heidegger, 2002). Aletheia to the Greeks meant uncovering the truth from its hidden forms. Heidegger notes that

“hiddenness is always and necessarily present at the occurrence of un-hiddenness, it asserts itself unavoidably in the un-hiddenness and helps the latter to itself” (Heidegger as cited in, Mincă, 2015, p. 9). The way an experience presents itself to us, we sometimes feel like we have already understood or can relate it immediately to another experience. It could be synonymous with the correspondence theory of truth.

On the other hand, at the moment that we thought we grasped its truth, we realize there is more to it than we thought. Thus, in writing the experience, we pay undue attention to the moments of indecision of trying to grasp what something might mean while leaving it open because other meanings might surface. Sævi says, “the indecisive and open-ended encounter with the undisclosed and unidentified phenomenon must be slow and attentive because a phenomenological language does not include self-contained names and concepts that can initially separate and define the phenomenon”. (2013, p. 5). To gain an understanding of the experience requires an attentive dwelling with the experience. Blanchot sees this as one that, “waits without haste, leaving empty what is empty and avoiding but the haste, the impatient desire and even more, the horror of a void that prompts us to fill the emptiness prematurely” (Blanchot, 1969/1993, p. 174).

This study is oriented towards deepening an understanding of the experience of waiting for asylum response as a possible human experience. Thus, gaining insights into possible meanings of this experience goes beyond the direct intuition or intentions one might have of an experience. The lived meaning gave itself as we wondered and dwelt with the experiences in their materiality, ethical, relational, temporal, or spatial lived senses (van Manen, 2014) while thoughtfully reflecting on the given meanings as possible human meanings. These meanings emanate from this possible human experience; we recognize them to be tentative and incomplete.

Lived experience as a starting point

Lived experience forms the basis for starting a phenomenological inquiry. The German equivalent of experience e*rlebnis* contains the verb *leben,* which is translated as “life or to live”. This literally means to “live through something” (van Manen, 2014, p. 39). The idea of lived experience inheres a connectivity between life and world, giving a possibility to explore life as we live it. Nevertheless, this is not easy. The moment of experience happens unknowingly and can only be grasped as an after-thought through reflection, nudging of what an experience means as we lived it. In Bachelard (1994) an experience has a characteristic roundness to it. Gadamer takes this further by saying, “if something is considered an experience, its meaning rounds it into a unit of a significant whole” (Gadamer cited in, Sævi & Eilifsen, 2008, p. 3). Thus, we ask phenomenologically, “what is it like” (van Manen, 2014, p. 39), for example, to experience waiting for an asylum response? In this question, as van Manen points out, to undergo an experience necessarily “means that there is something “it is like” to have that experience and in so far as there is something “it is like,” there must be an awareness of these experiences themselves” (p. 39). Thus when asked to reflect on the experience after living it, its roundness or distinctness “prevents it from blending in with the rest of our lives, making it stand out, distinguishes it in our memory as a meaningful event for us”. (Sævi & Eilifsen, 2008, p. 3). From this point, it is possible to look at ordinary events with a phenomenological eye, reflecting on what they might mean.

Phenomenology of Practice

Van Manen asserts that "phenomenology of practice is meant to refer to the practice of phenomenological research and writing that reflects on and in practice, and prepares for practice" (2014, p. 15). Phenomenology as a philosophy can be used as an exegetical method of understanding philosophical problems. Practitioners like teachers, nurses, encounter daily, concrete situations where they are morally and ethically required to take specific actions towards those they work with. The complexity of these concrete situations requires a reflectivity towards what an experience might mean in the moment it is experienced. Thus, a phenomenology of practice uses phenomenological philosophical reflections to understand the given concrete experiences from one's field of study. It uses human science methods to gather concrete experiences and has an enduring orientation to an evocative language that van Manen calls philological methods. In the texts that follow below, I elaborate on how the philosophical, human science and philological methods were used and substantiated within the three empirical studies (Studies Two to Four).

The philosophical methods

The philosophical methodology of *epoché* and reduction consists of a radical reflection presupposing the suspension of our natural and taken-for-granted attitudes to the phenomenon we explore. The terms epoché and reduction mean to suspend and to lead back (*re-ducere*), respectively. The reduction aims to re-achieve what (Merleau-Ponty, 1962/2002, p. ix) describes as a "direct and primitive contact with the world" as we experience it – rather than as we conceptualize it[21]. This is not a straightforward step-by-step method. In Husserlian fashion, as Van Manen interprets him, the reduction would mean the ability to bracket one's opinions, natural and taken-for-granted attitudes and interpretations of the world and rise above the world in order to observe the phenomenon or the experience objectively as it emerges (van Manen, 2014, pp. 215-219). From a philosophical point of view, this is a cognitive process that allows for the description of new insights. Heidegger and Gadamer counter this view in their hermeneutical understanding of our interconnectedness to the world. Gadamer reminds us to

> …remain open to the meaning of the other person or text. This openness always includes our situating the other meaning in relation to the whole of our own meanings or ourselves in relation to it. This kind of sensitivity involves neither "neutrality" with respect to content nor the extinction of one's self, but the foregrounding and appropriation of one's own fore meanings and prejudices. The important thing is to be aware of one's own bias, so that the text can present itself in all its otherness and thus assert its own truth against one's own fore meanings. (2006, pp. 271-272)

Our interconnectedness to the world means that our biases and opinions tag along with us in the research process; any efforts to bracket them in order to investigate the world

[21] http://www.phenomenologyonline.com/inquiry/methodology/reductio/

is not purely objective or possible. The *epoché* invites us to take a step back and look at the phenomenon with fresh eyes and allow it to speak on its own terms. Following van Manen and Gadamer, since we cannot be divorced from our historicity, the nearly impossible thing one can do is to question their prejudices and preunderstandings in the research process, including the underlying assumption of experience or phenomenon for phenomenological questioning and research is part of life. Thus, as a researcher, "I posit the stuff of knowledge when . . . I adopt a critical attitude towards it and ask, 'what am I really seeing.' The task of a radical reflection consists, paradoxically enough, in recovering the unreflective experience of the world" (Merleau-Ponty cited in van Manen, 2014, p. 281). The unreflective experience is given as a lived experience derived from its natural world (Sokolowski, 2000), unmediated by thought and before theorization. The phenomenological task is to make sense, an existential sense reflecting on what is given in its raw form. Thus, the phenomenological research meanders back and forth creating the link between the data as given and data as a meaningful existential experience. The reduction permits the chiasmic movement between the subjective and the intersubjective experiences of the realities of the world.

Dahlberg sees the reduction as ''actively waiting'' for the phenomenon, and its meaning(s), to show itself and is an activity characterized by a kind of 'non-willing' or 'dwelling' with the phenomenon" (2006, p. 16). This attitude is not a given, one that the researcher possesses but one that comes when it comes. Thus, it is correct to point out with Fink in Merleau-Ponty (1962/2002, p. xxvii) that the "reduction is the wonder in the face of the world". For wonder does not give itself when we want it to give itself but comes unexpectedly and often uninvited. Therefore, if one dwells with the phenomenon, a thoughtful pathic seeing might emerge, allowing the phenomenon to be seen with its invariant qualities. Getting to this point might require adopting a phenomenological attitude, one that gently returns us to the phenomenon whenever we are drifting away, or leave us to drift away, then return to the phenomenon when it reveals itself.

The reduction

Just as there are different phenomenological philosophical traditions, so are the different forms of the reduction used in research. In this section, I narrow down to show two examples of the reduction, the heuristic and methodological reduction.

Wonder- a heuristic reduction

Wonder-during fieldwork

My initial empirical question for the interviews with unaccompanied teenagers was, "how do they experience the teacher's responses/actions in a classroom?" The beginnings of my interactions with the unaccompanied teenagers were primarily at the various reception centers. Framing this research question in a way that could elicit meaningful episodes from these teenager's classroom interactions with their teachers was not apparent. While hanging out[22] with them and casually talking about my research topic, one of the participants asked me, "do you know what it means to wait for the teacher's response to be heard, when you can do nothing but look at the clock ticking away and nod in silence as though you have understood something?" Although the question was unintended, it triggered a series of random discussions amongst the

[22] I have elaborated in detail what hanging out meant below on "participant observation"

teenagers I was hanging out with about how they wait for various things in the reception center. At this moment, I was puzzled, silently sat there, and allowed myself to listen and be taken over by the question. The dilemma I had from the onset was how to proceed from here. Should I stick to my original plan of asking how their teachers respond to them or pay attention to the intrigue this question has posed? The heuristic reduction, as wonder, can happen at any stage in the research process. When it happens, Dahlberg et al. (2008), contend that one must have the "capacity to be surprised and sensitive to the unpredicted and unexpected" (p. 98). At this point of fieldwork, my taken-for-granted understanding of the lives of these teenagers was shuttered, the reduction allowed me in Merleau-Ponty's words to;

> step back to watch the forms of transcendence fly up like sparks from a fire; it slacken [ed] the intentional threads which attach us to the world, and thus brings them to our notice. It, alone, is consciousness of the world because it reveals the world as strange and paradoxical. (Merleau-Ponty, 1962/2002, p. xii)

In my fieldwork experience, this was the turning point, where the focus of the experience of encountering the teacher's responses shifted to what matters most to the participants' waiting. Thus, the question opened my understanding of my own ignorance and preoccupation with the research question that I had, to the lived reality of the experience that was at hand, yet it was far from my reach. This opening up to wonder about the meanings of the phenomenon transports one from a natural attitude to the phenomenological attitude (Sokolowski, 2000) from the onset.

Wonder – While analyzing data and writing

Thus, when it came to analyzing data after fieldwork, I had a rough idea of what the phenomenon might be, that is, waiting for asylum responses. Thus, I had to separate the interview data between the teachers and the teenager's experiences and study them carefully while maintaining an openness to what the data might reveal. What became more prominent in the first instance was the general theme of waiting that could not be explicated immediately. After several months of dwelling with the material, the first draft of Study Two was written about waiting. The shallowness and lack of concreteness for the first draft revealed the inability to listen to the phenomenon. Sometimes, it requires unfamiliar environments where we are absentminded or perhaps consumed by other issues. While engaging Study Two, I had come back to Norway after a seven-month course on Phenomenological research and writing at the University of Alberta in Canada. While in Canada, I discovered how I felt welcome in the country, albeit for a limited period. Those I encountered welcomed me, knowing that I am on my way out. This made me reflect on the idea of "welcome" as being on the threshold, neither in nor out for the initial welcome encounters, sometimes legal resistance/clarification that becomes the ground for others to think about how they can welcome. Reading the etymological, philosophical, pedagogical, and other sources on hospitality and welcome, while abstaining from my emotional and personal intoxications, I came to terms with the experience of hospitality as expressed by the teenagers. I was curious about my own experiences, but curiosity was always satisfied when I got an answer. Wondering, on the other hand, was enduringly questioning how the teenagers experienced this related experience of welcome and how this experience could be captured in words that evoked its lived sense.

Study Four started as an exploration of what it meant to teach children without a shared language or cultural experiences that made teaching open to misunderstanding. Together with my co-author, we decided to read the teachers' lived experience descriptions, the field notes, and observations, again and again, considering the context in which they were in. I listened to the interview recordings several times to try and grasp what was being expressed. Put in context, we discovered that many of the teachers were referring to the failures they encountered while teaching unaccompanied children. Exploring failure as a teaching reality opened us up to educational predicaments that were unsolvable for the teachers and their students. Our concern then was to remain attuned to the phenomenon of children waiting for asylum responses as they encountered their teachers. Dwelling with these experiences while tentatively allowing the different meanings of failure, dilemmas of their decisions, and how that affects their relationship with students and school administrators continued to emerge.

Methodological reduction

As practiced by the Utrecht school, phenomenology adopts a methodological rigor that has a starting point in the deeply embedded existential lived experience descriptions in combination with an "unconventional writing style" (Henriksson & Sævi, 2012, p. 55). This focus does not link experiences to causes. It follows Heidegger's warning that "when a method is genuine and provides access to the objects, it is precisely then that the progress made by following it… will cause the very method that was used to become necessarily obsolete." (Heidegger cited in van Manen, 2014, p. 226). Every experience must be looked at fresh, and every method must be re-invented in line with the experience and written in a language that touches both the reader and writer, inviting them to be touched by the experience. Otherwise, the originality of the experience is lost. To show this required a rigorous questioning of my assumptions and setting aside preunderstandings of the phenomenon at hand.

To 'capture' the phenomenon when phenomenology as a methodology does not have prescribed procedures to follow felt like being lost. Personal reflections on the experience seemed to fly out of the window immediately I put them on paper. Fields notes, poems related to the phenomenon, my own experiences, and other people's experience all gathered together sometimes allowed a glimpse into the experience so long as it led the exploration. The methodology called upon me to express sensitivity towards what the concrete experiences were expressing, creatively writing and re-writing what the meanings might be meaning. The process involved surrendering, almost giving up because several months went by without experiencing any movement towards the experience or writing. I felt like inhabiting darkness, as van Manen says (van Manen, 2002). This darkness was neither dark nor bright but a liminal space, maybe. The more one dwells in this liminality by continuously probing the phenomenon for it to reveal itself, the more it evaporates out of our fingers. Moments of epiphany came via going for walks or watching a movie, or being engaged deeply in a conversation with friends on unrelated matters, and then I felt like the ground was opening and a light shining on the experience. Heidegger says, "The closest appears; therefore, as is it were nothing. We see first, strictly speaking, never the closest but always what is next closest" (Heidegger as cited in Sævi, 2005, p. 238). The ability to dwell in this liminal space of the methodology allowed a movement in and out of the experience. For example,

hospitality and failure in Studies Two and Four, respectively, opened up spaces that revealed the experience in ways that I could not have imagined possible.

Human science methods

Phenomenology of practice, as van Manen understands it, borrows from the social sciences "empirical data gathering methods (like interviewing, observation and field notes) and secondly adopted reflective methods (thematizing and meaning analysis) (2014, p. 312). Gathering pre-reflective experiences in Studies Two to Four was done through interviews, observation of participants, and fieldnotes. As van Manen cautions, if the phenomenological question is not clear, the interview or observations may not help to clarify. In some instances, the question becomes even clearer as one engages with the participants. In this study, the idea of pulling back and foregrounding the experience while understanding that my presuppositions may put the research question at risk, caused an awareness to allow the phenomenon to lead. This realization of the research phenomenon prompted a continuous check and sometimes rearrangement of priorities, like what kinds of questions can I ask, what is relevant to observe as described earlier in philosophical methods. Below, I will discuss how I selected participants and how the phenomenological interview was carried out. To me, the question evolved more pointedly in the encounter with unaccompanied teenagers, as shown above.

Selecting participants

Problems of accessing participants

The initial intention of the Ph.D. project was to explore teachers' dilemmas in the encounter with unaccompanied minors[23]. This focus changed after initial contact with schools for a year was futile[24]. I contacted eight schools that had admitted these teenagers via the head-teachers. All the schools saw it as a difficult moment to interview minors from the school who were under severe emotional issues, and being in class to observe would exacerbate rather than help the situation. I had to resend an official application to NSD (Appendix six) to amend the project to allow a shift of focus on unaccompanied minors' experiences of their teachers' responses. I acquainted myself with the teenagers, some for more than two years. As shown in the timeline of interviews (Appendix 10), the teenagers had moved through four different reception centers, two of which were closed down, and I was clueless as to where they were for three months. Upon finding them again, I volunteered to help them with homework and hangout with them whenever they wanted to go out to play or needed assistance with knowing their way around the neighborhood and the city. I was consciously aware of my role as a researcher as I volunteered and made it known to the center's leader (s) and the participants. At first, the teenagers were skeptical of interacting with me, since they thought I was working for UDI. After six months of interacting with them and moving with them through the three reception centers, trust between us started developing, albeit slowly. We shared our experiences of waiting for permits and our backgrounds. That broke the ice. After interacting with them for one year and a half, I re-introduced my intention to ask some of them for an interview. Ten agreed to be interviewed and did so only when it was appropriate and convenient for them.

[23] See NSD letter of approval- Appendix five and six

[24] See the timeline for interviews- appendix 10

Re-introduction to teachers

Through my interactions with the ten, I was made aware of their teachers, and they introduced me to one of the teachers in one of the schools they were attending. I contacted the teacher in that school with an information sheet about the project I also shared with the school principal. The teacher introduced me to her colleague, who was willing to be observed in class for two weeks and interviewed thereafter. The two teachers referred me to another teacher in another school, who also had unaccompanied teenagers in her class. The third teacher introduced her colleague to me, who agreed to for an interview out of class. In total, I had ten teenagers and four teachers. This number was enough to gather rich descriptions of the experiences that could help reveal, open, and explore the experiences. Two of them had been teaching unaccompanied teenagers for more than three years, while the other two were novices with less than a year of experience. I offer general background information about the participants to contextualize the study and avoid any confusion about the nature of a phenomenological method. The phenomenological method does not sample a population or generalize it. What is essential and objective for a phenomenological description as Merleau-Ponty sees it is "to bring back all the living relationships of experience, as the fisherman's net draws up from the depths of the ocean quivering fish and seaweed" (1962/2002, p. xvii). The participants were chosen for who they were, unaccompanied teenagers and teachers who interacted daily. One high school had the teenagers in an introduction class[25], while the other combined both introduction class and ordinary teaching with other lessons.

The interviews

Approaching the interview

The interview task was to explore and gather pre-reflective data[26], anecdotes, moments that were meaningful and might speak to the phenomenon of waiting for asylum response and teaching realities. The interview guide had three focus areas, a familiarization with their situation-from reception to the moment of the interview, life at the reception center, and finally, life at school for the teenagers. The interview guide consisted of background information for the teachers – who they are and mostly why they are teaching unaccompanied teenagers. Secondly, their expectations before encountering the unaccompanied minors, handling day-day interactions in class, and whenever possible, interactions beyond the class were explored. Even though the interview guide, as it is in qualitative research, is structured or semi-structured to guide the interview process (Rubin & Rubin, 2012), it is not meant to report how the participants perceive their experiences, but rather it is used to collect possible human experiences. I wanted to familiarize myself with each participant (unaccompanied teenagers) at the time of the interview to know where they were in the asylum-seeking phase. For example, had they been called for an asylum interview (eight had already been interviewed), or had they received an asylum response of any kind (seven had received rejections and one limited temporary permit), the remainder (two) had neither attended an interview nor knew when it was going to be. Episodes from their shared lives at the reception center and the school provided the descriptions for reflection and writing of the experiences. For the teachers, how they encountered unaccompanied

[25] This class had only these teenagers to learn Norwegian language before being integrated in the normal classes in

[26] I use data here in its etymological sense as *datum* "a thing given"- experiences given

minors and their day-to-day interactions became the basis for reflection in the writing process. The timing of the interviews was decisive since it was at a time when the decision letters had been received, and therefore reflecting on the experiences of waiting was still fresh. For the teachers, knowledge of who they are and what expectations they had of the teenagers was essential to understand their starting point as teachers.

