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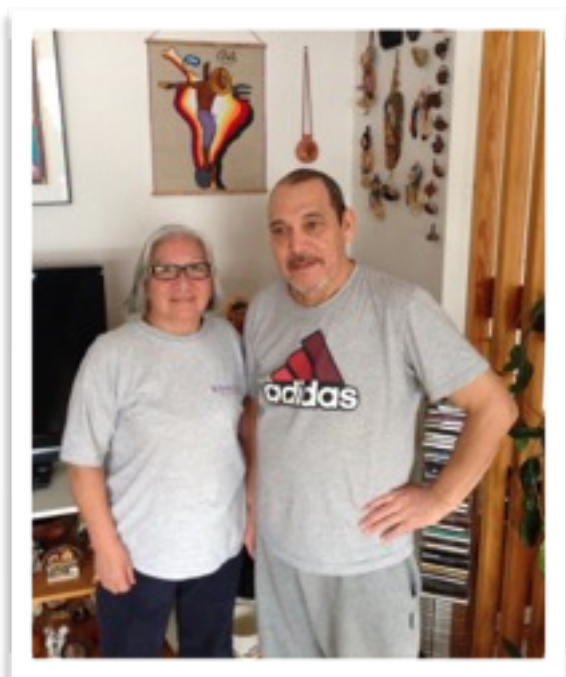
Approaching Psychosocial Adaptation to a Post-Crisis Environment through Case Studies of Javanese Disaster Survivors and Refugees in Sweden

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This thesis is submitted for obtaining the Joint Master's Degree in International Humanitarian Action. By submitting the thesis, the author certifies that the text is from his own hand, does not include the work of someone else unless clearly indicated, and that the thesis has been produced in accordance with proper academic practices.



A Chilean refugee couple in Sweden. Photo taken by author, February 2015.



A street in the village of Pancuran, Java, Indonesia, which was devastated by the 2006 Yogyakarta earthquake. Photo taken by author, August 2014.

ABSTRACT

The psychosocial well-being of survivors of armed conflicts, forced displacement, and/or natural disasters is becoming more and more an integral component of holistic humanitarian response. Yet many organisations rely on broad, generalised manuals or guidelines which do not take into account the unique characteristics of societies and target populations. This paper describes the author's research with disaster survivors in Java, Indonesia, and refugee in Sweden, aiming to characterise the process of recovery, adaptation and integration through beneficiaries' own words. The author looks at how theory can be applied, such as whether a hierarchy of needs can be universally relevant, how the host Swedish society affects refugees' experiences, which so-called "states of being" subjects experience, and how religion and cultural differences like individualism and collectivism influence one's ability to regain psychosocial well-being. The author used both in-depth interviews and quantitative questionnaires to obtain data. Results showed an incredible level of resilience and positivity among all groups, though Indonesians reported family, spirituality and the community as major helping factors, while many refugees in Sweden pointed to their own individual determination and will to succeed. Many Indonesians identified economic livelihood as the biggest remaining gap, while refugees in Sweden spoke of language skills, educational qualifications and employment as keys to success and integration. Many challenges and gaps remain, especially for newly arrived refugees facing an increasingly difficult job market and fewer opportunities.

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I. PREFACE

This Master's thesis is dedicated first and foremost to the people who participated in the study, and those in similar or more difficult situations whose voices have not yet been heard. In both Indonesia and Sweden, I was able to speak with some of the most inspiring and positive people I've ever met, who gladly and eagerly volunteered their time to share their stories, opinions, and experiences, many of which were deeply personal and traumatic in nature. To all of these participants, your openness and honesty in describing past events and current situations was what made it possible to write this paper with such a raw and real human element; without your generosity and trust in my research I could not have gathered such useful data or heard so many interesting, beautiful and at times heart-wrenching stories.

This goes not only for the survivors and refugees who participated in interviews and questionnaires, but those who helped me immensely with the research process. I would like to express special gratitude to Mr. Pradana Desnurim, Ms. Dinda Andiniga Mayang Sari, Mr. Hans Kristian Akar, Ms. Amanda Deby, Ms. Dana Fahadi, Mr. Rahmat Permadi, and others who assisted in as interviewers, translators, and hosts, making my experience memorable and rewarding. A huge thank you to Mr. Nanang Erma Gunawan and his family, who generously hosted me in the village of Pancuran and helped conduct and translate interviews as well.

I would also like to specially thank my supervisors who have guided me so many times in my research and writing: Dr. Lisbeth Larsson Lidén of Uppsala University, Prof. Rahmat Hidayat of the Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, Dr. Theo Bouman of the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen in The Netherlands, Dr. Juan Carlos Gumucio and Prof. Ulrika Persson-Fischier, also of Uppsala University.

The research process of this thesis has, at the very least, shown me firsthand the profound positive impact humanitarian action can have, and has given me the impetus to play a role in the humanitarian world in which I can more directly be a part of this amazing human response.

II. INTRODUCTION

Following a humanitarian crisis, be it an armed conflict, natural disaster or complex emergency, victims and survivors' road to recovery often depends on their ability to regain what they had before. This includes physical factors, namely returning to the same or a similar location and physical environment, as well as less tangible cultural and social elements influencing psychosocial well-being. For instance, someone displaced by violence in his or her hometown may be able to return to the same physical place but face an entirely changed social and political landscape. Conversely, one may find or create a social environment and network which fosters a sense of home and familiarity, despite being displaced hundreds or thousands of kilometres from home.

This paper looks in depth at the lives of individuals and groups living in post-crisis contexts, discussing common themes which emerged, such as one's social network, basic needs, housing situation, and the concept of an ethnic enclave or "ghetto".

2.1 Aims and Research Questions

The author chose this subject because attention to the psychosocial and mental health needs of beneficiaries of humanitarian assistance, as well as humanitarian workers, is still evolving and often lacking (Wesselis 2009). While more and more organisations are giving attention to psychological health, including for humanitarian workers, it is often written as one universal code and in practice may be little more than lip service.

Based on an interest in how psychological needs are perceived and addressed in distinct societies, the author sought to delve into this topic in a humanitarian action framework. The primary goal was getting to know the insight of beneficiaries who've experienced disaster, conflict, hardship, and recovery, because these are the people who can provide the richest input and answer questions through first-hand experience.

The World Health Organisation (2014) defines mental health as “a state of well-being in which every individual realises his or her own potential, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and is able to make a contribution to her or his community”. “Psychosocial well-being” in this study is to be defined similarly, but with more flexibility to include notions such as social integration and adaptation, equality, and opportunities for growth both as an individual and as a member of the group.

This thesis aims to identify a set of the most important factors which help or hinder recovery in post-crisis contexts, as told through the experiences of natural disaster survivors and refugees, examining how subjects view their recovery process and what elements have played the most important roles. Several lines of research are applied and tested for relevance to the contexts, such as Maslow’s (1943) hierarchy of needs, Kristal-Andersson’s (2000) look at refugees in Sweden’s “states of being”, and Daun’s (1996) in-depth look at the Swedish mentality and how it can affect refugees’ adaptation and integration.

This study focuses on the period after a humanitarian crisis, including short-term assistance and relocation, but looking especially at long-term adaptation, recovery and the factors which prove most important for beneficiaries’ well-being. Because of the disproportionate amount of literature available on refugees’ experiences in Sweden compared with those of Indonesian disaster survivors, this paper dedicates more time analysing the subjects interviewed in Sweden.

The main research questions to consider are:

1. Assuming that refugees and natural disaster survivors have outstanding needs which must be addressed, which needs can be generalised universally and which factors are specific to the study’s two research contexts, Indonesian disaster survivors and refugees in Sweden, as told by the beneficiaries themselves?
2. What factors, positive and negative, are most important in determining survivors’ psychosocial well-being after a humanitarian crisis?

3. In these two contexts, how do individuals' religious beliefs and spirituality, worldview, and locus of control affect the recovery process?
4. Does the responsibility to address psychosocial well-being and bridge gaps rest more on the shoulders of a) the beneficiaries themselves, b) the host community, c) government and policymakers, or d) elsewhere?
5. How can a better understanding of survivors' psychological, social, and economic situations after resettlement be generalised and integrated into policy to help beneficiaries recover and thrive?

2.2 The Research Setup, Scientific Approach, and Structure

The author conducted research in two regions: the Yogyakarta area of Central Java, Indonesia, and the region of Sweden which includes the capital Stockholm and smaller university city of Uppsala. Data was collected through semi-structured interviews and questionnaires in Indonesia, and strictly interviews in Sweden due to the difficulty of finding enough respondents to fill out questionnaires with statistically significant results (at least 30 respondents). The questionnaires provided quantitative data which was analysed descriptively (see Annex 1), while interviews in every location provided qualitative data.