The actual interviews

In total, I had twelve individual interviews and one focus group interview that is – ten with teenagers and two teachers. The interviews happened in informal settings like in the dining halls, on the volleyball court, while taking walks or having coffee in a café. The informal settings defamiliarized the "official" reception center or school settings they were familiar with. The teenagers chose where they wanted the interview to be conducted, where they felt safe to talk. The interviews were very informal for the teenagers, in most cases having several interruptions like going for a coffee or toilet break, and each interview lasted on average 45 minutes. I developed the interview guide with a phenomenological understanding that the open-ended questions might elicit descriptions of their possible experiences. From a phenomenological standpoint, it is not easy to get the participants to give rich descriptions of their experiences. Fortunately, the interviews I conducted did not follow the interview guide strictly. The interview served as a follow-up of what I had observed participants saying or doing that was significant to the experience and thus became the starting point for the conversation, especially for the two teachers. I observed these for two weeks, and five of the teenagers attended these classes. During the interviews, personal opinions, personal views, perceptions, perspectives or interpretations of what could have been better took center stage. It was my task to gently return the participants to the topic of interest by asking them to describe in detail some of the experiences that were meaningful or did not make sense to them or elaborate on an episode that I did not understand. Two interviews were not fully completed since the participants (teenagers) were emotionally overwhelmed especially when talking about their waiting for a 'rejection' and not knowing what life means anymore. This did not mean that I could not be available for them, listen to them beyond the interview, take them out for a walk, or to their rooms to rest.

Focus group interview

The focus group interview with the two teachers was intended to follow-up on the classroom observations I had had for two weeks. The interview was informal and unstructured. I had made several observations on incidences that happened while teaching that we talked about. I chose a focus group to vary with the individual interviews I had had with them. This interview was dialogical with participants sharing information, opinions and challenges about their daily interactions with teenagers (Madriz, 2011). My task was to help them discuss events and episodes that I had observed in their classrooms. I paid attention to how they described the incidences, trying as much as possible to bring them closer to the experience of teaching these teenagers without comparing them to other teenagers. The discussions were enriching, and the teachers reminded each other of moments that were difficult and how they have been coping with them. The meanings they ascribed to the incidences became the focus of the reflections in Study Four of this dissertation.

Observing participants.

Qualitative research methodologies like ethnography advise researchers to go native by being as close to the people's personal stories as possible (Armstrong, 2008). How close one should be is what differs, and whether what is observed is what the participant allows to be observed. Are they observed when they do not know they are being observed? Close observation tends to take the participant as an object of study, from whom information comes from (Kawulich, 2005) when they least expect. Here, I use participant observation where an attitude of assuming a relation is essential. It is as close as possible while retaining "a hermeneutic alertness to situations that allows us to constantly step back and reflect on the meaning of those situations" (van Manen, 2014, p. 318), is essential. Nadine observes that research on unaccompanied teenagers seems to either dwell on statistical data drawn from representative samples, with a control group and data sets (2014). Equally, Williamson et al., (2017) argue that the pressure of time, financial constraints often lead researchers on short notice to generate representative data that is scientifically valid and justifiable. Due to this, the results established remain in the control of a few lobby and interest groups that seek to address the symptoms of the problem rather than the problem itself. Doing a participant observation on the other hand, via such methods as hanging out with the teenagers in the informal settings, playing together, mediates the hierarchical distances already created, dispels the notion of UDI being everywhere, as my respondents often said. It equally opened the possibility to see the teenagers at their low moments and best times, experience first-hand some of their struggles as they learned the language, the frustration of missing friends and family, their ideas about asylum, and how it treats them. While observing classroom interactions, I saw the teachers' and students' frustrations of misunderstanding each other, not communicating what was intended, both trying to create meaning even in meaningless situations.

Hanging out with participants

While hanging out, as Rogers (2004) calls it, I sometimes observed absentmindedly and, in other instances, was consumed in the teenager's worries, joys, laughter, and cries. I often forgot my role as a researcher. Later in the evening, I would try to recollect and capture the day's events, the episodes that stood out and were meaningful to the phenomenon of waiting. Some needed immediate follow-up, and some could wait for a later interview. Van Manen says participant observation requires one to be both a participant and observer while maintaining a "certain orientation to reflectivity" (2014, p. 318). This reflective attitude is contrasted to the manipulative attitude that could alter the information given to fit its desired end. My alertness to the phenomenon awakened a sensitivity to reflect on the often taken-for-granted events in the unfamiliar milieu with these teenagers and their teachers as I familiarized myself with their world.

Philological methods

I had learned how to write phenomenologically while writing my Master's thesis, and when I started this project, I thought about the evocative nature of the experience and the poetic language of writing that I had previously employed (Kalisha, 2015), would come naturally. Putting the pieces of lived experience together, and trying to describe them from the start, were practices I found helpful. Every experience and phenomenon are new and must be approached on its own terms, for it cannot be replicated; this I have

learned while approaching this dissertation. My previous phenomenological understanding and usage in writing had to be relearnt, re-oriented towards this new study, recall how it was used but renew its usage within the premise of the new experience. How do I recall a lived experience, bring it back to presence while allowing the words to have their original sense of meaning? Philology - or the love of the letter, learning, or studying - in the phenomenology of practice refers to the recognition that the text addresses us and allows us to be addressed by the text. The Latin term for this, *vocatio* literally means a calling, a being called. Van Manen says: "The aim of the *vocatio* is to let things "speak" or be "heard" by bringing them into nearness through the vocative power of language" (van Manen, 2014, p. 248). Through writing, as a researcher, the intention is to describe, explicate, point out, elucidate and evoke the meaning of a phenomenon that might lay beyond the propositional discourse or the taken-for-granted meaning we give a phenomenon in our day-to-day interaction with it. The point is that there is a relation between the semantic qualities of a text and the influence the text might have on a reader. The methods of concreteness, intensification of key concepts, tone and atmosphere, normativity, and epiphany, are vocative dimensions of all writing rather than instruments or techniques (van Manen 2014). The vocative quality of the text intends to allow the reader (and the author) to encounter the lived meaning of the phenomenon of waiting for asylum response and of teaching and possibly be cognitively and non-cognitively touched by it. This way of writing creates a distance between the writer and the text while at the same time allowing an openness to the emerging meanings of the experience in the text.

This method invites us to allow ourselves to see the nearness of meaning by going back to words, phrases, and texts and allow them to "speak." Words in their original sense "may sometimes put us in touch with an original form of life where the terms still had living ties to the lived experience from which they originally sprang" van Manen, (1997, p. 59). Following van Manen's lead, an evocative form of writing exegetically and linguistically is alert to what words mean both in their daily usage and the experiential meanings they might have. Tracing such meanings and allowing them to speak to the phenomenon creates a sense of poetizing, not as writing in prose form but closer to what Heidegger (2001) refers to as *dichtung*. In its original sense, "considers the process of sensing, writing and thinking prior to the success of the result" (Sævi, 2013, p. 7). If writing is understood this way, then the task of engaging the studies that constitute the empirical work of this dissertation were approached with profound hesitation, allowing us to be lost in the darkness of the experiences, then crawling out of the crevices with uncertainty. There are moments when words open up a floodgate of meanings, for example, words like welcome, whose etymological sources and their usage by participants allowed inroads towards understanding the impossibility of being fully welcome while at the same time already welcome (Study Two). The texts were written tentatively since the meaning is never final, always evolving, and does not follow any given pattern. It is malleable, bending and taking the shapes given by the experience. Thus, to accomplish these studies, I[27] often had to let such devices as wonder,

[27] In this text I have used the subjective I and terms like "my writing", which should be understood to include co-authors.

experiential meanings, etymological sources, and personal experiences evolve at their own pace.

Writing Lived Experience descriptions (LED)-Anecdote

Language of description

Van Manen (2019) says that the phenomenological example is the beginning of a phenomenological description. After interviews, I had 120 pages of data material that needed to be sorted out and reflected upon. After my interactions with these teenagers, one challenge I had was that their ways of expressing themselves were mostly incoherent since they were new to the Norwegian language; some had no understanding of the English language either. The dilemma was, how do I know it is their lived experience I am writing and not my own? While I try to understand what they are revealing in their words, I might end up creating an experience for them. Thus, to re-write the lived experiences in such a way that they are honed and are not "mere illustrations to embellish an otherwise boring text" (Henriksson & Sævi, 2012, p. 59), required dialogue with the participants and others[28]. This dialogical reading was done with the participants. I took the texts they had described and met each individually to clarify whether the texts correctly captured the intended words or phrases. The interviews had been conducted in simple Norwegian and, in one case, English. Words carry contextual meanings, with expressions that might be personal or related to a specific group with different meanings than the perceived ones. This challenge meant that I had to examine every word related to the different interviews and connected to the three empirical studies, write them several times while searching for their possible meanings.

Not being a native Norwegian language speaker was equally challenging. The experiences were given in mixed languages, either simple street Norwegian language or very simple English. I later translated the experiences to English and the texts written in English (although Study Three is written in Norwegian). Even though English is closer to me, my own language of reflection (Maragoli and Swahili), had to be set aside. I was cognizant of the fact that a word or concept used by the participants had different meanings contextually. The situation would have been different if I could speak any of the participant's languages. To achieve this is impossible; one works with what is available. Therefore, a Norwegian etymology dictionary and a Norwegian-English dictionary were constant references in cases I did not understand and where the words that the participants had verified were not yet clear to me. For example, one of the participants used the Norwegian term *"utlendinger"* to mean immigrants, when the intended meaning of the same was the Norwegian equivalent of immigrant as *"innvandrer"*. Using *utlendinger* invoked meanings of being an international and not an immigrant or refugee/asylum-seeker as they were commonly referred to. Even though this was a distancing from the status quo, discussing the possible meanings of words with them helped clarify meanings and adopt what was closest.

I read some of the Norwegian texts to my Norwegian colleagues to verify some hard to grasp meanings, which was helpful when translating the texts to English. Each of the

[28] Reference is made to supervisors and phenomenologists during conferences and seminars where parts of the drafts to the studies were presented to other qualitative researchers.

studies (Two to Four) has also been read and presented during seminars and conferences before other phenomenologists and qualitative researchers. This opened up interpretative opportunities, insights into possible meanings of the anecdotes.

Practicing how to describe and write an anecdote

The challenge with writing an anecdote is that expressions and words might be lost while re-writing the experience. The experience is given to us already too late, van Manen (2014) claims. It is given already interpreted and sometimes distorted in recorded formats that one has to try to make sense of it. If well written, they contain "a methodological device in human science to make comprehensible some notion that easily eludes us" (van Manen, 1997, p. 116). The difficulty with writing this is that we sometimes end up not describing a lived experience but an experience that lacks depth and meaning. While attempting to write the anecdotes, I tried many times to describe my own lived experiences in ways that I thought were meaningful. This does not in any way, show or try to relate my experiences to be more meaningful to the experiences of the teenagers and teachers of this study. My trial anecdotes were a way of trying to understand my own experiences (van Manen, 1997). Here is an example of a description of a smartwatch,

> *I hear a slight buzz on my wrist and a quick glance at my smartwatch reveals the startling and yet not so unexpected news: 250 steps left in this hour with only 3.76 Kilometers and four flights of stairs covered so far. It is only 12. 20 pm but I am already tired, and I don't feel like walking. A few taps on the smartwatch's left button diagnose my heartrate as stable at 60 beats per minute. Now, this is bad! Zero active minutes? I should have taken the stairs and not the elevator. A second buzz on my wrist propels me on my feet with one thought on my mind: I need my heart to be more active. Walking briskly up the stairs I bump into a colleague who casually asks: "Going for your daily walk?" Panting and out of breath, I smile and nod in his direction as I take two stairs at a time*[29].

My description of the smartwatch was a way of trying to be aware of my own experiences of things around me that could provide "a clue for orienting to the phenomenon and other dimensions of phenomenological research" (van Manen, 2014, p.313). The description of the smartwatch gave me an experiential feel of how a lived experience might look like without offering causal and or interpretative explanations to it. In any other descriptions of lived experiences we have tried to do in Studies two, three and four, this way was done to bring the experience vividly to presence and "fasten a hold to nearness" van Manen (2014, p. 242). The reader might resonate with the text out of the personal experience and be touched by its lived sense. When interpretations accompany this text, they flow out of its lived sense, capturing its variant and invariant qualities.

[29] This anecdote has previously been used in a class presentation at the Doctoral Phenomenological research and writing course at the University of Alberta.

The studies – transcribing and writing

Studies Two, Three, and Four, resulted from a laborious exercise of connecting and reconnecting different aspects of the lived experience descriptions that best resonated with the experience. Qualitative inquiries have benefited from algorithms and programs like Nvivo that help to transcribe, codify words and easily identify main themes from interview data to gain insights into the data material as collected (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013; Hilal & Alabri, 2013). Phenomenological thematic analyses of "meanings of a phenomenon (lived experience) is a complex and creative process of insightful invention, discovery, and disclosure" (van Manen, 2014, p. 320). It does not follow stipulated rules to find themes but tries to see meanings as driven by the epoché and reduction, going back and forth in the texts and other 'given' material. Knowing this, I started by a careful reading of the transcribed texts, comparing them to the field notes and linking observed events to transcribed data while at the same time listening keenly again and again to the recorded interviews. I dived into the data, looking for words, phrases that reveal aspects of the phenomenon. I looked for clusters of words or sentences/phrases as themes like the "uncertainty of waiting," "the encounters of those waiting," and "becoming a teacher for unaccompanied minors" emerged. My guiding light here was, "What is this text telling me? How can the eidetic, originary, or phenomenological meaning or main significance of the text as a whole be captured?" (p. 320). Thematic analysis and writing are intertwined in phenomenology. Therefore, reading and listening to the data while formulating some experiential themes happened concurrently with the actual writing process. While this might sound easy, every study that emerged in the texts I had, emanated from extensive reading of other secondary literature like poems, novels, watching movies and philosophical literature. Van Manen (2014) calls this insight cultivators.

Insight cultivators

While engaging with this dissertation, I have read various primary and secondary sources of data material that van Manen calls insight cultivators.

Fiction and non-fiction materials

I read Ursula Le Guin's *Buffalo Gals*; Per Petterson's *I Curse the River of Time and Out to steal a horse;* Karl Over Kanusgård's six biographical novels- *My Struggles; The Boat People* by Sharon Bala and *Borderliners* By Peter Høeg, among others. These novels were chosen for their fictional and biographical description of day-to-day human experiences. The authors were insightful in how they used language to connect it to actual human experience and poignantly bring the reader to the experience, to feel the emotions and realities of their characters as one reads the texts. Reading these texts gave impressions of how phenomenological descriptions of events could be done, and in most cases, some events opened up meanings of a similar event I was working on. For example, Le Guin's description of giving names to various animals who rejected and choose their own names evoked similar descriptions of what it meant to be categorized as an unaccompanied minor.

The philosophical texts

These texts formed the backbone of theoretical reflections on what lived experience might mean. Here, Derrida's ideas on hospitality and identity (1992, 2000), Levinas

thinking of the Other and encountering the Other (1987, 2006), Lingis (1994) ideas on the rational community, Bauman's (1993) understanding the order creation and responsibility were insightful. Others included Heidegger (2001), Nancy (1991), Romano (2014, 2016), among others. I chose phenomenological philosophers who are attuned to understanding the existential human interconnectedness and meanings that emanate from them since my interest in this dissertation is existential.

Pedagogical and other texts

To understand pedagogical questions from continental and Anglo- American traditions and in order to intensify my writing with pedagogical meanings, I read both scholars like Sævi (2005, 2013, 2016), Biesta (2013, 2017, 2019), Mollenhauer (2014), Lippitz (2007), Bollnow (Friesen & Koerrenz, 2017) and Langeveld (1983), van Manen, (1991, 1997, 2015) among others. These authors connect existential questions of pedagogic to concrete experiences of pedagogic in classrooms. Their problematizations and theoretical analysis of different pedagogical situations and scenarios opened up a continental pedagogical understanding of the interconnectedness between life at home, school, and everywhere an adult and child encounter each other.

Writing, as van Manen puts is "to measure the depths of things, as well as to come to a sense of one's own depths" (van Manen, 1997, p. 127). I often stumbled upon meanings and insights that later made the three studies to be as they are. These meanings and their interpretations have been derived from extensive reading of the categories of literature above and many more others. The primary methodological text was van Manen – Phenomenology of Practice (2014).

Navigating Ethical concerns

> "I am responsible for him or her before I can assume responsibility; I am caught in my being responsible" (Levinas cited in Sævi, 2005, p. 116).

This study received the Norwegian Data Services (NSD) approval (appendices Five and Six). The requirement was to handle ethically any material given by the participants. I tried to do this to the best of my knowledge. Combining the study of vulnerable unaccompanied teenagers while being sensitive to their issues required sensitivity to their situations, which in this section, I try to explicate how I navigated it. Here I consider how the informed consent was arrived at, my role as a researcher, and voluntary participation while contemplating what it means not to harm the participants.

Informed consent and confidentiality

Informed consent

Researchers like Jacobsen and Landau (2003) and Hugman, Bartolomei, and Pittaway (2011) draw attention to the complex ethical demands involving research with refugees and asylum seekers. Their discussions reveal the precariousness of being a refugee/asylum-seeker on one side while exposing the danger that, for some researchers, the ends justify the means (Hugman et al., 2011, p. 1273; Jacobsen & Landau, 2003, pp. 192-193). Researching vulnerable groups requires tenderness and a careful 'walk like on coals,' knowing that you are looking for information as a researcher and that a dialogical understanding between the researcher and participant is unavoidable. The research process in this field is complex and full of uncertainties. The process of obtaining consent is not straightforward.

Nevertheless, consent is essential in research since the participants should be viewed as moral subjects capable of deciding what is best for themselves. In this regard, the researcher is obliged and duty-bound to ensure the respondents are sufficiently informed of their responsibilities and what the research process entails. In conventional research situations, the process of seeking consent should be scripted in order to "track, scrutinize" … and in the event "of a complaint, they can provide a basis for accountability" (Hugman et al., 2011, p. 679). I made a written consent (see Appendix One and Two) that only two teenagers and four teachers signed. Below, I describe the different forms of consenting that were adopted in the field. I adopted a dialogical approach to consenting that became helpful.

Relational approach to consenting

My two-year involvement with the teenagers revealed skepticism towards anyone who seemed to work in a government institution. One participant (teenager) remarked that whenever they see a Norwegian[30] outside their door, it is either plain clothe police officers, social workers, a UDI representative, a researcher, or a Jehovah's Witness. Some teenagers recounted an unending involvement in various research projects they were volunteered by others like center staff whose benefit they were yet to see. This created apprehension and general apathy towards researchers of any kind because they feel critically analyzed, misrepresented, and stigmatized in research reports that some of them could read online.

Therefore, I knew it would take a long time before they consented to my research. I presented as much information as possible about my research and their involvement in the research process. Most of the teenagers were suspicious of signing already written consent forms. They wondered and queried how the signed consent will be used and its impact on their asylum claims. As a result of this suspicion, there were three categories of participant consenting, those willing to participate with verbal consent (four of them); those that had no problems in signing (two of them), and lastly, those who were willing to sign so long as they are involved in the formulation of the content in the consent forms (four of them). Due to the variations in this group of participants, I opted to treat the three categories differently.

Oral consenting

I was disturbed by the question of verifiability when it came to oral consent. For those that gave oral consent, it was my responsibility to document both the process of consenting, the agreements we made, especially about reciprocal benefits, confidentiality, the recruitment procedure, withdrawal, and feedback. (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003, p. 307). I opted to allow verbal consents on the condition that I document it, voice record their consent for reference purposes so long as their anonymity was observed, which was accepted. This was done in line with NSD guidelines on oral consenting (NSD, 2019).