Based on convenience, access and local contacts through Yogyakarta's Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM), it was possible to conduct research in two separate Javanese villages affected by natural disasters. One was a relocation village for survivors of the 2010 Mount Merapi volcanic eruptions, and the second a village which had been devastated by the Yogyakarta earthquake of 2006. The author found refugee subjects in Sweden through primary contacts, who then led to further contacts via a "snowball" method. That is, many of the subjects were connected in the same social network.

The author aimed to compare psychological and social factors affecting each group's ability to recover, adapt and (when necessary) integrate to a new post-crisis environment. Although there

are vast and obvious differences between the subject groups in Indonesia and Sweden, the hypothesis is that factors such as the housing situation, community, the social network, and access to employment and livelihoods would be among the most central determining factors regardless of different backgrounds. The author also predicted that being able to stay with the same community and those who share things in common could help one cope with the after-phase of a humanitarian crisis, but also that distance — both physical and figurative — could be beneficial in overcoming trauma and starting a new life free from negative emotions associated with the crisis itself, such as fear, sadness and loss.

Religion was also predicted to play a much more important role in recovery for Indonesians than Chileans, who tended to be left-wing supporters of Salvador Allende's political party and generally less Catholic than those in support of Augusto Pinochet.

Drawing on the findings, the author hopes to shed light on how future responses can better be tailored to the diversity of beneficiaries and their needs in distinct contexts throughout the world. Chapter II: "Methodology" outlines the research process in detail.

2.3 Relevance to the Humanitarian Field

Applying appropriate assistance with attention to beneficiaries' psychosocial well-being is an invaluable piece of effective humanitarian response in today's world. Focus is shifting away from a traditional emphasis on just the most basic and immediate needs (which, according to Maslow (1943) would include food, air, water and shelter) to a more holistic and long-term approach which takes into account beneficiaries' more complex needs which are instrumental in recovery. As the humanitarian field takes on more responsibility in providing a smooth transition from emergency assistance to development and recovery, psychosocial aid plays a vital role in its implementation.

A good deal of research has focused on refugees' success and health in a host society, and operationalised using indicators such as education and employment rates and health statistics. The latter may include statistics on mental health, including depression and especially post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), one of the most oft-used indicators of psychological well-being (BMJ 2007). This study aims to explore beyond the common association of psychology with pathology, i.e. focusing on "problems" or disorders rather than considering that everyone has psychological needs to be met. It seeks to move past quantitative indicators (e.g. PTSD prevalence) and fill in the gaps which remain, since measuring with indicators such as PTSD can overlook the vastly different mental health approaches seen in different contexts throughout the world (Watters 2010).

The chosen research locations are both highly relevant in today's humanitarian context, albeit in very different ways. Indonesia resembles the Philippines as an archipelago nation living under constant threat from natural disasters, namely earthquakes, volcanic activity and tsunamis, all of which have caused large-scale devastation in the past decade. Sweden, despite its small population, is known as a leading country in accepting and welcoming refugees from many of the world's largest and bloodiest armed conflicts. These include the political unrest in Chile in the 1970s, conflicts in Iran and Iraq in the 1980s, ex-Yugoslavia and Somalia in the 1990s, Iraq again in the 2000s and most recently the ongoing civil war in Syria (Al Jazeera 2013).

How policy for humanitarian assistance affects beneficiaries' recovery capacities is also relevant. This policy includes the social, cultural, political and economic aims of relief work after a natural disaster, armed conflict or displacement, which can have a profound effect on beneficiaries' living conditions, safety, quality of life, livelihoods, and psychological health. Policy may be formed and implemented both by governmental bodies (local or national) or by inter- and non-governmental organisations working to provide the assistance. In some cases, it may be formed by grassroots or community-based organisations. The author will briefly summarise such policy in each context examined, analysing its effectiveness, achievements, failures, and limitations.

2.4 Geographical Background and Social Context

The research took place in two post-disaster contexts on the island of Java, Indonesia, and in Sweden's Stockholm and Uppsala regions (where the author was able to interview refugees). Ngancar and Pancuran, the two villages which served as research sites in Indonesia, are both located on the island of Java in the Yogyakarta metropolitan area, which has a population of roughly 2.4 million people.