Iterative consenting

For the last group (those to be involved in the formulation of consent forms), I chose iterative consent. Iterative consent "starts from the assumption that ethical agreements can best be secured through a process of negotiation, which aims to develop a process

[30] I use the word Norwegian here not to essentialize any category, only for emphasis.

of shared understanding of what is involved at all stages of the research process" (Mackenzie, McDowell, & Pittaway, 2007, p. 306). This type of consent reflects the realities of data collection as a complex negotiation between the researcher and participants that keeps shifting the original research intention and question as one negotiates the meanings of the phenomenon under study. Together with the four participants, we drafted a consent form that included my research intention, what happens to data after the research is over, and their rights in the research project. There was no significant difference between this consent and the one I had made initially, but the participants wanted to be involved in drafting it. Whenever there was a change in focus, for example, from their experiences of teachers' responses to their waiting for asylum responses, we adjusted the information accordingly. As I now see it, research is a relational process that involves negotiation and renegotiation of meanings so long as the researcher does not harm the respondents. Therefore, iterative consenting has served as an avenue to continuously talk about my project and what it involves throughout the fieldwork time.

Voluntary participation

How voluntary is the process, especially when teachers referred helped in recruiting each other and teenagers recommending each other for the project? I had considered snowballing from the start (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009) as a participant recruitment method. However, from a phenomenological point of view, we recruit participants for who they are, "experts" for teachers and the teenagers for the unique experience they were undergoing. Participant referrals became handy when recruitment was problematic at some point in this research project. Even though I got help with getting participants, I was afraid that this process might result in a biased group of respondents since they may recommend and allow only those they share "a social network, for example, belonging to the same religious group" (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003, p. 196) or are of the same nationality or ethnicity. For teachers, it was highly unlikely that they could be found otherwise since not so many get engaged with this group of teenagers; thus, it was problematic to determine voluntariness. As such, I opted to have classroom observation first before interviews.

Dealing with [in]voluntary participation

At the beginning of this study, one teenaged participant volunteered three others for a focus group interview. What was troubling with this focus group conversation was that the participants were volunteered by a teenager who came from a rival political group during the political violence in their home country. He dominated the discussions, which I later learned was a signal for the others to agree with him. Most participants were afraid to share any information related to their current status or what they have experienced. They feared that sharing such information with a rival group could risk being identified and possibly being traced or risking their remaining family members' lives. Thus, the conversation was about general issues. I learned of this later, after following up on one of them. This focus group interview was not included in any of the studies in this dissertation. It worked to exclude a critical group that could have made varied responses were it to be heterogeneous.

I opted to hang out with the teenagers as described above (Observing Participants) (Rogers, 2004). In this way, the informal settings reduced the power-distance between

me as a researcher and participants. It made it possible for me to get to hear information that I could not have been given in more formal settings like the focus group interview I started with. This way, I knew how to involve and handle the different teenagers depending on their social groups and who to involve in the interview process. There were times when the information was given randomly during the hangout and sometimes became the only real information that resonated with my research phenomenon. In such instances, I went to the participants involved and asked follow-up questions and for their consent to use what they said in my writing. This came with a promise to treat their statements and information with confidentiality or signing a consent form.

The problem of categorization

Study One shows that the analytical category of unaccompanied teenagers is used in various research fields to identify and define these asylum-seeking children/teenagers. What is critical for me as a researcher is to be aware of the potential for political power play, especially when my "analytical concepts become accepted and taken for granted" (Hilt, 2016, p. 78). There is a danger that the researcher can veer off into the stigmatization and stereotypical analysis that is inherent in most research. The research community with good intentions has portrayed unaccompanied minors as a category of "vulnerable" children (Hilde et al., 2013) of a minority language (Valenta, 2009) that portents a tendency to drop out of school at an early age, living in relatively poor conditions within the receptions centers and even after resettlement in municipalities. Some of these definitions of vulnerability do not necessarily apply to all the participants of this study. During fieldwork, I came across teenagers who are only incapacitated when it comes to their ability to express themselves in the Norwegian language, which is the language of instruction in schools. When allowed to express themselves in a language they are comfortable in, their articulation of issues surpassed the category they are placed in.

The Norwegian National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities (NESH, 2006, p. 22) states that:

> Researchers who gather information about the characteristics and behavior of persons and groups must be careful about operating with distinctions and characterizations that give ground for unreasonable generalization and, in actual practice, may lead to stigmatization of certain social groups.

Engaging in such research calls for sensitivity towards the myths produced and the place of stigmatization (Hilt, 2016; Ytrehus, 2007) by the research community and society in general. Teachers and reception center staff used the category of unaccompanied minors and vulnerability freely as a 'safe' name identifying these teenagers beyond their diversity and uniqueness. As Study Three pointed out, language barriers can only be attributed to their new-ness to Norwegian society and not as deviant behavior. The question that kept disturbing me during the fieldwork was, how does one describe how schools and or administrators give meaning to the categorizations without simultaneously giving the categories in question a *status quo*? To be unaccompanied as Study One revealed, pointed to identity assignation defining their insufficiency, alone, without their input or refusal of such an assignation. If I chose to describe the actual

diversity and issues facing unaccompanied minors in schools, I amplify the category as it has been used in cultural descriptions (Ytrehus, 2007).

On the other hand, it is crucial for a phenomenological researcher to describe things as they are. There is a tendency to create distance between the various population groups. For example, in classrooms, they could make a distinction of *us/them, a* dilemma I consistently made myself aware of during fieldwork. The danger I see with this is that I could use my power as a researcher to offer a narrative that is common in research work, that paints a picture of vulnerability and unaccompanied-ness as deviant and problematic. Ytrehus (2007) offers an *etic/emic* description of how categories become meaningful in research. The *etic* category is the researcher's analytic category, while *emic* categorizations are understood as people's own categorization (see also Hilt, 2016). I find this distinction relevant in my descriptions and writing process since the category 'unaccompanied minors' and 'asylum-seeker, is distinguished as the field's own description and my analytic category is contextualized in the *etic*. I say contextualized to differentiate the different experiences that could arise from elsewhere where such categories have been generalized or used.

Van Manen warns us:

> Our "common sense" pre-understandings, our suppositions, assumptions, and the existing bodies of scientific knowledge, predispose us to interpret the nature of the phenomenon before we have even come to grips with the significance of the phenomenological question (1997, p. 46)

Going into the fieldwork with pre-assumptions of these categories and how they have already been shaped in research foreshadows our understanding and makes us believe that we already understand the phenomenon they represent. From a phenomenological standpoint, it is prudent for a researcher to understand what his/her pre-assumptions are so that even if they were to 'creep' into his research, he could hold them at bay while seeking to understand the experience as it is. My analytic gaze moved between explicating existential meanings of whom an unaccompanied minor/teenager is from their concrete lived experiences of waiting for asylum responses. At the same time, my pre-understandings of who they are, was brought forward and explicated while encountering and listening to their lived realities. This way my pre-understandings met their reality existentially, allowing their realities to be described and interpreted beyond what is ascribed to them.

"Do no Harm" and the question of anonymity

What do you do when you realize that one of the participants (teenagers) has access to certain resources that they should not be having or engaged in activities that they are not supposed to be engaged in? I have constantly asked myself this question, especially when I found out through the conversations we were having while doing interviews, some of the information was unintended for me but was put forward by one of the participants in order to emphasize or give an example. I realize that such information could be related to my way of questioning. When such information is given, for example, one teenager revealed his actual age, something that was different in the records at UDI and in the reception center, what does one do? The dilemma is whether to report the minor and put his/her life at risk or talk it through with them. I found it wise to talk it

through since my question put them at stake to reveal what they revealed. There were those times when the information given was untended but became relevant for further action. For example, when I discovered some mistreatment in class as a result of religion, which was difficult for the student to bring up to the teacher but unintentionally said it during an interview, I talked with them and took it upon myself to indirectly confront the teacher about it without putting the minor at risk.

Phenomenological inquiries anticipate the participants to give lived experiences or anecdotes from real life, where they experienced it or was touched by it (Sævi, 2005, 2016; van Manen, 1997, 2014). Anecdotal examples form the starting point of a phenomenological reflection and description. Nevertheless, the danger is that when some information is revealed, especially during a focus group interview, it is hard to control the repercussions. In my field work, I have tried as much as I can not to use focus group interviews, especially with the youngsters because of the sensitivity of the respondents, when one was used as described above and upon realizing how fatal it could have been, I did not use data given. Often the information given is real experiences that mean a lot to the participants but has implications on their stay in the reception centers.

How do I represent these minor's voices in my writing and descriptions so that whatever they have given does not turn back to haunt them? I have endeavored to individually code the interview data and other collected material on a password-protected computer for each participant. I have anonymized all my participants and obliterated their list at the end of the study. Since this is a phenomenological study, anecdotes were used in the three major empirical studies. Anecdotes that have been in my writing and presentation of the findings have been re-told and re-edited since they have a narrative point, "and it is this point that needs honing" (van Manen, 1997, p. 69). Such an exercise makes it possible to anonymize the participants and make the anecdote become an experiential example for phenomenological analysis (p.122). I am aware that anecdotes used in ethnographic or narrative qualitative research (Carolyn & Arthur, 2000) might be used abstractly and easily identify the respondents. Since anecdotes are the focus of phenomenology, the one experiencing becomes secondary since s/he is adequately hidden and represented in the honed anecdotes.

Methodological validation and generalization

Creswell and Miller (2000) and Kleven (2008) agree that the validation of scientific knowledge depends on different criteria in qualitative and quantitative methods. The epistemological controversies surrounding how knowledge can be legitimized have led, according to Kleven (2008), to a plethora of terms, each different in its description of what it means by validity. For quantitative research, there is an agreement of at least objectivity in findings based on distancing the researcher from the research itself and the possibility to repeat and generalize the findings (Denzin, 2009; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Given the lack of a standard agreement on a validation criterion, Kleven argues that the different research traditions must evaluate this from their epistemological and ontological considerations to determine validity. He suggests that what needs to be valid is "the meaning or interpretations of the findings as well as implications for further action" (2008, p. 221). As for validation, he suggests that it is a "rational discussion of

alternative interpretations" (p. 223). Following Kleven, it can be argued that regardless of what data one has collected, what makes sense as valid research are the conclusions drawn from the said research in either tradition. The danger here is that the conclusions drawn from a wrong set of data could be catastrophic especially psychometric tests that are generalizable to populations and used to make policy decisions. He proposes four validity criteria: statistical, internal, and external validity and construct validity. Here, I chose to elaborate shortly on construct validity and its significance to this dissertation.

In construct validity, the question is, "to what extent are theoretical constructs operationalized in research" (Kleven, 2008, p. 224)? Or what is the connection between the research project and the reality from which we retrieve data? The reality in the field could produce different data that does not correspond to the theories chosen. The dilemma here is that observations of the realities in the world are theory-laden, and all theory is man-made. Furthermore, following this logic, we observe what we can confirm with our theories. Eventually, this takes us into a logical circular motion of observation-theory and theory-observation. Away from the measurements of constructs and how they can be relevant to the theories used, I find this circular motion to be relevant in validating research. If the theory used does not seem to match with the inferences made, then one has to re-evaluate, whether it is the theory, the observations, or the data that was problematic to begin with.

To validate phenomenological studies as van Manen alludes to depends largely on whether,

> the research question was phenomenological? Is the analysis performed on experientially descriptive accounts, transcripts? Is the study properly rooted in primary and scholarly phenomenological literature- rather than mostly on questionable secondary and tertiary sources? Does the study avoid trying to legitimate itself with a validation criterion derived from sources that are concerned with other (non-phenomenological) methodologies? (2014, p. 350-351)

Even though phenomenology has a different criterion, as van Manen argues above, it oscillates between the concrete lived descriptions, theories, and other insight cultivators that are relevant to the experience/phenomenon being researched. In a way, it searches between the parts and the whole to find possible coherence, ambivalences, and contradictions not with a view to resolve them but with a desire to allow them to be as they are within the experience/phenomenon described. The difference with phenomenological research is that theory does not guide the reflections; it is the experience/phenomenon being researched that guides the exploration. These lived experiences, as already stated, are subjective and cannot be generalizable to other populations. Herein lies a tension. Van Manen suggests that

> A powerful phenomenological text thrives on a certain irrevocable tension between what is unique and what is shared, between particular and transcendent meaning, and between the reflective and the pre-reflective spheres of the lifeworld. (1997, p. 345).

In van Manen's view, this tension is unavoidable, and as phenomenological researchers, it is a tension that we inhabit and try to make sense of with the evocation of language. The uniqueness of the experience lies in its subjectivity. The teenager's experience of

waiting for asylum is personal and cannot be repeated in any way. From a phenomenological standpoint, this experience cannot be generalized to other people or populations and cannot be reduced to facts. If generalization were to be accounted for in the experience or phenomenon, then what is “general” in the experience is more important than the general population (van Manen, 2014). As one explores the experience, strands of meanings that form existential insights emerge via eidetic reduction. The existential insights of meanings are specific to the phenomenon and differentiate it from other similar phenomena, and this characteristic is what van Manen refers to as the universal or essential quality of the phenomenon (2014). In its uniqueness, an experience offers a universal quality that is identifiable as belonging to the experience. Thus, as a phenomenological inquiry, **S**tudies Two to Four began with individual experiences that contextualized the experience. The inquiry's intention is not to belabor the individual lived experience descriptions but to go beyond them by exploring in detail the meanings of the unique existential meanings that emerge from concrete experience. By doing it this way, we can relate ourselves to the experience while going beyond the experience's contextual understanding.

5. Presentation and discussion of findings in the studies

Etymologically, the word findings means “what the mind discovers; knowledge attained by human effort[31].” In this dissertation, efforts were directed at confirming and developing useful knowledge (Study One) generated through policy and literature review analysis. The amalgamation of content and discourse analysis with the literature review in Study One offered the possibility to glimpse at the “big picture” of society and how it values and represents these young asylum seekers. Study One's methodological approach opened up knowledge about how society has produced and represented unaccompanied teenagers' category as vulnerable through its various discourses. This study's basic idea became open when the representation of unaccompanied-ness was revealed to be one-sided and exclusionary. Such knowledge allowed an understanding of identity construction that favors the government’s descriptions while neglecting the teenager's realities of seeking asylum. From this standpoint, it becomes important to pursue the teenagers' stories and personal experiences waiting for asylum response. The empirical studies' focus became significant since most study participants were given temporary permits or rejections.

Studies Two, Three and Four, explores the phenomenological lived meanings of seeking asylum for unaccompanied teenagers and what matters when teaching them. In the last three studies, I was sensitive to the emergence of the possible meaning of waiting for asylum response for the young teenagers (Study Two and Three) and their teacher's experience of teaching them (Study Four). The basic tenets of epoché and reduction presented and discussed in Chapter Four above have a quality that they induce a certain patience with the phenomenon and a pathic dwelling with writing the meaning that might evoke human sensibilities and identification with the experience as a possible experience. This means that we cannot arrive at findings that can be generalized to other populations in the traditional meaning of generalization. Instead, in phenomenology, we speak of singular and universal meaning, which means that an individual experience might be recognizable to others in the intersubjective settings of a culture or even wider. Therefore, the phenomenon cannot provide a result in the regular understanding of a result (Creswell, 2012) because meaning always is tentative and subject to interpretation. This means that a phenomenological study is open to continuous exploration and new insights.

Study One: Being an unaccompanied: A dilemma for policy? Representations of unaccompanied teenagers in Norwegian policy.

Study One starts from a political representation of unaccompanied minors where it emerges that the main discourse of inclusion for all newcomers is paradoxical in its presentation of these asylum-seeking children. Second-generation children as a category

[31] www.etymonline.com

of immigrant children are preferred, especially where the emphasis on inclusion's success is concerned. This success is attributed to parents and educational institutions that implement it on governments' behalf. Introducing unaccompanied minors in policy creates deviations from the norm since they have no primary caregivers, have no or limited school experience, which in some situations makes it burdensome to determine placement within the school system. The study finds that inclusion discourse is fluid and replaceable or mixed with other discourses. This replaceability and fluidity are observed when the unaccompanied minors' category is introduced. It brings ambiguities in truly representing them as young people in real need of asylum. These ambiguities become more pronounced when age is used to define who can be included and excluded.

The socio-semantic model, content, and policy discourse analysis in the whitepaper analysis show hybridization of discourses when the question of unaccompanied minors come into play and the discourses shift at different times. It is noticeable that when other discourses are highlighted, like education, for example, asylum-seeking becomes secondary while the actual category of minors is backgrounded. At the height of the major Norwegian educational reforms of 2006, the group of unaccompanied minors as asylum-seekers disappear from the political/educational discussions, and only the clues of their characteristics exist. The clues of the characteristics can be found within other broad categories like second-generation immigrant children and newly arrived asylum-seeking children. The unaccompanied minors become invisible both as a group and as individual young people. What is noticeable is that the group characteristics in this policy framing deprive successful inclusion and education for this group. Insufficient language skills and poor background are highlighted. Compounding this was the hybridity of other discourses like protectionism and vulnerability, especially during the period between 2012 and 2016. These latter discourses, including changes in migration laws, create a divide in the category of unaccompanied minors, complicating how caregiving, education, and general responsibility for older unaccompanied teenagers should be understood. Here, critical analysis and use of other theoretical assumptions, like immigrants as governable spaces by Rose (1999), reveals a complex constraining of responsibility towards unaccompanied minors while excluding them from other services like education.

Study One concludes that the process of essentializing group characteristics as a means of identity attribution might result in framing discourses that are exclusionary for older unaccompanied teenagers. Thus, the stage for exclusion was pre-set for some from specific nationalities, whose stay was pre-ordered as temporary until they turn 18 years for either repatriation or re-application for asylum as adults. Study One identifies an uncertainty both legally and politically on how the young asylum-seekers were to be handled both at the reception stage and during their stay. Like UDI, government institutions are given the sole responsibility of caregiving and asylum determination; it complicates the actual day-to-day care services and testimonials to be given to them when the interview comes. This, as the study shows, makes their credibility doubtful from the onset. Therefore, from this study, a stage is set for waiting. At this moment, an opportunity arises to ask how they will be encountered upon arrival and how they will experience their actual waiting for asylum given the political situation.

Study One sets the stage for exclusion for the unaccompanied minors that come to Norway. They are being placed on society's peripheries until a determination to return, or a temporary stay is granted.

Study Two: While we wait: Unaccompanied minors in Norway. Or the hospita(bi)lity of the Other.

Study Two examines waiting for asylum at the earliest point of the teenager's entry and stay in Norway and how they are responded to as they wait for asylum response. This study tries to go beyond a linkage of facts to problems or solutions and look beyond the essential meaning of waiting for asylum response. Waiting for asylum response is seen and experienced by unaccompanied teenagers from the onset and might be expected to be a straightforward experience, where one enters as a child or minor and is granted asylum or a place to live, even a kind of home. The triggers of movement notwithstanding, this inquiry shows the young asylum-seekers who are coming even though they are allowed and in this sense are welcome to Norway, the interpretation of the welcome sustains and predicates waiting. Waiting means that time is suspended, and inactivity abounds. This study navigates through the taken-for-granted meaning of waiting as a form of inactivity while being open to the possible meaning of encounters that the young teenagers have while waiting. The study explores the simple daily language that expresses waiting in its dynamic nature. In this study, waiting at this moment might be bearable if it is deemed short given that optimism and the hope of receiving at least a positive response are still high.

Derrida's (2000) phenomenological deconstruction of hospitality adds meaning to the young people's experience. Their entrance into Norway remains on the thresholds of hospitality where they are neither in nor out. They exist almost in "no man's" land, represented by the lone reception centers and their vast contact with Norwegians. Phenomenologically, and following Derrida, the young are *arrivants* – those whose coming is unexpected as well as overwhelming the host. The host at the reception center waits for the law of reception to take effect to allow them to be welcomed by an official status, and not just as a category of unaccompanied minors. This study reveals a sort of violence regarding hospitality for the host and the government. The government chooses who to welcome legally.

Regarding language, a "yes" actually could mean a "no" without saying it. The ambiguous hospitality makes waiting unavoidably uncertain and difficult. The rights and obligations meant for the young who have suffered the war and are victimized as a result of war, and more specifically in their vulnerability as children (under 18 years), have many grey areas that only give room to the government to decide what interpretations to offer.

Further, this study focuses on what seeking safety or protection might mean and how we as individual persons and society actually care for newcomers. The etymology of the word asylum contains the idea of the inviolability of the asylum seekers' rights. To the young asylum-seekers, a sanctuary is given that is not revoked. The study points to a more profound understanding of sanctuary, which must be given when the host is ready.

In Norway, it seems that the host is not ready, and to the young asylum-seekers, their vulnerability and whatever brought them here remains theirs to behold while they wait. This study shows that waiting is an existential dilemma to the teenagers who have to live between the welcome that might as well be unwelcoming and hospitality that is actually not seriously meant or at best unclarified.

Living in this multiplicity of the ambivalent meaning of words and intentions and redundant actions towards the young asylum seekers requires attention to what is happening around and within the spaces of their human encounters. In retrospect, this attention is tacitly grasped by the young and perhaps even more meaningful when reflected on in interviews. For instance, do the reception center rooms, where Kumar and Lumire (the participants in Study Two) encounter others, become relational spaces of encounters where waiting is experienced either as fleeting moments or as deeply irrelevant but unavoidable moments to them? What is paradoxical is that they are welcome, they can stay with the uncertainty of the length, they can be admitted to schools, attend recreational activities but are totally dependent on the host. By the light of their descriptions, we are invited into their lived spaces where each one is replaced by another through various decisions. They feel objectified, replaceable, and mixed with others, and the time when they will be replaced is unpredictable to them. Some encounters, even though they cannot cure or remedy waiting (like Kumar and the psychologist) are in some sense meaningful, at least in the moment. However, other encounters are meaningless in the present as well as when it comes to insignificant words and acts. Nevertheless, the encounters become meaningful in a phenomenological sense and help understand the intensity of waiting governed and controlled by powers beyond the teenagers' understanding and control. My intention with this study is to display the dilemmas and ambiguities that the teenagers face legally, institutionally, and personally in their first encounter with the reception system.

Study Three: "Å være ingen eller noen – unge enslige asylsøkere om venting på godhet, et sted å leve og muligheten for et liv" (To be nobody or somebody. Young minor asylum-seekers waiting for goodness, a place to live and the possibility of a life).

Study Three explores the experience of waiting for asylum at a later stage of the teenagers stay in Norway. At this point, many have attended an asylum interview, some have received temporary permits and must leave when they turn 18, others have received outright rejections to their applications and are awaiting repatriation. This study explores waiting for asylum that has lingered on for some time leaving the participants of this study hopeless, in limbo and the initial welcome and possible hospitality as described in Study Two, messed up.

The experience of waiting gains a different meaning when it is experienced through movement and unsettlement. The meaning of an asylum-seeker as one who is seeking safety and a place to be protected from what they fear or are running from gains a different understanding after a prolonged stay in Norway. As the teenagers describe, the

reception centers where they are accommodated were closed continuously down. This means they must be relocated often, leaving behind any attachments to anything they might have established. To finally settle somewhere is their goal and desire. Phenomenologically, we navigate the experience of waiting tentatively, exploring the possibilities of belonging within a language and a home. Heidegger's (2001) notion of a language as a house of being is informative here. It is expected of them to have learned the language to interact with others and understand the environment they find themselves in. Language gives meaning to words, expressions and helps us to open ourselves to others in ways that we both can understand each other. The teenagers experience constant movement as a breakage to any link they could have heard with language and experiencing the reception center as a home.

The study suggests that to find goodness and experience it as good is rare. To find a home and experience its home-like qualities, especially as an asylum-seeker, means to experience them when it matters most. What matters most is the moment of vulnerability when one has no place to call home and longs to be part of a community and be secure. Thus, this study exposes us to the utmost basic qualities of life like language, a home, or place that might slow down the effects of waiting when encountering adults or non-waiters can be experienced as a human encounter without a particular end in mind.

This paper tentatively explores the possibility that the democratic welfare society, as it is, does not have room for these categories of asylum-seeking teenagers to exist as political subjects with the same possibilities as other citizens or like other children existing in the same society. By phenomenological reflections, the differential treatment of asylum-seekers reveals a limbo, a meaningless-ness. It is a state that is difficult to inhabit either in language- since they cannot express themselves and their meanings. It is a place that in most cases is home-less in the double meaning of the word, which in the end casts them outside the confines of identifiable categories that are meaningful. Theirs remains to be a being that is there to be seen and not heard, for their waiting and every other activity, active or inactive, is out of their control indefinitely.

The temporal reality of living in a now – that can be experienced as excluding and positing the subjects (unaccompanied teenagers) as unwanted, without home or place, is opened up as an everyday reality for the participants of this study. In this study, what is clear is that attachment to a place, home or language, or relationships and culture is only temporary and short-lived; its meaning for now and future cannot yet be grasped, nevertheless is still experienced as it happens.

Study Four: Failure as an opening to teaching realities of life. The case of teaching unaccompanied minors in Norway

Studies Two and Three have elucidated the controversies, dilemmas, and contradictions of waiting as experienced by young asylum-seekers as they wait for asylum response. From these Studies (Two and Three), waiting is explored as a nuanced subjective human experience that is uncertain both at the reception phase and sustained as such after an extended time of waiting. The time variations make the experience of waiting uniquely nuanced regarding meaning, meaningfulness, and meaninglessness. Study Four starts

with both novice and experienced teachers' experiences as they encounter the unaccompanied teenagers in schools. The study interrogates the underlying qualities of teaching moments and asks whether and how a teaching moment can sufficiently be judged to have failed.

Study Four questions the normative assumption that teaching unaccompanied teenagers is for integration purposes regardless of how long they stay in the country. Sometimes teaching encounters strangeness in both the teacher and student; for example, misunderstandings or incomprehension when the teacher must act in the spur of the moment with and without secure insight into existing theories or pedagogical understanding of how to continue teaching. Sometimes theories fall apart in the face of reality in the classroom. The strangeness of teaching, which of course is present in all teaching, is particularly present and relevant in cases when teachers and students do not share culture, language, and worldviews. The study raises the question of whether there is room to open up to this strangeness fruitfully; the unexpected, perhaps unwanted, the sense of uneasiness that comes with it to arise and become educational and teachable moments both for the teacher and student. It also raises some of the dilemmas that occur when societal aspirations, restrictions, and political goals are intended to direct education.

We raise the idea of the pedagogical relation as a human and educational possibility to allow education to be education on its own terms. Education then is not a temporary endeavor for integration but might lead to teacher-student relationality in the temporal and [a]temporal moments. In using a phenomenological approach, the question of the teacher-student relationship becomes the fulcrum of the teacher's pedagogical responsibility towards the student rather than the sole concern for fulfilling curriculum goals. Curriculum goals for this group of asylum seekers are unclarified and, in most cases, seem to align with those of the majority- Norwegian students (Pastoor, 2016). The tests and level of engaging them do not differ from those with language proficiency or common cultural knowledge. The study problematizes that the starting point of teaching, where an understanding of what is said and communicated, is presumed to be there because of a common language, or that young asylum seekers possess previous experiences that help with the current tasks. The students have varied schooling experiences, including some who are encountering school for the first time at a level that is too advanced to them. Engaging these difficulties that the teacher finds him/herself in requires tactfulness and a tacit understanding of the situation at hand. In most cases, the everyday taken-for-granted encounters, where the teachers' professional and psychological understanding of the situation to guide their actions, seem to fail to meet the students in their realities.

This study highlights moments of failure in classroom interaction in order to shift the focus to the potential that lies in a pedagogical relation, which is a relation where the student's readiness to learn and the possibility to engage in the activity at hand, are not necessarily given and predictable. Sometimes education fails and, in failing, it could positively allow the emergence of subjectivity for both teacher and student or for the opposite, alienation and consternation. As teachers recount their moments of failure, we notice that it affects their engagement as teachers. Yet, our focus is to point out that teaching is a risk (Biesta, 2013), while failure reimagines a beginning of something that

is important that could not be grasped from the onset. From the teachers descriptions, we encounter situations where they are introducing these teenagers to computer tests (Trude and Namu), or to fairy-tales (Eva) as told in Norwegian language or trying out some knowledge they have learned that turns out to have adverse consequences on the student (Mona and Adnan). The focus of the teacher might not have been on the student, and what it is like for them in this moment of the lesson. Nevertheless, the unfolding situations that creates what is seen as failure, breaks their expectations and forces them to see other ways of being and teaching these teenagers. The phenomenological intention here is to ask: how am I as a teacher in these situations that are unfolding before me? Thus, we see failure not first as a problem to be dealt with, it is a quality that belongs to teaching.

In the end, the question as to whether democracy and acceptance of difference, work for asylum seekers in the classroom is problematized and left open. What is critical in this study is whether democracy as a way of allowing alterity and its difficulties can be allowed to dwell within such classrooms. What can teachers do when there is little room to engage in the situation personally and to take the risk of putting their knowledge, qualifications, and understandings at risk for the sake of encountering the newcomer anew?

6. What is the point of the studies? Discussions

This chapter provides a discussion of patterns that emerged from the findings of the four studies discussed above.

The purpose of this dissertation is to contribute to the common human, pedagogical and political awareness of the experience of waiting for asylum by unaccompanied teenagers. How might waiting for asylum become a pedagogical experience where the young asylum-seeker can be encountered as a human being and supported personally and educationally while they wait? The leading question in this dissertation was " *What is it like to wait for asylum response as an unaccompanied minor?* The studies that I have described above were guided by these sub questions respectively; *How are unaccompanied teenagers constructed in official Norwegian policy (2004-2016)? How do we encounter those waiting and how do we respond to their waiting? In what ways is waiting as a common experience and as a difficult life (pre)condition lived and described by unaccompanied minors? What pedagogical dilemmas are core when teaching unaccompanied minors in Norway?* As described in the previous section on findings, the three empirical studies (two, three, four) revealed various nuanced meanings of waiting for asylum response as experienced by unaccompanied teenagers. The discussion in this section is organized around three themes.

As a beginning point, I focus on existential education which is contrasted with instrumental education. The latter education focuses on schooling, interpreted narrowly within socialization paradigms as creating order in the teenagers' lives, to socialize them into the Norwegian society albeit temporarily. As described throughout the three empirical studies and more specifically in Study Four, this form of education relies on teacher's ability to teach them something, mostly subject matter and specifically Norwegian language and culture. Additionally, these teenagers' categorization as unaccompanied as problematic and possible failures sets precedence for educational marginalization in overtly exclusionary terms. Nonetheless, as discussed in this dissertation, existential education focuses on dilemma situations where pedagogical qualities like concern, care, responsibility (a relational education), and encountering children and young adults as human beings are put at stake in the face of what might be called instrumental teaching for learning. As explored in this dissertation, this kind of education not only takes place in school, but everywhere where adults and young people meet, like in the reception centers, at UDI offices, at karate training centers, during walks, or in the grocery shops.

In the second section, I revisit identity as presented in chapter three of this abstract and in Study One. I argue that representing unaccompanied minors with characteristics belonging to ethnic groups they come from ends up essentializing them. I present identity not as a problem to be solved but as a challenge, something that is constantly emerging, to be worked on, again and again. I finally look at a possibility for a relational encounter between the unaccompanied minors who are made to wait and those responsible for them to encounter them from a professional standpoint. The argument here is that there is a possibility in an encounter, one with a pedagogical orientation, for

the teenagers and adults to emerge as subjects with their own rights as human beings, even within given identities. My existential concerns in these discussions make my approach tentative. I approach the discussions as possibilities and not solutions or final conclusions with the help of other literature in the field from which I discuss each theme. The emerging subjectivity for example, in the encounter, is not a given, but as a possibility that both the adult (teacher or caregiver) can look out for its emergence and care for it.

Towards the end, I discuss shortly what a discourse language might mean in furthering an instrumentalist view of the unaccompanied minors. In contrast to the discourse language, a phenomenological language is tentative, does not add meaning but questions the daily vocabularies and words that mean something to those experiencing waiting. It is precisely the latter language that has shaped and oriented the discussions in this dissertation while showing the phenomenological language used.

Naming unaccompanied minors, constructing identity

As it is for the unaccompanied teenagers, the school system performs certain functions that proceed from an understanding of the already essentialist characteristics ascribed to them. While these characteristics provide the basis for defining their identity within school and immigration, it does not define who they are. Their subjectivity is an educational question that should be divorced from the question of identity. In this section, I use Mollenhauer's (2014) understanding of identity to discuss an alternative understanding of identity. Identity, psychologically or sociologically, can easily be reduced to a question of social locations (gender, race, and ethnicity), a view which Mollenhauer (2014) and Yuval-Davis, (2010) dismiss. Mollenhauer's argument is to put identity as a challenge and a problem for it to be evaluated and worked upon (Friesen & Sævi, 2010). On the other hand, Yuval-Davis (2010) argues that identity is not a fixity, and Mollenhauer (2014) goes on.

> As Comenius saw it, the self is unable to fit the square peg of its "ec-centric" state into the round hole of social conventions. It follows that at least a point of departure for the eccentricity must be found outside the roles imposed on the eccentric self by society… (p. 123).

This quote portrays an essential conflict between self and the conventional roles given to self by society. When a person comes to terms with such conflicts, it evokes the reality of a self that protrudes or hides behind the requirements of the social conventions, whose exposure results in the conflict of an outer (conventionalized self- societal expectations) and inner self (what is derived in opposition to reality and possibilities), (Mollenhauer, 2014). This argument, therefore, suggests that the self is always in a state of in-between being and becoming. The possible student is still unknown and, therefore, a "problem" or a challenge both to teachers, others, and him/herself. Moreover, this is how identity should be, according to Mollenhauer. Arendt (1958) argues that it is impossible for man to reflect on his birth (beginning) and death (end). This implies an impossibility to ever create an identity that is complete.

Nevertheless, him/her can act on his/her beginnings. That implies that our identity develops upon reacting to the challenges presented to us upon starting (Friesen & Sævi,

2010). For young people growing up, the challenges presented to the self, might be insurmountable.

Realizing that human beings are in a state of formation puts the teacher on the front line, in order not to look at identity as a psychological or cultural issue (though it is part of it), but rather as a pedagogical "problem and/or challenge" (Friesen & Sævi, 2010, p. 16) of growing up, a condition that demands that we try to open up possibilities for identity formation for the teenagers. The implication for teaching especially vulnerable children is that the teacher recognizes him/herself as incomplete, but firmly and gently is guiding the young ones relationally towards self-growth and awareness. The paradox for the teacher lies in seeing both the teenager/child as a *being* on one end and as one with the potential of becoming. If this is the basis for understanding identity, how must we understand it as far as unaccompanied teenagers of this study are concerned?

UNHCR's definition of a refugee (Edward, 2016) hints at a group of people uprooted and cast away from their homes because of war or persecution. By implication, the term refugee or asylum-seeker is only a temporal category for purposes of differentiating who needs what kind of protection or inclusion, and possibly a new category is given. Apart from being uprooted and thrown into the world, either willingly[32] or unwillingly, some of them, as highlighted in Study One, have no identity[33], no official documents to ascertain their claims of where they were born, their names, or actual date of birth. They are disconnected from the familiar state (country of origin) and place and dispersed into the world, with a name, yet nameless or stateless until a category is assigned to define them. As humans, they are described in categories known to the government, which as Hilt (2015) claims, is the only way a system[34] can communicate about an entity that was not part of it. Thus, being as categorized as unaccompanied, accompanied, or displaced children includes them as either refugees or asylum-seekers. As such, they are left out of official educational communication, one that would have considered them politically important. Nevertheless, they now find themselves as part of an illustration of the categorized as foreign, one that, according to Lippitz, "doesn't fit into available structures, and that even tears through the warp and woof of the textures of the everyday" (Lippitz, 2007, p. 78). Øzerk and Kerchner (2014) show that this categorization, in terms of specific characteristics of for example, unaccompanied teenagers, puts them as at-risk and statistically prone to fail.

The problem does not lie with creating an identity or categorizing a particular group within certain known characteristics or being explicit about their failures or problems. What is critical is when knowledge about the other (the unaccompanied minors) is normalized and becomes what guides, for example, teachers' and caregivers' actions. When this happens, the category becomes essentialized and objectified in the process. According to the government's language, what seems to be relevant is how effective (OECD, 2019) a school or caregiving system should be in achieving the society's desired end. Teachers, caregivers in reception centers and students alike, are defined according to Masschelein and Simons as "primarily in terms of their private individuality, that is, in terms of their own needs, preferences, life choices, and how they succeed in making

[32] I refer the reader to the discussion on protection and reasons for travel in Study One.
[33] See also Chapter three- "No name, no identity" (p.)
[34] For example the political, legal, education and social systems

their lives a successful enterprise" (2010, p. 540). The danger with this trend is that the workers within this "enterprise" are given everything there is to know about their work to be effective by implementing the standards given. This dissertation has highlighted how policy frameworks communicate *apriori* given characteristics about unaccompanied teenagers by which teachers come to know and work with. When policy guidelines and lived experience realities intersect, the given categories bring forth unsolvable dilemmas as this dissertation shows. In naming a category, a specific identity is placed on them. Once a name is given that seems appropriate to a certain identity, attention is removed from that category's real identity, and it becomes the name associated with it, meaning attention shifts from the real identity to the category given.

Mollenhauer says, "My self-projection and the relationship to it – as well as the projection I make in response to the projections others make about me – pose a problem for me in terms of what I can potentially become" (2014, p. 126). Mollenhauer realizes the tensions inherent in identity not as fixed, locked in, and determined, but as something in constant work, one that brings with it something new through self-reflection and in constant change. In Mollenhauer's terms, identity is my relation to myself. How I relate to my own life and living and constantly encounter myself as acting, thinking, and aspiring, have to do with who I am and constantly become. His thinking of identity is not the same as a political categorization; instead, he represents an alternative understanding that might add insight to the current understanding of what identity means in terms of the young people arriving in Norway to seek asylum. As such, to politically ascribe a certain knowledge about them in terms of what characterizes them hides behind "interventions" (Hilt, 2015) as the operative mechanism to avoid future problems (Prøitz, 2015). Nevertheless, as this dissertation has illustrated, these teenagers are in a critical period of their lives, including having suffered multiple crises. It might be politically problematic or a dilemma, especially in giving positive asylum responses to particular unaccompanied teenagers from some countries, but it might matter how they are encountered and made to live their lives while they wait.

Education – a trial arena?

As we saw in Study One, the inclusion of unaccompanied minors in schools is unclear, at best paradoxical, since their inclusion aims are not made specific. Instead, the aims seem to be guided towards solving "political, social or economic problems" (Korsgaard, 2016, p. 936) of diversity and the cost of hosting refugees and asylum seekers. The study participants find themselves fixed into a position where they must wait to be repatriated or settled. While they wait, the school helps keep the social and political issues at bay first as asylum-seeking is being resolved, making education a trial arena for diversity and inclusion.