Mount Merapi, or *Gunung Merapi* meaning “Mountain of Fire”, is an active volcano located approximately 28 kilometres north of Yogyakarta city. With around 1.1 million residents on its flanks, proper disaster risk reduction (DRR) and preparedness are paramount (Donovan 2009:118). Considered Indonesia's most active volcano, it erupts “effusively” (non-explosively) almost continuously, explosively every 8-15 years, and violently every 26-54 years” (Donovan 2009:118; Thouret et al. 2000). Its most recent activity was in October and November of 2010, for which the Indonesian government activated the highest emergency alert level and ordered everyone living within a ten kilometre radius of the volcano to evacuate. However, warnings can only do so much to reduce disaster risk — over 300 were killed and 320,000 displaced, including the community now living in the government-funded relocation village of Ngancar.

The volcano has deep spiritual significance for many Javanese people and is home to many “unseen creatures” known as *makhluk alus* (Donovan 2009:122). Mr. Penewu Surakso Hargo, popularly known as Mbah Maridjan, was the volcano's heralded “spiritual guardian” or “gatekeeper” until, after refusing to evacuate from his home in Kinahrejo, he died when the village was completely destroyed by pyroclastic flow (known as *wedhus gembel* or “shaggy goat” in Javanese).

Ngancar is located on the southern side of the mountain, and was built specifically for residents who were displaced after the 2010 eruptions. All of its residents had previously lived together in a village approximately three kilometres to the west, before it was wiped out by pyroclastic flow

from the eruptions. Scientists and government experts determined that the site of Ngancar would be safe in future events based on past patterns. The village was built with national government funding, and families were able to “recreate” the former village by living next to the same neighbours in a similar formation. Like in most villages on the slopes of Mount Merapi, the majority of Ngancar’s residents rely on dairy farming for livelihoods, which were greatly damaged by the 2010 eruptions as grazing land and cattle were lost (Donovan 2009).

The village of Pancuran is located approximately ten kilometres south of Yogyakarta, in a mountain range that stretches along the coast of the Indian Ocean. The majority of its residents rely on various types of agriculture and subsistence farming, with many owning chickens, cows and small fish farms as well as cultivating sweet potatoes, cassava, and other crops. The village was devastated by the 2006 Java earthquake, after which most villagers were forced to live in tents outside their homes for two to six months. The government as well as many NGOs, such as Plan and the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), helped with the recovery process: rebuilding houses and schools, water and sanitation (WASH), empowerment programmes, et al.

In both Ngancar and Pancuran, the prevailing religion is Islam. Although no official data were available, the author’s research assistants believed that everyone in both villages could be expected to follow Islam, with no one known to practice other faiths. Of course, this is an assumption and not scientific data. Although the main language is Bahasa Indonesia, there are residents in both villages whose mother tongue is Javanese, with generally the older people speaking more Javanese at home and in social contexts.

Sweden is of great humanitarian significance for its acceptance of refugees. For this study, the first relevant influx of refugees was from Chile beginning in the 1970s, following the 1973 *coup d’état* which ousted President Salvador Allende and initiated decades of rule by a military junta under Augusto Pinochet. The democracy which had been created was replaced with persecution of Allende’s supporters, thousands of whom were incarcerated, tortured, murdered, or disappeared. It is estimated that before the *coup* just 90 Chilean-born people lived in Sweden,

with the figure swelling to an estimated 50,000 first- and second-generation Chileans/Chilean-Swedes in the country today (Sveriges Radio 2013).

The author interviewed additional refugees from armed conflicts, namely the Bosnian War in the 1990s, political persecution by the Saddam Hussein regime in Kurdistan, and ongoing conflict in Somalia, all well-represented groups among refugees in Sweden. There were an estimated 56,000 Bosnians living in Sweden in 2009 who came after the war broke out in 1991 (Folkmängd 2009), around 40,000 Somalis in 2012 (Open Society Foundations 2014:27) and currently as many as 83,600 Kurds (Ethnologue 2015). Thus, all refugees interviewed were part of large diasporas in Sweden.

III. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Interviews

The primary research objective was to extract rich data through the stories told in in-depth interviews. The author set out to interview at least five people in each research context, with an emphasis on speaking with both genders and all ages. Although as much diversity as possible was desired, the subject groups were fairly homogeneous. Interviews were meant to be at least 30 minutes in length, though many lasted much longer (especially in Sweden). Interviews were conducted all in Bahasa Indonesia in Indonesia (through translators) and in English and Spanish in Sweden (with the author interviewing directly).