School outcomes and the risks of marginalization become exclusionary factors in schools, specifically for newcomers whose likelihood of dropping out is 60%, according to Pastoor (2015). As Liden (2019) and Pastoor (2015) emphasize, schooling is adversely affected by temporal residency status and uncertain waiting times for asylum response for 16-18-year-old unaccompanied teenagers. School is preferably mentioned as "a place to be" essentially because it "offers a structure in everyday life" (Pastoor, 2015, p. 250), especially for those "with a heavy mental load" (p. 250) like most unaccompanied teenagers. The argument for offering schooling is to prepare the young

with relevant job market skills upon returning to their countries, as Study One illustrated. Studies Three and Four have illustrated, in practice, the varied school experiences of the teenagers that should determine placement in the school, make it a dilemma in terms of where to place them within the school system. Thus, some are placed directly in an ordinary upper secondary school; others start with introductory classes, while others have a combination of introductory classes and ordinary classes in upper secondary schools (Hilde et al., 2013; Valenta, 2015).

Generally, the idea of school as conceptualized for these teenagers is to provide order from a chaotic or dormant daily life at the reception centers and specifically since they are not within family units (Sønsterudbråten, 2010). The danger with this view is that the political question of accommodating difference and vulnerability disappears as a pedagogical question in education. Education as offered to them; the aim seems to be for the young asylum-seekers to adapt to the Norwegian curriculum to the highest degree possible. The goal to make them fit the system – an appreciation of sameness – seems strong and a directive for the school system, even-though the most likely expectation is that many schools will not achieve it since the young people are only here temporarily.

As illustrated in the studies, to "school" unaccompanied children begins at a point of failure where mapping tests are conducted in formats meant for those with computing and reading skills (see the analysis in Study Four). Study One revealed a premise from which education marginalization proceeds from the point of no or minimal school experience, a point that would be necessary to engage what education might mean at this point for this child rather than from the point of treating them as equals with their Norwegian counterparts. Or perhaps said more precisely and harshly, to treat them with little concern for who they actually are and the experiences they carry with them.

Equally, some teachers became aware of their monitoring and reporting tasks through the teenagers themselves and through their sensed responsibility to encounter the teenagers at a personal level. For example, psychological and behavioral problems can only be handled by departmental leaders and by the school psychologist. Thus, the teacher's task is primarily of subject matter delivery and ensuring the student is in school. Säfström (2014) argues that the public discourse on education produces empty speech when it assumes that the task of the teacher is to produce a better person and a better society. The circle of better becomes endless and impossible to attain. For example, as discussed in chapter two above, the purpose of educating unaccompanied minors is futuristic – to help them upon return to their home countries. The assumption is that with the teacher's help, they will have the proper skills required for that future. To be a teacher in such arrangements is akin to overseeing impossible futures just as it is in any other normal school. As this extended abstract has shown, the teenagers left their countries and might not have any connection to what they would call homeland. Education must equip them with "relevant" skills for the market upon return (Sønsterudbråten, 2010) and not be an economic burden while in Norway (Study One), so it is claimed. Thus, while waiting for asylum, education becomes a platform to learn skills for the future while also being an avenue for monitoring their willingness to belong.

Additionally, what is offered as skills training is premised on a Norwegian understanding of information technology and entrepreneurship, an understanding that is divorced from the realities of war-ravaged countries they might return to (Pastoor, 2016). Worse still,

as Zeus (2011) points out, there is an ignorance that education might bring peace and development. Therefore, if a teacher teaches peace and conflict resolution, children will practice it and be peaceful upon return. Whereas such goals are essential, they are impossible to attain because they are pre-determined without understanding what it is like to be an unaccompanied teenager with an unclarified status in Norway and what this does to their being with teachers and others within school settings.

Therefore, the question of education confronted so far qualifies as a confirmation of *who they are* as illegitimate asylum-seekers and how they have become who they are with their insufficiencies and characteristics; known for failure and dropping out of school without meaningful educational outcomes (see Study One and Valenta & Garvik 2019).

School from the premises above then offers a remedy, a way out, that seems to be a test of what it means to be Norwegian or to adhere to the order set by the government to order their daily lives and learn *"essential"* skills. If education is understood this way, it becomes paradoxical. The question here is if it confirms who they are via the essentialist characteristics and the remedies given, does it explain how they are trying to make life livable despite the circumstances they are in? Others beyond their reach control their lives. They have to live independently, try to make good out of their encounters in class and the contradictory messages they receive from the host (Studies Two and Three).

Additionally, whatever they say or do is meaningless without a recognizable status in Norway. Do they have the possibility to choose what to study, where to go, what friends to have or not? The existential educational question here becomes not who they are, but how they are in the circumstances they are in now. This question cannot be answered by remaining legalistic or strictly to the professional ethos, but opening ourselves to be confronted by the other as Study Four has shown.

This dissertation has gone a step further than describing the circumstances the teenagers find themselves in. It does not merely confirm the lack of meaning schooling has for the young persons waiting for an asylum response but illustrates the circumstances they find themselves in and what it means for their existence. The existential question, as Studies Three and Four show, is a movement against such a functionalist understanding of life circumstances they are put in and schooling by trying to concentrate on *who they are* in this moment with their worries and cares, trying to live their own lives under the circumstances they are given. Education might be blind to the teenager's inadequacies, that is, the inability to understand language as a consequence of being new in Norway, or what lies ahead, constant monitoring by UDI, insomnia, not being able to be with family or make sense of what is happening, which is now their way of life. The way they live and have been living for several years is because of influences from governments and other institutions, something that is outside of their control. To be placed on an uncertain waiting list and out of their control until they turn 18, without a proper concern for their education, shows a disinterested view for these young persons. However, what education means in existential terms here, is everywhere where grown-ups and young people are together, even indirectly as a society's (regulations, laws, and rules) are applied.

Asymmetrical pedagogical encounters?

In this section, I narrow down to discuss some pedagogical implications for the possibility of encountering the student/teenager as a subject and not from an identity prism. The discussion hopes to move the conversation on identity away from its essentialist understanding to an experiential-existential understanding that might be possible yet remains aporetic, as seen in Studies Two and Four. In this section, the political question of difference is revisited within a discussion of pedagogical encounters (where responsible adults are meeting young people regardless of culture or upbringing) and their existential possibilities.

The politics of waiting for an asylum response, as illustrated so far, have led us into the uncertainty of unaccompanied minors existing as an in-between category, one that is preferred when communicating about protection, inclusion, and success, or lack thereof, in schools (Lødding et al., 2018). Other researchers, like Hilt (2016), Pastoor (2016), Pastoor, and Aadnanes (2013), explore the idea that to theorize newcomers and unaccompanied teenagers as *a problem* or *a lack* endangers any possibility of encountering them beyond the pre-assigned constructs. In the pre-assigned construction, the adult encountering the child/teenager is presumed to be able to control and possibly prevent the problems, especially of educational achievements or progression. Problems like poor language acquisition, lack of motivation for learning (Valenta & Garvik, 2019), emotional instability, inability to socialize and adapt to new environments are commonly cited to be characteristic of this group. To encounter the child from an identity prism where they are known in advance is to misconstrue what is characterized as their reality, to be the "obvious" object of knowledge by research.

The reception centers serve the purpose of being care centers where the young peoples' psychological profiles on trauma, emotional distress, and other related illnesses or problems are sampled to determine a course of action (Bræin & Christie, 2012). Whereas it is important to know how to prevent problems, what is existentially and educationally problematic is that the sampling of problems is generalized and seen from a purely professional perspective, other than the child's or teenagers' actual life experiences. Therefore, the relational and possible experiences they are in at the point of each of the many encounters are often forgotten. In research, we tend to theorize the general problems with this group rather than seeing their complex reality[35] as well as the experiential complexity of each encounter between the young and the adults they meet as representatives for the Norwegian society.

To encounter an-other – either this encounter is personal, professional, or representational - is to be "granted an experience of reality in the broadest sense" (Bollnow cited in Friesen & Koerrenz, 2017, p. 73). This broadest sense of encounter "involves something from myself and something independent of my expectations" (p. 73). Bollnow sees the pedagogical relation as a possibility to understand what might lie within any encounter between human beings belonging to an older and a new generation. The encounter – which is an asymmetric encounter, meaning that power is unequally

[35] I use reality in a modest Norwegian/German sense that is *virklighet/Wirklichkeit* which seem to have this connotation of being a "work and at work" (Masschelein, 2012). In English, taken from "real" meaning a state of affairs, would bring in far-reaching epistemological meanings that are not intended at this point, but I refer to an experience that the encounter makes public.

distributed brings both prepared and expected initiatives (for example, teachers lessons or psychologists' questions) and the spontaneous, momentous, and unexpected. The unexpected and unplannable actions relate both to the young and the old, the student and the teacher. If this asymmetric encounter were to be taken simply as an encounter where the adult has control of the situation, then there is a chance that what happens only makes sense to the adult and has little or nothing to do with the teenager. The assumption in most cases is that the child, especially the one seeking asylum, does not have so much of a choice and is at the mercy of the adult, especially when the adult represents the society and its regulation, which is very much the case for the young asylum-seekers. The information shared among them in the encounter is therefore either used to analyze what the teenager is going through for treatment or for the determination of their asylum cases. Nevertheless, what does it really mean to be in an asymmetric encounter? Is it something we can immediately understand and grasp? Arendt says

> understanding, as distinguished from having correct information and scientific knowledge, is a complicated process, which never produces unequivocal results. It is an unending activity by which, in constant change and variation, we come to terms with and reconcile ourselves to reality, that is, try to be at home in the world… it cannot produce final results. (Arendt, 1994, pp. 307-308).

Arendt admonishes us to "reconcile ourselves to reality" (p, 307) by "trying to be at home in the world" (p. 308). What is significant with Arendt is that the world exposes reality as it is in the encounter with others. In her understanding, the reality is constituted where my actions and the *other's* actions meet, engage, and collide in a public sphere. In Morgan's understanding of Arendt, this exposure to others "not only constitutes reality, but provides the conditions for, and freedom to engage in political life and thus to affect the renewal of a shared space" (Morgan, 2016, p. 174). The encounter with the other shows the other in their difference while exposing their difference(s). At the same time, I am made aware of the difficulties that we both inhabit in our differences. Differences have the potential to lead us either towards ourselves or against each other.

As highlighted throughout the four studies, the unaccompanied teenager is constructed as vulnerable in the normative political sense as well as within the common language of those who encounter them. In as much as vulnerability could be used as a psychological tool to condition caregiving and other services, vulnerability is also the pedagogical situation that the teacher and student share. Vulnerability is an existential quality that we share as human beings. Van Manen warns that the same vulnerability, especially of children "has become the weak spot in the armor of the [adult's] self-centered world" (2015, p. 202). Vulnerability as a weak spot in the child's life is not directly available existentially to the adult (and not to the child or young person him/herself), and therefore human vulnerability is left to our interpretation of what intentions and plans for the child might be. On the other hand, in the encounter as Bollnow postulates above, the adult might be exposed to the young persons' crises by being frustrated that their adult intentions and plans are not working or taken as intended (this might be the case with, for example, teacher Eva in study 4). Perhaps even more important, facing their adult failures and being at a loss of what their actions or words might have caused to the child makes one helpless, and we might run out of alternatives (this might be the case with teacher Mona in study 4). Engebrigtsen (2012) points to this frustration or challenge

caused by UDI that employs the adults working in reception centers. These adults are supposed to build trust with the teenagers to work with them, but this effort is not easily effective and positive. Perhaps more often than not, the relationships might feel frustrating, challenging, and even fruitless.

Nevertheless, that trust is broken when the teenagers realize the adults work for UDI. Bollnow (Friesen & Koerrenz, 2017) claims that trust, hope, and certainty are the elements that keep the relational dialogue and optimism for the future possible. In the case of the adults and the young asylum-seekers, the situation often is different. There might be no trust, and hope seems to evade grasp since most are on temporary residence permits with no chance of appeal. The schools the young are now part of experientially are equally out of reach since it is the first time some encounter school.

What is significant at the moment of this difficult encounter? Should the teachers/adult's subjectivity be suppressed at the expense of the child's? That is, should a solution be found, for example, to the child's pain of indefinite waiting and uncertainty and lack of needed skills (computer and reading) at the expense of the adults' frustrations? As Sævi (forthcoming) notes, the child is existentially unavailable to the adult. This inevitably creates an aporia. If either is not existentially available, how then does one approach the other?

A pedagogical encounter in Bollnow's terms (Friesen & Koerrenz, 2017) exists between *an-other's* crisis and uncertainty and their possibility to change and exist as a subject. To be in this moment is difficult. However, it is despite and due to the pedagogical relation that the adult can be interrupted or allow him or herself to be addressed or questioned. (Biesta, 2019). Here, as Biesta sees it, it is not a matter of recognizing the child or being recognized as an adult; neither is it a matter of attentive listening or empathy with the child's predicament. Instead, he sees it as a moment of passively listening to receive the child's address. In Study Four, Trude, the teacher, encounters Namu, who does not have the educational experience to be in this school and does not want to be there; neither does he have the expertise for computers. Should she gloss over the address Namu gives and demand that he does the exercise at hand, how will she be able to place him within this school? What does she do with the new information of signing attendance for Namu on behalf of UDI?

In some way, there is a blind spot that exists that could blur the vision of the child in front of me for various reasons. There are perhaps the relatively unavailable experiences both culturally and socially of what the young have had to go through as possible victims of war or suffer the effects of war and, of course, the other way around for the unaccompanied teenagers and their teachers. A blind spot would ordinarily block vision, and so the situation would ordinarily be hard to see. Nevertheless, by chance or to some degree, one might give the blind spot another glance. Doing this might "make an opening, a possibility" [for a glance] a gaze, and it puts pressure upon it to look" (Nancy, 2001, p. 13). *Looking* in Nancy's understanding does not guarantee that one will find something, but offers the pressure, the opportunity to see, to enter an on-going dialogue with this other, see what they are calling our attention to. The possibility to go beyond what is unaccounted for in plans and pre-thought ideas in class and therapy sessions might open up for a new glance. No one knows what will be seen or what one will become after seeing what they are being asked to see. In Study, Four Trude is addressed

by Namu's concerns, and somehow, she opens up to his reality although she cannot change it.

To occupy this open, curious, and attentive position is difficult and might be the middle-ground Biesta (2017) refers to. From this position, I am interrupted, and my responses get a new possibility, although sometimes more limited than I wish. In the example of Trude, she is addressed and recognizes the address, but there is an ongoing battle between the issues that address the teacher and her own expectations and intentions. She encounters a boy that is unable to perform what she unreflectively expected and uninterested in school and schooling. Others might have unexplained pain or disciplinary problems, or something else, much or little. If the teacher is able to see what is addressing him/her then s/he is singularized and becomes irreplaceable to the young that addresses her/him in that moment. The teacher in those cases, is a subject to the other.

What might matter and still be possible in the seemingly vain or helpless moments is the teacher's inadequacy and inability to do what we commonly believe is educational actually removes power and control from them. Without power and control the teacher/adult is weaker and there are things and actions s/he cannot perform and realize. However, another educational quality might be even more important than the teacher's ability to handle all kinds of situations. In the case of the unaccompanied minors in school, encountering the teenagers in their moments of vulnerability is to speak to their existential concerns of being a subject among other subjects. The sensitivity for the weak, the invisible, which we often try to hide – not to exploit it or expose the other to it – but to see, care for and recognize it, is also an educational task for teachers.

On the language of discourse and Phenomenology

Discourse and its language

Many would say that there is a moral imperative when children are involved in research or are on the scene in general, especially in a migration study like this, to use a rights-based language that suggests emancipation, and is exposing the hegemonic powers of oppression and discrimination (Pastoor & Aadnanes, 2013; Stretmo, 2014). Research programs like critical theory is used to change what is considered the status quo, by exposing the underlying oppressive structure so that the oppressed can emancipate themselves (Dieronitou, 2014). Doing this might help to come closer to the emancipatory language. In this dissertation, a policy discourse analysis has been significant at a level of showing how the current political and educational language represents unaccompanied-ness as vulnerable, but paradoxically at the same time is hiding the actual vulnerability, and not least our responsibility for that vulnerability. The language of policy is mingled with legal language at a level that seems to be helping "those in need" of protection and, again paradoxically, makes protection indefinable when immigration regulation interests outweigh the best interests of the child. This is further exacerbated when the universal category of childhood is further narrowed to fit in the national legal category of those under 15 years of age (Study One).

The "discourse" in the discourse analysis of this dissertation was "understood as an element of a social process which is dialectically related to others" (Chouliaraki &

Fairclough, 2010, p. 1214). Dialectical[36] here is in the sense of being different but "not discreet, that is not fully separate" (p. 1214). From the onset, the language in Study One where discourse analysis is provided as a method was explicitly used in a processual reductive manner where some texts were coded into "manageable content categories and at a later stage, examined for their relationships or new emerging patterns" (Dieronitou, 2014, p. 10). From a socio-semantic point of view, determining the text's content and analyzing it critically works to prove existing knowledge or substantiate a theory's corresponding claims. For example, and following Dierenitou (2014), the category 'Unaccompanied teenagers' is within a temporal, legal, and political language discourse and seems static in one period but malleable to fit the changing political landscapes.

Further, Study One revealed that the category 'unaccompanied minors' was left out from the education discourse of 2006/2007, when they instead were anonymized within general categories like immigrant children, under references to their specific characteristics that become more explicit in 2012. Such aspects of subject deletion and addition set dichotomies between the majority and the incomers are hard to see unless one goes beyond the linguistic form analysis (van Leeuwen, 1996). At a national scale, unaccompanied minors became relevant addressees within political and legal systems when language describing migratory movements of large numbers of unaccompanied children were used in the media and politicians (see Stretmo 2014 and Liden, 2019). The task of policy discourse analysis and content analysis in this dissertation is to examine the discourse linguistically as a start and then go beyond linguistics to politics and other related factors that authorize some discourses while silencing others. For example, what became apparent in the language of migratory movements was a demand to protect only the "needy" or "deserving" unaccompanied minors while letting the opposite, "undeserving" ones to suffer the consequences of their actions (Stretmo, 2014; Valenta & Garvik, 2019). This, as we saw in Study One, is premised on economic benefits and on the economic situations of the host countries that seem to be "unbearable" to force a migration towards the west. Words such as "movements," "economic benefits," "third-world countries," "war-ravaged nations," and "trauma" represent references to generalized events that include persons. Thus, it becomes pertinent to ask, who is moving? Who is benefiting economically? The language in use de-personifies the social agents making the process abstract while creating an illusion that resources are "leaving" from the host nations. Such a language personifies the resources- as moving while the incomers are beneficiaries within host nations. Nominalization of nouns and verbs (Fairclough, 2013) at such a linguistic level is examined passively to explore unaccompanied teenagers' hidden representations in the discourse and the constituted vision that either authorizes or silences discourses and categories of people involved.

It is fair to notice that language use at this level exposes the linguistic structures and how they form some discourses while hiding others. At a critical level, we discover that the different relationships that this language in context has with ongoing political situations on a global and national level mean something to those affected. At this point, it is important to say, for example, that the moral panic and the communicated processes that

[36] Even though I quote from Fairclough's understanding of discourse, I have not used his understanding of critical discourse analysis in the sense he uses. I use discourse analysis to substantiate and clarify the changes of representations of unaccompanied minors in policy from a socio-semantic view point.

create the figure of the "stranger", exemplified in the "refugee/asylum-seeker at the European doors (Bauman, 2016), creates pressure on existing political and democratic institutions, without a proper response. Thus, exploring language at this level exposes structural and political gaps that create the foundation for the existential waiting for an asylum response that the teenagers of this study are exposed to.