Respondents were selected based on differing methods. In Ngancar and Pancuran in Indonesia, the author relied heavily on local contacts as research assistants and translators. These individuals knew the local community and were able to find a sufficient number of people in the village who were willing and eager to participate. The author helped to ensure approximate gender and age equality, but much of the process was in the hands of the assistants since they were able to communicate with respondents in Bahasa Indonesia.

Preliminary questions were formed as a basis for the interviews' structure. These were meant to be prompts to help the respondents understand what the author was hoping to find out and extract from their experiences, and included questions about the subject's background, livelihood before the disaster or displacement, family life, housing, etc. A strong emphasis was placed on creating a natural, comfortable environment in which the respondents could speak freely about their experiences, including personal emotions to the extent that they felt comfortable expressing them. The author adapted follow-up questions in accordance with wherever the conversation led, and mostly played the part of a listener, bringing the discourse back on topic when interviewees wandered off on tangents.

In Ngancar and Pancuran, every interviewee also completed a questionnaire.

3.2 Questionnaires

The quantitative questionnaire served as a means for comparing the two Indonesian groups, to identify which factors could be generalised and which were unique. It also aimed to find what could not be summarised, explained, or grouped into any pattern.

The questionnaires consisted of 19 questions, labelled 1 through 12 with sub-questions (see Appendix 1). The first question was how long one had resided in Ngancar, with four options: "less than 5 years", "6 to 10 years", "11 to 15 years", or "more than 15 years". The next section asked respondents to rank, from 1 to 5, the extent to which they felt certain emotions after the volcano erupted. These were, in order: sadness, fear, anger, loneliness, and missing or longing. "Other" was also an option, with the opportunity to fill in an additional emotion.

This was followed by five questions to be answered on a likert scale (strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, or strongly agree). The questions addressed religious beliefs and their role in recovery, the community's role in recovery, and whether a respondent wanted to

live permanently in the location of resettlement. This was followed by three questions on how well one's security, social and personal needs are being met, also answered on a likert scale (very poorly, poorly, neither well nor poorly, well, or very well). Finally, four more statements were presented for respondents to agree or disagree with on the same scale as for questions 4 through 7. These questions addressed whose responsibility it is to address humanitarian needs, and whether there is social equality in the resettlement village. Appendix 1 shows the complete questionnaire.

These questionnaires were not administered in Sweden, due to the author's difficulty in finding a large enough sample (at least 30 respondents) to be statistically significant for the nature of this study. Instead, strictly descriptive qualitative data from interviews were used.

3.3 Volcanic Eruption Survivors in Ngancar, Java, Indonesia

The author's research began in July 2014 in and around the bustling city of Yogyakarta, where he was selected to carry out research through the Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) with guidance from professors. The author's research approach was flexible according to where access would be possible. Through contacts in the university's Programme on Humanitarian Action (POHA), the author was able to make several "pilot" visits to several small villages which were directly and heavily affected by the 2010 eruptions of nearby Mount Merapi. This is where the author chose to carry out his research, due to its immediate relevance to humanitarian action, the currentness of the ongoing recovery, and the access to subjects who could provide rich insight.

Liaising with local university students who were carrying out their community service in this specific area, the author arranged to stay in the village of Ngancar for five days and conduct interviews and questionnaires with its residents. Permission was provided by the chief of village, who participated as an interviewee along with his wife.

An extensive “pilot” interview with the village chief was carried out several days before the author’s stint in the village, providing a foundation for moving forward with information from one of the village’s most active, knowledgeable and influential families.¹ Although a set of questions had been prepared, it became clear that a very general prompt would be sufficient to help subjects speak openly, freely and extensively about their experiences before, during and after the disaster. The author could then form follow-up questions to delve further into relevant topics, with the objective of keeping the conversation as natural and unforced as possible. This approach was followed throughout research in Ngancar and in all interviews conducted.

After input from the author’s academic research supervisor at UGM, Prof. Rahmat Hidayat, as well as translation and fine-tuning of the questionnaire, the author returned to Ngancar several days later. Other students completing their community service eagerly assisted as translators who could ask the questions and speak directly with subjects.

Subjects were selected as randomly as possible. As Ngancar is a very compact village with a grid-like pattern of perpendicular streets, it was possible to methodically comb the village and find anyone willing to participate. Since the village consists solely of people affected by and relocated after the volcanic eruptions, everyone was an appropriate subject. However, the sample may have been biased since many respondents already knew the community service students. The author and researcher went to great measures to ensure an adequate gender balance in both interviewees and questionnaire respondents.