The phenomenological language of experience

The economic language of what it costs to host refugees, the educational language of inclusivity, diversity, acceptance of difference, standardization of entry requirements and result-oriented education, coupled with a desire to "intervene early" before problems arise, seems to be antithetical to pedagogical practice. What do such words mean to a child new to "our" educational system and culture, a system, and a culture that to most of them are only available temporarily? The economic-educational language seems to flatten the experiential, human contact, and significance of the everyday taken-for-granted meaning of words and experiences. Phenomenology emphasizes that the "physicality of language" (Howard, 2008, p. 307) allows the concrete experiences to be the starting point of any exploration of meaning in daily life as well as in research. In other words, to attempt to do a phenomenological inquiry into an experience is to inhabit the everyday language of the experience, "to live in the speaking of language" (Heidegger, 2001, p. 207). Interacting with unaccompanied teenagers on a day-to-day basis in their daily experience with their realities is unpredictable and contingent, as it always is with existential questions of waiting and interactions with others. The world of these teenagers is a world that defies any foreknowledge of their experience or any epiphanies of who they are. Instead, it is a raw everyday pre-reflective language that defies description, allowing the experience to speak on its own terms (van Manen, 2014).

In most cases, this *pathic* understanding of experience in its pre-reflective sense is neglected in contemporary research. It does not capture the intentions of a predictive outcome-oriented education or interaction with young asylum-seekers waiting for asylum response. This dissertation is concerned with the existential language, the language that is attuned to the presence. Presence, the real moments we live and speak, are the moments where we are embodied in words, and words have relevance for us. The inability, for example, to understand what the teenager is saying or the teenager's inability to understand what the teacher is saying, is a break with their world. However, this is also a lived experience, a problematic, even sometimes meaningless one. The irony of educational research as well as of pedagogical practice today is that the language that describes the pathic, and the ineffable, the hard to see, or even unseen, requires educational and existential hesitation, slowing down how we observe, interpret and critique the knowledge we are exposed to. Phenomenology, in this sense, does not directly critique or intervene in the issues we are researching but asks existential questions that might open up the issue to human exploration.

7. Reflections – towards an ending

This dissertation has explored the existential dilemmas, controversies, and ambiguities of being an unaccompanied asylum-seeking teenager waiting for an asylum response. The language I have aimed to display, think with, see with, and write with, is a language that cares for the very experience while opening the experiences to be thought-provoking and engaging. The phenomenological language is such a language (Sævi 2013; van Manen 2014), and I have explored the phenomenon of waiting in three of the studies of this dissertation (Study Two, Three, and Four). In Study One –the initial review, I have explored political strategies and exclusionary measures towards the unaccompanied teenager's inclusion and education. This study paints a scenario where any unaccompanied minor arriving in Norway between 15 and 18 years of age is pre-set to wait for repatriation or for a long unknown asylum determination period. Study Two gave glimpses of the effects of legal lacunas in the reception of unaccompanied teenagers. As this study shows, even though the borders are open for the unaccompanied teenagers to enter, they have to wait for a profoundly uncertain welcome, and the host – Norway - is not prepared for their coming or their stay as newcomers. Study Three presents the experiential difficulties and dilemmas of having waited for a long period. In this study, the teenagers have no language to express themselves, have no place to call home, and their waiting is in vain. A majority receive a rejection of their asylum application. In Study Four, we encounter experiences where the teenagers and teachers speak beside each other, and even the pedagogical relationality is at stake. The issues that unaccompanied minors have or are experiencing, adults, helpers, or teachers might not be able or willing to help with. They are left to the young, often unspoken and unrecognized. As we see in the study, some adults and teachers try as much as they can but are experiencing overruling from authorities of various kinds. In most cases, an economic and political language is alienating the newcomers while at the same time suffocating the possibility for a relational encounter between them and the adults physically close to them.

Suppose the teachers, pedagogues, who approach the minors/teenagers as human beings, are aware of their one-sided responsibility; an asymmetrical relationship to this newcomers would be a reality. In this case, it is possible that the situation where the unaccompanied teenagers have to wait would have been lightened. This does not underscore personal differences and the complexity of the experience of waiting for each person. Instead, it points out to relational possibilities in situations that are impossible to live with.

The dissertation has shed light to the existential meanings of waiting while rendering open its dilemmas and varied meanings of complexity and ambiguity. What is clear is that the experience of waiting is personally experienced and not fully available at a relational or intercultural level. We encounter the other who is waiting in their moments of waiting. Our subjectivity as well as theirs, is called upon and we can recognize the waiting and perhaps also our responsibility to respond to a call for help or support. Encountering the other with pre-planned ideas of what the outcome might look like only works to entrench the already existing essentialization of their vulnerable identities.

Thus, a pedagogical relation, one that takes educational encounters as an open risk of unpredicted and unpredictable possibilities, is at the core of a pedagogical and educational alternative that the adults in the study have but often do not recognize. Pedagogical questions, as raised in this dissertation, cannot be approached within temporal structuring of time. This means that when a person is supposed to have attained a certain degree of knowledge, such as in school, and where to place them, thereafter, it is an educational question rather than an economical or a political one. My study proposes the idea of looking at the encounters between adult and young people, the pedagogical encounter, as events that anticipate a future, yet operates within the present moment, without losing sight of the past. The young asylum seekers in the study are in particular dependent on a pedagogical encounter simply because their past is unknown to us, problematic even traumatic for them, their present in Norway might be short or longer – however unpredictable and dependent – and their future is even more unknown than their past. They are perhaps one of the groups of young persons in Norway (along with other particularly vulnerable children and young persons without biological caretakers) that are most dependent on pedagogical qualities and of truly caring, gentle, and responsible adults.

The insights that come from this dissertation are intended to open up discussions on the possibility of approaching the vulnerable children seeking asylum alone, with greater care. My hope is that care (for those waiting for asylum responses and are vulnerable in whatever capacity), will not merely be seen economically or lawfully as that which is done to fulfill rules and regulations but understood as an existential risk of goodness and responsibility. The episodes highlighted and shared in the studies have been limit situations where adults' responses are needed. In most cases, if one takes responsibility seriously, then responding to the young in their vulnerability and caring for them amounts to taking a risk for one's own self and in worst scenarios, one's job. Such limit situations are the norm, especially in crises, like refugee crisis or war. Existential situations, like crisis – and to the young asylum seekers, life in Norway and waiting for asylum response is experienced as a crisis. As such, these situations push the question of care and responsibility beyond an interpretative understanding of risk of those encountering those seeking asylum while making the process bearable.

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Appendix One

Consent for Interview and observation- Unaccompanied teenagers

My name is Wills Kalisha and I am a PhD student with the Faculty of Educational Sciences University of Oslo in cooperation with NLA University College, As part of my PhD work, I am conducting a research project connected to how unaccompanied minors experience waiting for asylum response while attending Norwegian schools and their teacher responses while interacting within and outside the school. This project tries to understand how an unaccompanied minor experience waiting for a residency permit decision or when they have a rejection. On the other hand, it endeavors to understand the complex dilemmas and paradoxes teachers meet in their response to their teaching tasks while interacting with unaccompanied minors in class and school.

As part of this project I will conduct fieldwork in reception centers where unaccompanied minors live in Hordaland to observe and interview them. Equally I intend to interview and observe both unaccompanied teenagers and their teachers within two upper secondary schools where they are attending school. I hope to observe class proceedings if it is possible and whenever possible to equally interview the teachers who teach unaccompanied minors within the schools. I am writing to ask for your permission to be part of those I can possibly interview if that will be okay with you.

This is a request for your participation in this project through an interview and observation at the reception center and where possible at school where you are admitted. The interview process will be voice recorded and any information given will be treated as highly confidential. Neither UDI nor any other institution has access to information given in this project nor will the information given be used in any way to name the student (minor) as a participant. The notes taken during interaction will be anonymized and treated confidentially. Your decision to participate or not participate has no direct or indirect effect on the outcome of your UDI application. The project will be concluded by August of 2019. The Data Protection Official has approved the project for research.

Participation in this study is voluntary. You can whenever it deems necessary for you, get out of the study without any further consequences. In addition, after you have agreed to be a participant in the study, you can withdraw your consent at a later date/time. If you have any question concerning the project, please contact me whenever you want.

My email address is Kalisha.Wills@NLA.no

Sincere regards

Wills Kalisha

I have read and understood the information given above and give my consent to participate.

Place and time ___________________________________

Signature ___________________________________

Appendix Two

Consent for Interview and observation - Teachers

My name is Wills Kalisha and I am a PhD student at the Faculty of Educational Sciences- University of Oslo in cooperation with NLA University College, Bergen. As part of my PhD work, I am conducting a research project connected to how unaccompanied minors experience their waiting for asylum response while attending Norwegian schools and the teacher responses to them. This project undertakes to understand how an unaccompanied minor experience their time in school while waiting for a residency permit decision or when they have a rejection on one side. On the other hand, it endeavors to understand the complex dilemmas and paradoxes teachers meet in their response to their teaching tasks while interacting with unaccompanied minors in class and school.

As part of this project, I will conduct fieldwork in reception centers where unaccompanied minors live in Hordaland to observe and interview unaccompanied minors and also within two upper secondary schools where the unaccompanied minors are attending school. I hope to observe class proceedings if it is possible and whenever possible to equally interview the teachers who teach unaccompanied minors within the schools. I am writing to ask for your permission to be part of those I can possibly follow in your class lessons and possibly interview you whenever it works for you. I hope to interview you and get to know the dilemmas and challenges of teaching unaccompanied minors and how you respond to them.

If this is agreeable to you, I would like you to know that the interview process will be voice recorded, and if voice recording contravenes any regulations, we can work out on a solution that fits you. Any information given will be treated as highly confidential. Neither UDI nor any other institution has access to information given in this project nor will the information given be used in any way to identify you as the teacher. The notes taken during class observation or otherwise will be anonymized and treated confidentially.

The project will be concluded by August 2019. The Data Protection Official (NSD) has approved the project for research. Participation in this study is voluntary. You can, whenever it deems necessary for you, get out of the study without any further consequences. In addition, after you have agreed to be a participant in the study, you can withdraw your consent at a later date/time. If you have any question concerning the project, please contact me whenever you want. My email address is: Kalisha.Wills@NLA.no

Sincere regards

Wills Kalisha

I have read and understood the information given above and give my consent to take part.

Place and time ___________________________________

Signature ___________________________________

Appendix Three

Theme list/guide for interview with Unaccompanied teenagers.

Focus1: Background information and familiarization with the situation

1. Can you tell me about yourself where you come from if its ok for you?
2. How was it like for you to come to Norway? What expectations did you have as you came to seek asylum in Norway?
3. How was your reception in Norway (please give as many examples as you can remember of how it was like for you)? Is this the only reception center you have lived in?
4. How long have you stayed in Norway? How has it been like for you in the period you have lived in Norway? Have you attended an asylum interview? Have you received a response to your application?

Focus 2: Life at the reception center.

5. How is life at the reception center for you?
6. How would a typical day at the reception center look like?
7. How is it like for you to be in this reception center while waiting for asylum interview/response?
8. Would you describe a good day/a bad day at the reception center? (give some examples as much as you can)?
9. How is your interaction with the center staff like? Do you get support from them? What kinds of support?
10. Do you experience the help you get as relevant for you as you wait for asylum?

Focus 3: Life at school

11. Did you have school experience before you came to Norway? What level of education did you have? What kind of school are you attending at the moment in Norway? What were your expectations as you joined a Norwegian school? (describe as much as possible with relevant examples)
12. How is school like for you?
13. How is school like especially when waiting for asylum interview/response for you?
14. In your own words is it possible to describe a good, or bad day in school?
15. What kind of help do you receive from your teachers, in class, or otherwise? Is it possible to give examples from your interactions with your teachers? Do you experience the help to be relevant?
16. Is it possible to describe how you communicate with your teachers?

(The theme list guided me on areas of emphasis, other questions arose as the interactions went on.)

Appendix Four

Theme guide for interview with teachers- Focus group interview

Background information

1. Can you tell me about yourself? What kind of educational background do you have? What subject areas do you teach? How long have you been teaching unaccompanied teenagers/minors?
2. What motivated you to teach these teenagers?

Expectations and class interactions?

3. What expectations did you have before starting to teach them?
4. How was your first interaction with them like? Can you give examples of how it was like for you?
5. How is a typical day for you with these teenagers like? Any examples?
6. Can you describe the best day you have heard with them? Can you describe the worst/bad day you heard with them? Could you give examples?
7. What level of Norwegian language does your students have?
8. How do you communicate and respond to them in Class?
9. Are there areas of conflict, challenges, or dilemmas you face in class? How do you resolve them?
10. Do you cooperate with your colleagues or supervisors in cases of conflicts/challenges? How is that like? Can you give some examples?

Beyond the class?

11. Are there interactions you have with these teenagers beyond the classroom? How is that like for you?

(Even though this was the theme guide for the interview, it was not followed entirely. In the focus group Interview, I had with the two teachers- See p.53-54, I focused mainly on the observations I had made in class, in addition to some of the questions in this guide that I saw relevant. Equally, there were other issues that came up that I had not included in the guide, for example the computer tests in Study four and the experience of being a novice teacher)

Appendix Five

Wills Kalisha
Institutt for pedagogikk Universitetet i Oslo
Postboks 1092 Blindern
0317 OSLO

Vår dato: 06.10.2016 Vår ref: 49690 / 3 / IJJ Deres dato: Deres ref:

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 31.08.2016. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

49690	*Between temporality and stability: Pedagogical dilemmas in the education of unaccompanied minors seeking asylum in Norway*
Behandlingsansvarlig	*Universitetet i Oslo, ved institusjonens øverste leder*
Daglig ansvarlig	*Wills Kalisha*

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger er meldepliktig i henhold til personopplysningsloven § 31. Behandlingen tilfredsstiller kravene i personopplysningsloven.

Personvernombudets vurdering forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, ombudets kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/meldeplikt/skjema.html. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, http://pvo.nsd.no/prosjekt.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 30.08.2019, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Dokumentet er elektronisk produsert og godkjent ved NSDs rutiner for elektronisk godkjenning.

NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS Harald Hårfagres gate 29 Tel: +47-55 58 21 17 nsd@nsd.no Org.nr. 985 321 884
NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data NO-5007 Bergen, NORWAY Faks: +47-55 58 96 50 www.nsd.no

Kjersti Haugstvedt

Ida Jansen Jondahl

Kontaktperson: Ida Jansen Jondahl tlf: 55 58 30 19

Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Personvernombudet for forskning

Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar

Prosjektnr: 49690

SAMPLE AND RECRUITMENT

The sample consists of teachers teaching unaccompanied minors and unaccompanied minors between the ages of 14-18 years. The PhD will establish initial contact with the teachers and unaccompanied minors in their schools through the school leaders.

INFORMATION AND CONSENT

The sample will receive written and oral information about the project, and give their consent to participate. The unaccompanied minors` legal guardians will consent on their behalf after getting a verbal consent from them.

The letters of information (received 04.10.16) are well formulated.

METHODS FOR DATA COLLECTION

In the notification form, it was stated that personal data would be collected through medical records. The PhD says this is not the case, and thus the point has been removed from the form.

INFORMATION SECUIRITY

The Data Protection Official presupposes that the researcher follows routines of Universitetet i Oslo regarding data security.

PROJECT END DATE AND MAKING THE DATA ANONYMOUS

Estimated end date of the project is 30.08.2019. According to the notification form all collected data will be made anonymous by this date.

Making the data anonymous entails processing it in such a way that no individuals can be recognized. This is done by:

- deleting all direct personal data (such as names/lists of reference numbers)
- deleting/rewriting indirectly identifiable data (i.e. an identifying combination of background variables, such as residence/work place, age and gender)
- delete audio recordings

Appendix Six

Wills Kalisha
Institutt for pedagogikk

Universitetet i Oslo

Postboks 1092 Blindern

0317 OSLO

Vår dato: 1 0.04.201 7 \/år ref: 49690/5/1JJ/LR Deres dato: Deres ref:

BETWEEN TEMPORALITY AND STABILITY: PEDAGOGICAL DILEMMAS IN THE EDUCATION OF UNACCOMPANIED MINORS SEEKING ASYLUM IN NORWAY

Referring to change request form received 29.03.2017 and correspondence for the project:

49690 Between temporality and stability: Pedagogical dilemmas in the education of unaccompanied minors seeking asylum in Norway

The project was initially considered to be subject to notification according to the Personal Data Act S 31. After a new assessment, the project is now considered as subject to notification according to S 7-27 in the Personal Data Act, because when personal data about people seeking asylum is registered this is considered to be sensitive information.

PROJECT CHANGES

PROJECT PURPOSE

The original project purpose was to investigate how teachers respond to what their task of teaching unaccompanied minors in their daily classroom interaction and how significant the responses are to the education of the unaccompanied minors, and to investigate the dilemmas and paradoxes involved in responding to unaccompanied minors during classroom interaction. The main goal of the project has slightly changed to also include:

- to investigate how unaccompanied minors, experience their time in Norwegian schools and how significant such experiences are to theif educational development.
- To investigate the dilemmas and paradoxes involved in responding to the experiences of unaccompanied minors In schools.

SAMPLE

The age of the unaccompanied minors is 15-18 years of age. Initially the age of the participating minors was 14-18 years of age.

RECRUITMENT

The unaccompanied minors will be recruited through reception centers. Initially the minors were going to be recruited through their schools. The plan is to use snow-balling sampling method where the informants could help in the recruiting and/or volunteer themselves for the process. The Data Protection Official recommend that the person who communicates the enquiry to participate asks those who are interested to contact the researcher.

The teachers will be recruited through their head teachers.

INFORMATION AND CONSENT

The sample will receive written and oral information about the project and give their consent to participate. The unaccompanied minors' legal guardians will consent on their behalf after getting a verbal consent from them. The letters of information (received 29.03.2017) are well formulated.

METHODS FOR DATA COLLECTION

The data will be collected through interviews and observation. The observation will take place at the Reception centers and will mainly involve observing the minors doing and discussing their homework together. Initially the observations were going to be classroom observation.

OTHER APPROVALS

The project will seek approval from UDI. The UDI-approval is to be forwarded to personvernombudet@nsd.no

The Data Protection Official presupposes that the project is otherwise carried out as described in the Notification Form, and our former feedback. We will contact you again at the project end date.

Sincerely

[signature removed]

Appendix Seven: Authorship declaration

UNIVERSITETET 1 OSLO

Det utdanningsvitenskapelige fakultet

Required enclosure when requesting that a dissertation be considered for a doctor's degree

Declaration describing the independent research contribution of the candidate

In addition to the dissertation, there should be enclosed a declaration describing the independent research contribution of the candidate for each paper constituting the dissertation.

The declaration should be filled in and signed by candidate and co-authors. Use the back of the page if necessary.

The declaration will show the contribution to conception and design, or development and analysis of a theoretical model, or acquisition of data, or analysis and interpretation of data, contribution to drafting the article or revising it critically for important intellectual content etc.

Article no. 1

Title: "Å være ingen eller noen — unge enslige asylsøkere om venting på godhet, et Sted å leve og muligheten for et liv" (To be nobody or somebody. Young unaccompanied asylum-seekers about waiting for goodness, a place to live and the possibility of a life). In Sævi, T. & Biesta, G. (Eds.). (2020). Pedagogikk, periferi og verdi. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, p. 57-76.

The independent contribution of the candidate:

The candidate contributed to the conception of the idea of the chapter- Waiting. The candidate carried out fieldwork independently, analysed data material from the field and interpreted the data together with the co-author as writing progressed. Together with the co-author, we developed the pedagogical and phenomenological methodology used in the analysis of the research findings.

The candidate was involved at all stages of the writing process, critically revising all the drafts with comments from blind reviewers to ensure the intended message of waiting

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in limbo is well taken care of.

[signature removed]

[signature removed]

…………………………………………… ……………………………………………

Signature of candidate Signature of co-authors

UNIVERSITETET I OSLO
Det utdanningsvitenskapelige fakultet

Article no. 2

Title: Failure as an opening to teaching realities of life. The case of teaching unaccompanied minors in Norway. Revised for resubmission to Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology,

The independent contribution of the candidate:

The candidate carried out fieldwork independently, analysed data material from the field and interpreted the data together with the co-author as writing progressed. Together with the co-author, we analysed the research findings, developing both the philosophical, phenomenological and pedagogical theories applied in the article. The candidate was involved in drafting and writing, critically revising all the drafts to ensure the intended foci is communicated.

[signature removed]

…………………………………………… ……………………………………………

Signature of candidate Signature of co-authors

Appendix Eight- *A* historical- political perspective on reception of unaccompanied minors in Norway

From a historical point of view, we cannot trace a "ground zero" or a "proto-refugee" (Malkki, 1995, p. 497), from which the current unaccompanied teenagers or refugees could have descended. By this, I do not refer to cultural/social/religious origins or nationalities where they came from but am wondering whether there is an original group that is synonymous of the category "refugee" with specifically identifiable roots. What is essential is not to look for the emergence of the "refugee," as it is common in studies that essentialize and connect refugees to homelands, but to go back to locate moments where certain practices, central to this study, appeared especially in Norway, situating and accentuating the status of the unaccompanied minor while in the asylum-seeking phase. Thus, I briefly locate some of these moments from the WWII to the present moment of the study with emphasis on Norway.

Receiving unaccompanied minors from the 1930s to late 1970s

Even though immigration of unaccompanied minors has not been researched extensively, Eide (2005) describes four epochs[37] in the reception of unaccompanied minors from the 1930s to the 1990s. The epochs include reception of Jewish unaccompanied minors (the 1930s), the Hungarian children (1950s), the Tibetans (1960s), and the influx of "others" in the 1980s onwards. Significant to this migratory movement of unaccompanied minors to Norway is that they came in groups and by invitation of an existing organization in Norway[38]. The state distanced itself from directly dealing with these asylum-seekers, even though they had the final say on how long they were to stay given that their invitations were group initiatives. Importantly, between the 1930s and 1960s, there was a selective attitude and ways of handling their reception needs. For example, the first group of Jewish teenagers[39] was received on condition the Nansen group that invited them guaranteed their return after three years (Eide, 2007, p. 47). The political discourse on asylum-seekers in this period was marred with skepticism for unaccompanied children of Jewish descent across Western Europe and during WWII (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012). This was amplified by restrictive rhetoric revolving around protectionism against a budding antisemitism. Thus, their stay in Norway was pre-determined, and their reception institutionalized within established Jewish children's homes under the care of the Nansen group, since adoption into families was not a possibility. This trend has some echoes in the Swedish handling of Jewish and Finish unaccompanied youths in the 1930s, even though for Sweden, there is no clear evidence on how they were received or handled (Djampour, 2018).

The opposite is observed after the WWII when Hungarian unaccompanied youths arrived with similar historical backgrounds for "fighting against occupation and oppression just like Norwegians fought against Germans" (Eide, 2005, p. 146). The difference here is that the Hungarian youths were incorporated into foster homes, given

[37] I highlight these four groups since they demonstrated seeking asylum in groups since the 1930's to 1960's and the shifting trends of 1980's onwards.

[38] It is the Nansenhjelpen group for Jewish children, the Danish crown prince Peter of Greece and Denmark for the Tibetan youths and the Christian youth organization (KFUM) for the Hungarian youths.

[39] between 7 and 11 years of age

an opportunity for schooling to learn Norwegian and temporary permits were off the table since they were "welcome to stay as long as they want" (p. 144). The involvement of Christian Organization of Young Men (KFUM[40]) youths, the assimilation attitude assumed, the undefined time of stay, all pointed to a difference in dealing with unaccompanied youths of a western origin. Historically, before and during the WWII period, "no one came to Norway from outside Northern Europe" (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012, p. 149), compared to Sweden that had more immigrants because of its colonial past. This does not excuse the existent attitude but could explain the difficulties involved in receiving "others" without a proper policy framework. In fact, when Tibetan youths arrived in 1964, the same attitude as the one for Jewish youths was assumed. Their residence was temporary and contractual. They were only allowed to stay for four years, "taught in Tibetan language and religion, while little emphasis was placed on teaching in the Norwegian language" (Eide, 2005, p. 90). In practice, the segregation politics practiced here failed in some instances as some of the children remained in Norway permanently while others were repatriated. For the three groups of unaccompanied minors discussed above, the government maintained an ambiguous majority-based reception of asylum-seekers, giving conflicting information depending on who is being invited in.

The period between the 1930s and 1960s is marked by different political discourses on the reception of unaccompanied minors and other refugees (Hagelund, 2003). Fundamentally, this period coincided with major welfare reforms[41] in the Nordic countries whose core agenda was normalization[42] and a growing standardization of refugee reforms[43] and policies at the European level, especially after the effects of WWII. Normalization was actively directed towards those with mental and other disabilities (Bengt, 1994 /1969). This idea had not expanded to incorporate newcomers/non-citizens like refugees or asylum-seekers. To be part of the welfare institution presupposed having rights that "were linked to legally residing in the country (sometimes in combination with the time of residence and employment requirements), but in which large sections of the population were nevertheless included" (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012, p. 202). Such an establishment meant that immigrants (with legal residency) were equally required to contribute to the sustainability of the welfare state (Touzenis, 2006). Nevertheless, and at the same time, there were no established asylum- or refugee policies that would guide the functioning of the welfare state in cases of newcomers[44]. Thus, because of the growing economy and booming oil industry, adult labor migrants were granted permits as a matter of course and given the same rights as citizens in some cases with their families (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012). This normalization of migrant workers still placed their management on the peripheries of the

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[40] KFUM- Kristelig forening for unge menn (Christian Organization of young men).

[41] This was a defining moment in Norwegian welfare state formation. For it was in the period between 1945 and 1965, that most welfare institutions and schemes were formed.

[42] Normalization rides on the idea of including all people to benefit equally from the expanding economic growth.

[43] This included setting up of Human rights conventions of 1948, united nations commissioner on refugees in 1951 and an expansion of the definition of who a refugee is to include those outside Europe in the UN protocol of 1967. In effect one could say this standardization ended up globalizing refugee status and problems.

[44] Not until the immigration policy of 1973 leading to labor immigration stop of 1975 and later a more comprehensive immigration Action plan of 1989.

welfare-state, especially on certain rights like housing and education. Given the selectivity in handling different groups of unaccompanied asylum-seekers and the demands of the welfare system, to reside in the state demanded a legal status. When it was politically undecided, certain rights like education[45] were inaccessible for unaccompanied teenagers. Thus, the problem of being unaccompanied becomes compounded with uncertainty, temporality, and differing ideological views that made their reception and waiting for asylum more ambiguous.

The period between 1980 to the present study

The 1980s through 1990s saw an influx of immigrants both as asylum-seekers and refugees. Before this period, Norway received asylum-seekers as quota refugees, who had a direct resettlement plan via the UNHCR (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012). The Cold War, wars in Vietnam, Iraq, and Somalia introduced a new set of immigrants and refugees who came spontaneously on boats, buses, and planes. The newcomers categorically identified as asylum-seekers represented the "category of immigrants that most concerns the welfare state, yet it is precisely the type of immigration that can least be governed by welfare state premises" (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012, p. 171). This becomes a challenge to the normalization reforms in Norway of 1991 (Hansen, Sandvin, & Søder, 1996) since the daily needs of unaccompanied minors and their inability to join the workforce immediately posed a dilemma to the established welfare state. The political identity of asylum-seeker was itself the result of a discursive struggle that continued to emerge in Norway and Western Europe since the 1970s (Vitus & Lidén, 2010) and found more ground from this period onwards. Thus, to be an asylum-seeker meant to be received with mixed reactions. The arrival was unpredictable and therefore restricted the capacity to receive genuine or needy refugees (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012). Although the welfare scheme was not clear on how newcomers ought to be managed, there were traces from this period onwards of welfare policy articulations that seemed to dictate how asylum policy ought to be formulated; for example, conditions for the reception, rights, and integration (Hagelund, 2003). It is in this period that asylum seekers are grouped into different categories of either needy or not needy; what is defined as needy remained a political issue that often came up whenever necessary during regional and national elections in Norway (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012). Thus, to be an asylum-seeker, one had to prove one was worthy of asylum since asylum seekers did not fit the known definition of a quota refugee[46] who was vetted and approved because of well-known and documented persecution, having lived in a refugee camp and whose motivations for travel were reasonably known.

The 1989 Norwegian Action plan is the first one that gives a comprehensive definition of who an unaccompanied minor is. The action plan coincided with a shifting focus from the institutionalization of vulnerable groups in the population like those with mental disability to a decentralization model where they were adapted in ordinary schools (Haug, Tøssebro, & Dalen, 1999). This de-centralization cemented the idea of normalization via integration that had consequences on the reception of unaccompanied

[45] Here I refer to the entire school curriculum in its totality or one that would have certain goals adapted to the situation of the young-asylum seekers.
[46] Quota refugees are refugees divided among host countries by different united nations bodies like UNHCR or UNICEF (The United Nations Children's Fund) or UNRWA (The United Nations Relief and Works Agency).

minors in the same period. In a Norwegian sense, “all minors who arrive in the country without their parents or other persons with parental responsibility are unaccompanied minors, regardless of whether they are accompanied by an adult caregiver or not” (Eide & Broch, 2010, p. 14). This definition is more elaborate than what UNHCR described as “those who are separated from both parents and are not being cared for by an adult who by law or custom is responsible for doing so” (UNHCR, 1994, p. 52). The Norwegian definition highlights the dependability and vulnerability of these children and therefore in need of a comprehensive reception and care.

On the other hand, the UNHCR definition was a conceptual differentiation between the practice that existed then of considering unaccompanied children as orphans when they had a relative or someone who could take parental responsibility. Thus, to be unaccompanied meant one could get residency on humanitarian grounds so long as parents and/or caregivers could not be traced. To achieve the ongoing integration all who received permits were scattered around the country instead of being concentrated in specific institutions in a specific region (Eide, 2005).

The existing practice in the ’80s to the advent of the millennium was to issue residence permits to unaccompanied minors so long as their caregivers could not be traced (Stang, 2012). However, this practice ended when in the early 2000s to 2007, the numbers of unaccompanied minors seeking asylum in Norway increased exponentially (UDI, 2004/2008). Coupled with other developments in the EU such as increased joint border control across the EU countries (Bigo, 2014); restrictive asylum practices that included making residence permits temporary until aged 18 and they are repatriated as seen in England and Belgium (Derluyn & Broekaert, 2008; Kohli & Mitchell, 2007), there was a shift from a language of humanitarianism to more restrictive immigration policies. Thus, to be an unaccompanied minor between 16 and 18 years old meant the chances of receiving a negative response increased exponentially since you were deemed in certain quotas as an anchor child (preparing the way for your family)[47], or an economic migrant and even an adult disguised as a child.

As we have seen above, the historical moments highlighted points to an ambiguous reception of unaccompanied children in the four epochs that Eide mentioned. This dissertation highlights a seemingly fifth epoch that has increasingly targeted a specific category of unaccompanied minors between 16 and 18 years of age. They are caught between integration efforts meant for those with residence permits in schools and other social arenas and a highly restrictive immigration policy that grants residence permits temporarily to a majority until they turn 18 and are repatriated.

[47] See ARPN (2000- St. meld. nr. 17, 2000/2001) a whitepaper on immigration from 2000.

Appendix Nine- Research Design

Study	*Material*	*Research Question*	*Methodology*	*Analytical procedure*	*Reported in*
Being an unaccompanied- A dilemma for policy? Representations of unaccompanied teenagers in Norwegian policy.	Four Norwegian whitepapers 2004-2016	How does Norwegian policy construct the category of unaccompanied minors in the period between 2004 and 2016?	• Critical Discourse Analysis • Main focus- Identity and categorization)	Qualitative document analysis, critical discourse analysis	*Published in Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education, Vol. 14. No. 3*
While we wait: Unaccompanied minors in Norway – Or the hospita(bi)lity for the Other	Field-work interview anecdotes, observation notes	*How do we encounter those waiting and how do we respond to their waiting?*	• Phenomenology of practice • Main focus- unaccompanied minors experience of reception and hospitality in Norway	Phenomenological thematic analysis, anecdotal analysis, and a pedagogical discussion	*Published as a book chapter in "Rethinking ethical-political education: The Nordic model- Springer Publishers, vol 6. pp. 67-84*
To be nobody or somebody. Young minor asylum-seekers waiting for goodness, a place to live and the possibility of a life.	Field-interview material, observation notes	In what ways is waiting for an ordinary human experience, and when does waiting become an experience that is difficult to live (well) with?	• Phenomenology of practice • Focus- unaccompanied minors experience of Waiting, despair and meaninglessness	Phenomenological thematic analysis, anecdotal analysis, and phenomenological discussion	*Published as a book chapter in: Pedagogikk, periferi og verdi- Pedagogikk, periferi og verdi. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, pp. 57-76.*

Failure as an opening to teaching realities of life. The case of teaching unaccompanied minors in Norway	Field-Interview material, observation notes	W*hat pedagogical dilemmas are core when teaching unaccompanied minors in Norway?*	• Phenomenology of practice • Focus on teachers' realities of teaching unaccompanied minors	Phenomenological thematic analysis, anecdotal analysis and a pedagogical discussion	*Under consideration in Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology.*

Table One- Research design

Appendix 10- Timeline of the interviews and interactions with participants

The timeline below illustrates how the studies evolved through document analysis, initial contact with unaccompanied minors, the changes that happened during fieldwork.

Period	Main activity	Other happenings	Comments
August 2015- December 2015	Initial contact with unaccompanied minors in the first reception center.	Introduced to unaccompanied minors by the leader of the reception center. Volunteered to help with home-work and other tasks. Introduced my research interests.	Reception center closed at the beginning of December and all the teenagers dispersed to other reception centers.
February 2016- August 2016	Re-established connection with most of the unaccompanied minors from the first reception center in a new reception center.	Continued meeting once a week. Volunteered to help with home-work and other tasks. Engaged with them on my research interests.	Centre leader allowed me as a volunteer and researcher. The reception center closed in August. Admitted to university of Oslo in August of 2018
March 2016	Document analysis and writing of various drafts of Study one	Document search- Whitepapers, Literature related to the study.	Draft writing and analysis went on until April 2018.
August 2016- December 2016	Norwegian Data protection services approved project. The focus on teachers intensified after minors were missing.	Contacted several schools where the unaccompanied minors were studying and all of them rejected my application for interviewing teachers.	Unaccompanied minors relocated to reception center with adults and contact with them could not be established through the leader.
March 2017	Contact with a new reception center, started for unaccompanied minors in March 2017. Focus of the project changed to include unaccompanied minors - approved by NSD.	Met with most of the unaccompanied minors I had contacted in the earlier reception centers. Re-introduced my research interests.	Initiated conversations on consents and reacquainting with them. A trial focus group with the ones I had contacted previously done.

April- August 2017	Interviews with unaccompanied minors.	Happened within reception center, met them once a week in April, twice in May, twice in June and once a week in August. Had some interviews with them	Most of them had started receiving rejection letters or being notified that they will be deported in October[1]
August 2017	Started studying phenomenological research and writing at the university of Alberta in Canada	Continued writing Study one. Started writing Study two, while analyzing the interviews materials with unaccompanied teenagers. Made initial contact with teachers in two schools	
October 2017	Travelled back to Norway for final interviews and dialogue unaccompanied minors. Classroom observation and interviews with 4 teachers	Discussed the anecdotal materials with those interviewed to verify what they had said. Continued with writing Study one and two.	Some of the unaccompanied minors deported. Analysis of teacher interviews and initial dialogue on interview materials
January 2018- October 2018	Started writing study three and four. Finished phenomenological course at the university of Alberta in April 2018,	Study two sent for consideration in Springer book chapter. Correspondence with teachers to verify their anecdotes continued and ended in October of 2018	The four studies started taking shape as data analysis continued.

Table Two: Timeline for interviews and contact with participants.

Appendix 11: Analytical Procedure for document Analysis

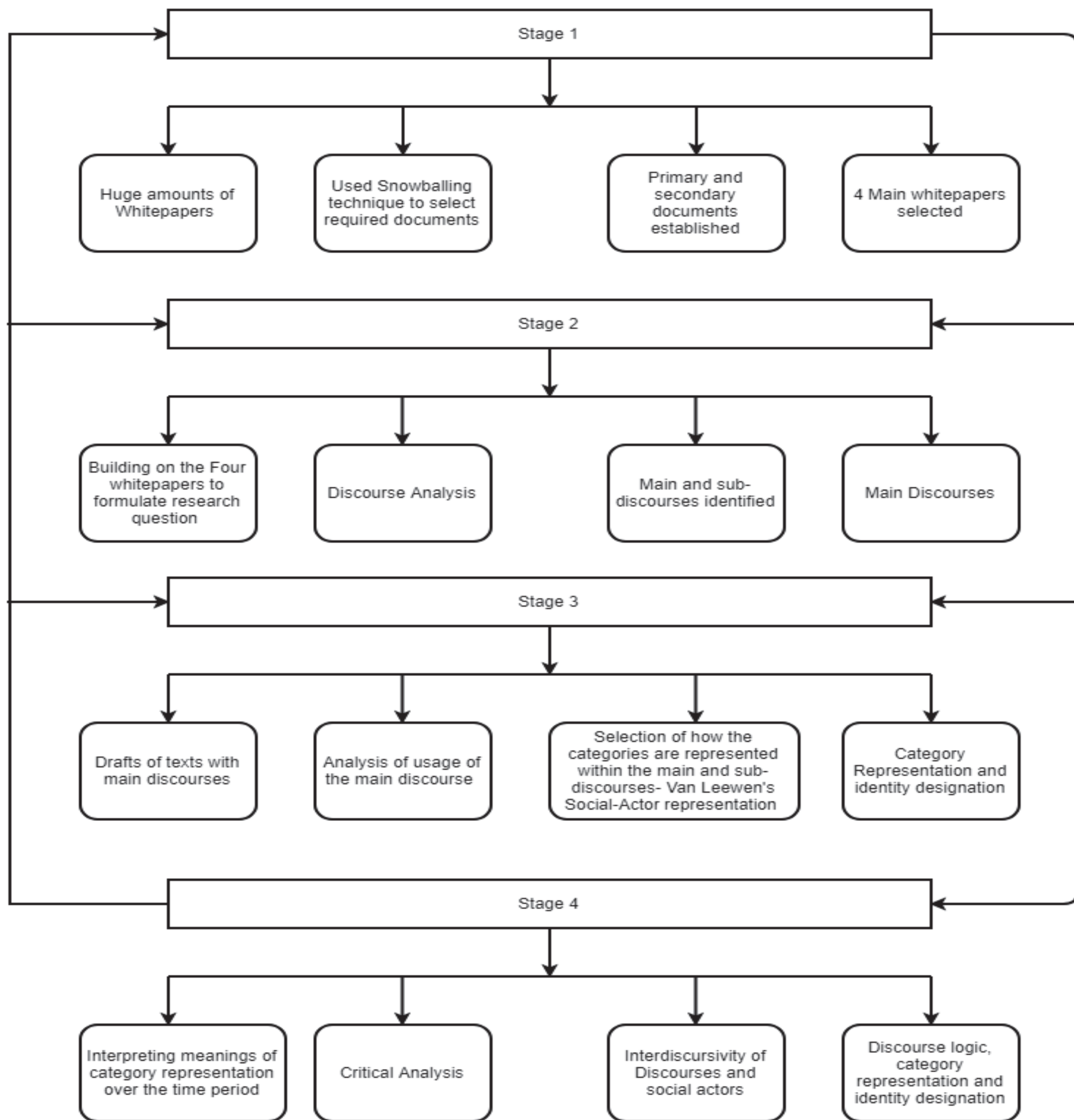

Table Three. The analytical procedure for document analysis

Erratta list.