Respondents ranged from 21 to 70 years old, with one unsure of his exact age. There were 12 males and 19 females who filled out the questionnaire, and three males and three females who participated in the five in-depth interviews (one was with a couple). In two interviews, there were other family members present but they did not contribute directly to the discussion. All

¹ Indeed, many of the themes mentioned and emotions expressed by this family were echoed in subsequent interviews throughout the village.

interviews were conducted in the homes of the respondents, with the author and translator(s) present.

3.4 Earthquake Survivors in Pancuran, Java, Indonesia

The author was able to conduct research in Pancuran thanks to Mr. Nanang Erma Gunawan, a resident of the village and former student of Prof. Hidayat, who put the author in contact. In an initial “pilot” visit to Pancuran, the author spent one night in Mr. Gunawan and his parents’ home, where other family members sometimes stay as well. Like the vast majority of Pancuran’s residents, their home was destroyed by the 2006 Yogyakarta earthquake and has since been rebuilt with help from government funding and local and international NGOs. The author was able to get a feel for the village, its situation and its history, and decided to conduct research here for mainly the same reasons as in Ngancar. Although the earthquake was eight years removed as opposed to just three years for Mount Merapi’s eruptions in Ngancar, the recovery process was still relevant and fresh in survivors’ minds. They could also provide a slightly more “long view” take on the situation.

The author returned and spent four days in Pancuran to conduct interviews and questionnaires in the same manner as in Ngancar. In this case, Mr. Gunawan served as the sole translator. Although Pancuran’s layout is less rectangular and more sprawling than that of Ngancar due to its location on a steep hill, it was still not difficult to methodically canvass the village and find respondents more or less randomly. Again, a balance of gender and ages was emphasised, and like in Ngancar every resident had survived the earthquake and could therefore respond as a subject.

Questionnaire respondents were between 14 and 82 years old, and consisted of 15 males and 17 females. Two respondents were not sure of their exact age. For interviews, the author spoke with members of five different households, including that of the research assistant/translator/host. Three males and three females contributed in total, and all interviewees also completed a questionnaire. As in Ngancar, all interviews were conducted in respondents’ homes, with the

author and translator present. Interviews ranged between 30 and 60 minutes, and were all recorded.

3.5 Refugees in Sweden

The research environment in Sweden was less straightforward since respondents could not simply be “plucked” from any given community or refugee camp, even though some refugees in Sweden may be concentrated in certain areas. Therefore, the author found interviewees via a “snowball” approach², using university contacts as a starting point (the centre of the snowball). The author decided to focus first on Chileans because he could communicate in Spanish without a translator needed. However, the aim was to speak with as many refugees as possible of any nationality, as long as direct communication was possible in Spanish or in English.

A pilot interview was conducted with a male Chilean refugee who has lived in Sweden for nearly 40 years, providing a foundation for further investigation much like the village chief and his family did in Ngancar. From this interview it became clear that certain factors would be drastically different for this subject group, and questions and approach would need to be adjusted as such. This contact gave the author additional contacts, who were refugees he knew socially and professionally.

The author spoke with eight Chileans, one Argentinean, two Somalis, one Bosnian, one Kurdish/Iraqi, and one Spanish interviewee. Again, gender balance was considered essential to obtaining valuable data. The Argentinean and Spanish subjects were both living in Chile before finding refuge in Sweden, so the Chilean context was applicable to all but the one refugee from the Bosnian war. Therefore, the political situation in Chile in the 1970s and 1980s played an essential role in the experiences of the majority of this study’s subjects.

² This “snowball” approach was mentioned by Robson, C., 2011: Real world research. 3rd ed. Padstow, Wiley, pp 275-276

In addition, the author spoke with the head director of an Introductory School Centre (*Centrum for introduktion i skola*) as well as an immigrant from Tanzania who participates in the centre's activities. The former was interviewed to gain a sense of the issues from an administrative point of view, as this director has spent 15 years working with immigrants of all variants in Sweden. The Tanzanian immigrant was interviewed by happenstance and convenience; he was interested in the study and his experience and insight were relevant even if he cannot be officially classified as a "beneficiary of humanitarian assistance". Thus, a total of 15 subjects were interviewed in Sweden.