Cor- corrected

Page	Paragraph/line	Original text	Type of correction	Corrected texts
Cover	all	all the text is centred on the entire page	Centering	Centred.
iv	2nd paragraph, line 1.	A central challenge in this dissertation	Cor	This dissertation's central challenge
iv	2nd paragraph line 10	that admitted unaccompanied teenagers	Cor	where unaccompanied teenagers were admitted
1	1st paragraph line 3	Others had been born	Cor	others were born
1	1st paragraph line 10	their views. Nevertheless,	Paragraph break	Their views. Nevertheless
1	2nd paragraph line 7	integration to	Cor	integration into
1	3rd paragraph line 3	My experiences cannot be compared to the lived realities of the boys and girls of this study.	Cor	There is no comparison between my experiences and those of this study's boys' and girls' lived realities
1	5th paragraph line 1	The political and legal circumstances upon arrival allows	Cor	Upon arrival to Norway, the political and legal circumstances allow
1	5th paragraph line 2	but does		but do
2	1st paragraph line 1 and 2,	that is	delete	
2	2nd paragraph line 1	This dissertation describes phenomenologically the concrete lived realities of being unaccompanied and experiencing waiting for asylum in such an exclusionary political environment.		This dissertation describes the concrete lived realities of being unaccompanied and experiencing waiting for asylum in such an exclusionary political environment, phenomenologically.
2	2nd paragraph, line 8	are able to ascertain the whereabouts of their parenst or legal guardians		can ascertain their parents' whereabouts or legal guardians.
2	3rd paragraph, line 3	own	delete	

2	3rd paragraph, line 3	I had	delete	
2	3rd paragraph, line 9	Most of the	Delete, of the	Most
2	3rd paragraph, line 9	thought by being allowed	Cor	thought that by being allowed
2	3rd paragraph line 13	evolved for what	Cor	evolved from what
2	3rd paragraph line 14	while they waited and	Cor	while waiting to
2	3rd paragraph, line 15	in Norway it is for this reason that my	Cor	in Norway. For this reason, my
3	1st paragraph, line 6 and 7	them as a result of war,	Cor	them due to war,
3	1st paragraph line 10	crises that are beyond	Cor	crises beyond
3	1st paragraph, lines 13 and 14	This indefinite waiting, its framing within political discourses, and how that framing of their identity as unaccompanied minors is explored from what they tell and retell.	Cor	I explore this indefinite waiting, how their identity as unaccompanied minors is framed within political discourses from what they tell and retell.
3	1st paragraph line16	the grounds for the indefinite waiting	Cor	the indefinite waiting premise
3	1st paragraph line 23	for they are living and enduring	Cor	for they live and endure
3	1st paragraph, line 24	themselves in a way that is personal and meaningful or meaningless.	Cor	themselves in a personal and meaningful or meaningless way.
3	2nd paragraph line 8	What does it really	Paragraph starts here	
4	1st paragraph line 1	This dissertation is guided by this main question	Cor	This main research question guides the dissertation
4	1st paragraph line 5	I will describe	Cor	I describe
4	2nd paragraph line 2 and 3	Approaches the main research problem of the PhD		It approaches the Ph.D.'s main research problem from

4	2nd paragraph line 7	To answer this question	delete	
4	2nd paragraph line 3	From the perspective of the unaccomapnied teenagers		from the unaccompanied teenager's perspective
4	4th paragraph line 6	Thus, the main question of this dissertation		Thus, this dissertation's main question is
8	3rd paragraph line 8-10	the term's young persons or teenagers since the participants of this study were between 15 and 18 years old.	Cor	the terms young persons or teenagers since this study's participants were between 15 and 18 years old.
9	1st paragraph line 6	To be a refugee, however,	Cor	However, to be a refugee
9	1st paragraph, line 21 and 22	For the purposes of this study,	Cor	For this study's purposes,
10	Empty page	Empty page	Empty	Blank page added changing the numbering of succeeding pages
11	1st paragraph line 13	the pedagogical perspective that considers the prospects of	Delete- that	the pedagogical perspective considers the prospects of
11	3rd paragraph line 6	the political identity of asylum-seeker	Cor	asylum-seekers political identity
11	3rd paragraph line 9	and particularly the interpretations of the state that create a particular identity.		, particularly the state's interpretations that create a particular identity
11	3rd paragraph line 10	the category of unaccompanied minors between	Delete- the category	unaccompanied minors between
12	1st paragraph line 2	identities become a "universal"	Add s on become	identities becomes a "universal"
12	1st paragraph line 3-6	To construct unaccompanied asylum-seekers in this duality first as asylum seekers and then children or teenagers as it is the practice now means at some point particularity might supersede universality resulting in a dilemma or ambiguous treatment.	Cor	The practice of constructing unaccompanied asylum-seekers in this duality first as asylum seekers and then children or teenagers means that particularity might supersede universality, resulting in a dilemma or ambiguous treatment.
12	1st paragraph line 11-12	When the category of asylum seeker is invoked,	Cor	When the asylum seeker category is invoked,

12	2nd paragraph line 5	and consensual[1] (in law) and two;	And comma after brackets and replace the colon with a coma	and consensual[1] (in-law), and two,
12	2nd paragraph line 7	taints his or her credibility,		taint their credibility,
12	2nd paragraph line 10 and 11	also done in Sweden and Denmark	Delete- “also done” and add “too” at the end.	in Sweden and Denmark too
12	4th paragraph line 4	Thus, the political identity of the asylum-seeker	Cor	Thus, the asylum-seekers political identity
12	4th paragraph line 7	on the side of the claimant	Cor	on the claimant's side
13	1st paragraph line 1	on the rights of these groups	Cor	on these groups' rights is
13	1st paragraph line 16-18	The interpretation of what is care from a Norwegian perspective depends on the interpretation of the state since CRC's general comments on the issue of care for unaccompanied minors, are "softer" (p. 277) and unspecified.	Cor	The interpretation of care from a Norwegian perspective depends on the state's interpretation since CRC's general comments on care for unaccompanied minors are "softer" (p. 277) unspecified.
14	2nd paragraph line 13	the child when other interests	Cor	the child's best interests
14	2nd paragraph line 4-6	The argument by the Norwegian government primarily for example for Unaccompanied Afghani asylum-seekers, is that it is safe to return them as adults and as internally displaced persons than it is as a child.	Cor.	For example, the Norwegian government's argument primarily for Unaccompanied Afghani asylum-seekers is that it is safe to return them as adults and as internally displaced persons than it is as a child.
15	2nd paragraph line 8-9	making rights to be limited and interests undefinable but at the discretion of the government	Cor	making rights limited and interests undefinable but at the government's discretion

[1] According to the Personal Data Act (2000 and changes in 2018), such collection of sensitive personal information requires legal consent. This is especially because consent obtained without law can be felt as given under pressure and therefore cannot be regarded as a voluntary consent.

15	3rd paragraph line 14-15	because of parents abandoning their children during war	Cor	because parents abandon their children during the war
15	4th paragraph line 3	Their status as teenagers, as we saw above, is unrecognized	Cor	As we saw above, their status as teenagers is unrecognized
16	1st paragraph line 2	response simultaneously occurs with a complex process	Cor	response coincides with a complex process
16	2nd paragraph line 13	in-depth descriptions of reflections of these teenagers	Cor	in-depth descriptions of these teenagers' reflections
17	2nd paragraph line 8-9	scertain the level of understanding of a child are administered	Cor	ascertain a child's level of understanding are administered
17	2nd paragraph line 14-15	These realities, as study four illustrated, showed moments	Cor	As study four illustrated, these realities showed moments
18	1st paragraph line 1-2	The differential treatment of asylum-seeking children as outsiders in the educational system stems from systemic failures and legal lacunas, as highlighted above	Cor	As highlighted above, the differential treatment of asylum-seeking children as outsiders in the educational system stems from systemic failures and legal lacunas.
18	1st paragraph line 5-6	From a Norwegian perspective, Sønsterudbråten (2010) documents a pilot program that offered educational opportunities for those with temporary permits	Cor	Sønsterudbråten (2010) documents a pilot program that offered educational opportunities for those with temporary permits from a Norwegian perspective.
18	1st paragraph	not a possibility	Cor	Not possible
18	1st paragraph line 15-16	Thus, the educational goals for teenaged asylum-seekers, in as much as some are placed directly into high-schools or introductory classes, or vocational schools, are	Cor	Thus, since some are placed directly into high-schools or introductory classes, or vocational schools, teenaged asylum-seekers educational goals are
18	2nd paragraph line 22	for the sake of the child.	Cor	for the child's sake.
19	1st paragraph line 1-2	If one were to look at the psychosocial and educational perspectives above for example.	Cor	Suppose one were to look at the psychosocial and educational perspectives above, for example.

19.	1st paragraph line 2	does it mean that unaccompanied children should be looked at from a group perspective,	Full stop before "does" and a new sentence beginning with "Does"	Does it mean that unaccompanied children should be looked at from a group perspective,
19	1st paragraph line 9	The trend in the research above	Cor	The research trend above
19	2nd paragraph line 6	the society's point of view	Cor	the society's perspective
19	2nd paragraph line 14	human phenomenon from its own	Cor	human phenomena from their own
20	2nd paragraph line 5-6	In Study Three, for example,	Cor	For example, in Study Three
20	3rd paragraph line 4-5	we take as a point of departure in the lived experiences of these teenagers waiting	Cor	we take as a point of departure in these teenagers' lived experiences waiting
22	Empty	Empty	Page break	Empty page that affects page numbering of the succeeding pages
23	2nd paragraph line 6-7	the confines of the host nation,	Cor	the host nation's confines,
23	3rd paragraph line 6	Their theorizations from an anthropological standpoint,	Cor	From an anthropological standpoint, their theorizations
25	2nd paragraph page 8-9	Some of the participants in this dissertation have waited for a status, either asylum or refugee status, for more than ten years	Cor	For more than ten years, some of the dissertation participants have waited for a status, either asylum or refugee status.
25	3rd paragraph line 1	In order to have an understanding of what it might mean	Cor	To understand what it might mean
25	3rd paragraph line 8	but its suppression that nevertheless exacerbates		but its suppression, which exacerbates
26	4th paragraph line 1	Cindy Horst, while researching on Somali refugees in Dadaab,		While researching Somali refugees in Dadaab, Cindy Horst
27	1st paragraph line 5	So, to have *buufis,*	Delete "so"	To have *buufis,*
27	2nd paragraph line 1	What we notice in waiting for asylum response is a tension	Cor	We notice in waiting for asylum response a tension
28	2nd paragraph line 2	A farmyard, on the other hand,	Cor	On the other hand, a farmyard

29	1st paragraph line 3-4	The entrance of the unaccompanied teenager goes against	Cor	The unaccompanied teenager's entrance goes against
29	1st paragraph line 7-8	Nevertheless, the logic of admission of newcomers	Cor	Nevertheless, newcomers' logic of admission presupposes
29	2nd paragraph line 7-9	For example, in reception centers, as illustrated in Study One, the staff occupy a double role of both caregiving and working on behalf of UDI.	Cor	For example, as illustrated in Study One, the staff occupy a double role of caregiving and working on behalf of UDI in reception centers.
29	2nd paragraph ine 13-14	sharing about the behaviors of their students to their supervisors.	Cor	sharing their students' behaviors with their supervisors.
29	2nd paragraph line 14-15	The teacher, Mona, in Study Four, regrets when her consequence pedagogic leads to the expulsion of a student	Cor	In Study Four, the teacher, Mona, regrets when her consequence pedagogic leads to a student's expulsion
29	3rd paragraph line 1-2	there are specific arrangements that are created to ensure the orders created are adhered to by different actors in society	Cor	specific arrangements are created to ensure the orders created are adhered to by different actors in society
31	1st paragraph line 22	In addition, it is documented	Cor	Besides, it is documented
31	1st paragraph line 13-16	Such an understanding of democracy implies that power is unevenly distributed in a community of the "polis" and whenever "power of those without title vanishes, there remains the conflict between the two great titles, the powers of wealth and birth" (p. 8). In this configuration, the ruling class consists of those with the means to control wealth, with a similar ancestry or identity.	Cor	Such an understanding of democracy implies that power is unevenly distributed in a community of the "polis." However, whenever "power of those without title vanishes, there remains the conflict between the two great titles; the powers of wealth and birth" (p. 8). In this configuration, the ruling class consists of those with the means to control wealth, having a similar ancestry or identity.
34	Empty	Empty page	Page break	Page break affects page numbering in the succeeding pages
35	1st paragraph line 1	The goal of this dissertation is to explore	Cor	This dissertation aims to explore

35	3rd paragraph line 1-4	To strengthen my fundamental existential concerns, the overarching social contexts and discourses that define the political, economic, and social actions towards these teenagers and the basic understanding of what reception and educational actions can be taken towards them, was the beginning point.	Cor	The overarching social contexts and discourses that define the political, economic, and social actions towards these teenagers and the basic understanding of what reception and educational actions can be taken towards them were the beginnings that strengthened my fundamental existential concerns.
35	3rd paragraph line 8-10	To transcend such characterization, I amalgamated policy discourse analysis and content analysis to explore identity representation dilemmas in policy discourse	Cor	I amalgamated policy discourse analysis and content analysis to explore identity representation dilemmas in policy discourse to transcend such characterization
36	3rd paragraph line 7	discourse is used in reference to	Cor	discourse is used referring to
36	2nd paragraph line 7	does not oversimplify the complexity of the process	Cor	It does not oversimplify the process's complexity
40	2nd paragraph line 13	I remained committed to the original text of the policy while	Cor	I remained committed to the policy's original text while
40	3rd paragraph line 11-12	Below, I present the hermeneutic phenomenological method that was used in these three studies together with my reflections on the choices I made.	Cor	Below, I present the hermeneutic phenomenological method used in these three studies and my reflections on my choices.
41	1st paragraph line 17	Van Manen's agenda with this phenomenological thinking is not to oversimplify it, instead, makes phenomenology available to be practiced with practitioners like educationalists, nurses, nutritionists who encounter varied experiences and phenomena whose meaning easily eludes us when seen from either philosophical or other research traditions.	Cor	Van Manen's agenda with this phenomenological thinking is not to oversimplify it. Instead, he makes phenomenology available to practitioners like educationalists, nurses, nutritionists who encounter varied experiences and phenomena whose meaning easily eludes us when seen from either philosophical or other research traditions.
41	2nd paragraph line 12	To be cautious, phenomenology	Cor	Phenomenology, to be cautious,
48	2nd paragraph line 7	for an amendment to the project	Cor	to amend the project

48	2nd paragraph line 15	as I volunteered and had made it known to the leader in charge of the center(s)	Cor	as I volunteered and made it known to the center's leader (s)
49	1st paragraph line 3-4	information sheet about the project which I also shared with the principal of the school.	Cor	an information sheet about the project I also shared with the school principal
49	1st paragraph line 9	enough in gathering rich descriptions	Cor	enough to gather rich descriptions
49	1st paragraph line 19	One of the high schools	Cor	One high school
64	Empty page	Empty page	Page break	Empty page that affects page numbering of the succeeding pages
65	1st paragraph line 12-13	From this standpoint, it becomes important to pursue the stories and personal experiences of the teenagers waiting for asylum response.	Cor	From this standpoint, it becomes important to pursue the teenagers' stories and personal experiences waiting for asylum response.
65	1st paragraph line 13-15	The focus of the empirical studies become more potent since most of the participants of this study were given temporary permits or rejections.	Cor	The empirical studies' focus became significant since most study participants were given temporary permits or rejections.
65	2nd paragraph line 1-2	In Studies Two, Three and Four, the focus was directed at a phenomenological exploration of lived meanings of unaccompanied teenagers and what matters when teaching them.	Cor	Studies Two, Three and Four, explores the phenomenological lived meanings of seeking asylum for unaccompanied teenagers and what matters when teaching them.
65	2nd paragraph line 2-5	In the last three studies I have been trying to be sensitive to the emergence of possible meaning of the experience of waiting for asylum response for the young teenagers (Study Two and Three), and of the experience of teaching for those teaching them (Study Four).	Cor	In the last three studies, I was sensitive to the emergence of the possible meaning of waiting for asylum response for the young teenagers (Study Two and Three), and their teacher's experience of teaching them (Study Four).
65	2nd paragraph line 5-9	The basic tenets of epoché and reduction which I have presented and discussed in Chapter Four have the quality that they induce a certain	Cor	The basic tenets of epoché and reduction presented and discussed in Chapter Four above have a quality that they induce a certain

		patience with the phenomenon and a pathic dwelling with writing the meaning, that might evoke human sensibilities and identification with the experience as a possible experience.		patience with the phenomenon and a pathic dwelling with writing the meaning that might evoke human sensibilities and identification with the experience as a possible experience
72	Empty	Empty	Page break	Page break affects numbering in the succeeding pages
76	2nd paragraph line 1-2	The inclusion of unaccompanied minors in schools, as we saw in Study One	Cor	As we saw in Study One, the inclusion of unaccompanied minors in schools
76	2nd paragraph line 5-8	they must wait to be repatriated or settled, and while they wait, school helps to keep the social political issues at bay first as asylum-seeking is being resolved therefore making education a trial arena for diversity and inclusion.	Cor	they must wait to be repatriated or settled. While they wait, the school helps keep the social and political issues at bay first as asylum-seeking is being resolved, making education a trial arena for diversity and inclusion.
77	Lines 3-5	In practice as Studies Three and Four have illustrated, the varied school experiences of the teenagers that should determine placement in school, makes it a dilemma in terms of where to place them within the school system	Cor	Studies Three and Four have illustrated, in practice, the varied school experiences of the teenagers that should determine placement in the school, make it a dilemma in terms of where to place them within the school system.
77	3rd paragraph line 3	Psychological and behavioral problems for example	Cor	For example, psychological and behavioral problems
78	2nd paragraph lines 6-7	Their lives are controlled by others beyond their reach	Cor	Others beyond their reach control their lives.
78	4th paragraph line 8-11	Teenagers inadequacies, that is the inability to understand language as a consequence of being new in Norway, or what lies ahead, constant monitoring by UDI, insomnia, not being able to be with family or make sense of what is happening, is a way of life that education might be blind to.	Cor	Education might be blind to the teenager's inadequacies, that is, the inability to understand language as a consequence of being new in Norway, or what lies ahead, constant monitoring by UDI, insomnia, not being able to be with family or make sense of what is happening, which is now their way of life.

79	1st paragraph line 3	The hope of this discussion is to move the discussion of identity	Cor	The discussion hopes to move the conversation on identity
85	Empty page	Empty page	Page break	Empty page affecting page numbering in the succeeding pages
117		Moved table to this page	Table formatting	Table on page 117-118
122	All	Page numbering formatted to continue normally	Page formatting	Page numbering affected in the succeeding pages, but continues progressively.