IV. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The most obvious and important limitation for comparison between cases of this study is the vast difference between the subject groups and their situations in Indonesia and those in Sweden. While the Javanese disaster survivors were internally displaced and then relocated very close to home (Ngancar) or in a rebuilt home on the same land as the former (Pancuran), refugees in Sweden were forced to move to a new country and culture with a foreign language. Additionally, a man-made crisis (such as the political turmoil and persecution in Chile and much of Latin America in the 1970s and the Bosnian War in the 1990s) can be assumed to have a quite different psychological effect on survivors than that of a natural disaster. Because of these massive contrasts, the author aimed to focus on elements which were relevant in both contexts and could be used as indicators for comparison.

Another potential limitation was that findings were entirely dependent on subjects' willingness to discuss personal emotions and potentially private matters, which was often not possible. In no case was a respondent coerced into sharing emotions with which they were not comfortable. In Indonesia as in many non-Western countries, people view mental health and psychological well-being very differently — there are far fewer mental health professionals per capita, and seeking psychotherapy is rare and often stigmatised. Those in need of professional help may even be hidden away by family members or treated inhumanely (Jakarta Globe 2014).

Talking with locals in Ngancar before collecting official data, the author discovered that people in this context seemed to associate psychology primarily with psychosis and disorders. In other words, while in Sweden it may be considered normal and healthy for anyone to regularly visit a mental health professional, in Indonesia it carries a strong connotation of having a “problem”. Without a license for psychological assessment, it was important for the author to avoid curative talks with respondents which could be considered unethical.

Another important limitation is that the author’s analysis is mostly descriptive and does not include any scientific evaluations or indicators of mental health. Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is often used to quantitatively measure and assess the mental health and well-being of people who have experienced wartime, disasters and traumatic events, but this indicator is not necessarily applicable or appropriate in the Indonesian context. Not all mental health research and practice can be generalised globally, which is one of the central themes in Watters’ (2010) aforementioned *Crazy Like Us: The Globalisation of the American Psyche*.

Watters describes well-meaning Western mental health experts in Sri Lanka after the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami, who immediately diagnosed survivors based on post-traumatic stress symptoms. Lacking sufficient anthropological understanding of the local culture, such responders could not understand the vastly different approach to mental health in this part of the world; treatment could not be globalised or standardised in a “one size fits all” approach. Indeed, in talking with local residents on the slopes of Mt. Merapi, it quickly became clear that PTSD was not a commonly used term in the Indonesian context. In fact, one of the students carrying out his community service informed the author that “here, PTSD doesn’t exist”.

As The University of Oxford Refugee Studies Centre (2015) summarises:

The refugee flight is conceptualised as a traumatic experience and the behaviour of refugees once in camps, countries of resettlement or post-conflict is assessed

for signs of extreme stress. The use of such a diagnosis has assisted us to understand the nature of the problems experienced by refugees and provided a means by which this understanding can be quantified in research and need assessment. A major critique of the use of this disorder is that it pathologises the suffering of refugees and limits assistance to refugees to the services (*sic*) professional mental health workers. A further concern is the relevance of such a diagnosis in the non-Western settings where the majority of refugees are found.

While samples in Indonesia were taken as randomly as possible from two communities in which all members were disaster survivors and beneficiaries of humanitarian aid, the sample obtained in Sweden was based much more on convenience and contacts. The group of Chileans was representative of the majority of Chileans who fled to Sweden following the *coup d'état* in that they were politically left-leaning and associated with corresponding associations, tended to be minimally religious or atheist, and came with education and/or professional training and experience. However, Chilean refugees who arrived in the 1970s cannot be seen to accurately represent all refugees in Sweden.

Finally, the language barrier in Indonesia greatly stifled the author's ability to directly participate in the research. The research assistants/translators were highly competent and did a commendable job in helping conduct the interviews, translating and relating information to the author, and helping extract as much relevant information as possible. Because the author was not very familiar with either Indonesian culture or Bahasa Indonesia, it was extremely difficult to get a good sense of nuances such as intonation or even body language which might indicate respondents' feelings beyond words.

After the interviews were conducted, without funding for a translator the author was hindered in referring back to the interview material in Bahasa Indonesia. Although some native speaking friends were kind enough to summarise, translate and transcribe the in-depth interviews, it was not possible to find relevant quotations and opinions in the way it was with subsequent interviews in Sweden in English and Spanish.

An advantage of conducting questionnaires in Indonesia was to have data which the author could easily refer to later, and interpret without needing a translator.

V. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

5.1 Research on Post-Traumatic Growth

The notion that religious or spiritual beliefs and practices can strengthen after displacement or a traumatic event is a significant potential helping factor. Post-traumatic growth describes how a difficult situation or crisis can produce “positive psychological change as a result of the struggle with highly challenging circumstances” (Tedeschi & Calhoun 2004; Calhoun & Tedeschi 1999, 2001). In “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations and Empirical Evidence”, Tedeschi & Calhoun (2004:4) reiterate that “post-traumatic growth describes the experience of individuals whose development, at least in some areas, has surpassed what was present before the struggle with crises occurred”.

Other psychologists have used different terms to describe what Tedeschi & Calhoun consider to be largely the same phenomenon, such as “stress-related growth” (Park et al. 1996), “flourishing” (Ryff & Singer 1998) and “thriving” (O’Leary & Ickovics 1995). Scheier, Weintraub & Carver (1986) labelled the concept “positive reinterpretation”, while Aldwin (1994) and Pargament (1996) have called it “transformational coping”, characterising it more as a coping mechanism. While concepts of resilience and optimism may be closely correlated, they are more pre-existing traits which may catalyse post-traumatic growth, which is defined more specifically as the transformation which takes place in someone because of the crisis. “The individual has not only survived, but has experienced changes that are viewed as important, and that go beyond what was the previous status quo” (Tedeschi & Calhoun 2004:4).

Hefferon et al. (2009:343) note that “some people who undergo significant trauma and suffering cannot only recover from their episode but surpass the level of functioning they had before the traumatic event occurred”. Having systematically reviewed qualitative literature on the subject, Hefferon et al. (2009) stress identifying factors which make the coping process after a natural disaster different from personal illness, as much research surrounding post-traumatic growth has examined individuals who have undergone life-threatening or terminal diseases. Subjects have often reported a stronger feeling of self, increased appreciation for life and its small wonders, and a new sense of humility through recognising mortality and human limitations. Illness appears to increase one’s sense of empathy and compassion for others, the desire to give back, and feelings of patience and caring for others (Hefferon et al. 2009:371). In 42 of the studies reviewed, subjects were considered to have experienced an “existential re-evaluation”, with the resulting notion that “trauma equals the development of the self”. Could similar effects be observed among natural disaster survivors and refugees? If so, the author hoped to identify other factors which could affect post-traumatic growth.

One must not assume that post-traumatic growth takes place easily or automatically. If the phenomenon were universal, there wouldn’t be such acute needs for psychological assistance. “Growth...does not occur as a direct result of trauma. It is the individual’s struggle with the new reality in the aftermath of trauma that is crucial in determining the extent to which post-traumatic growth occurs” (Tedeschi & Calhoun 2004:5). After a horrible event which devastates villages and takes the lives of innocent people for no apparent reason, spiritual people might also experience disillusionment, a weakened faith and a weakened belief in a just world.

As Parkes (1971) and Janoff-Bulman (1992) have described, most of us live in an “assumptive world”, referring to the things we know and think we know. This may be likened to one’s worldview -- how one interprets the events and people around them, explains irrational events or behaviour, and sees his or her own role and place in society. Depending on its severity and length, a traumatic event can mildly or severely shake up one’s assumptive world in a figurative earthquake or event of seismic shifting, which can “severely shake, threaten, or reduce to rubble

many of the schematic structures that have guided understanding, decision making, and meaningfulness” (Tedeschi & Calhoun 2004:5; Calhoun & Tedeschi 1998). Such a psychological crisis can be measured by how much it challenges one’s previous beliefs and views, and one’s subsequent growth depends on the ability to make sense of the events either base on one’s prevailing beliefs or through the discovery of a new perspective.

The author’s research also explored whether internal growth and a potentially stronger religious connection post-crisis would differ after a man-made event (e.g. political unrest driving refugees’ flight) versus a natural one (e.g. volcanic eruptions or an earthquake). Does the human element of political oppression or armed conflict make it more difficult to recover and move on psychologically?

The author was keen to discover whether or not subjects reported post-traumatic growth through their experiences, and how different personal and external factors could influence this phenomenon.

5.2 Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs; Collectivism versus Individualism in Societies

Maslow’s (1943) hierarchy of needs, which outlines different levels or rungs of needs beginning with basic physiological life requirements and leading ultimately to self-actualisation, may be a useful point of departure for analysing the both disaster survivors’ and refugees’ situations and needs.³ However, the model’s limitations and biases must also be taken into account.

Gambrel & Cianci (2003) address the question of whether the hierarchy of needs can be applied universally, particularly in collectivist cultures, since Maslow’s pyramid has been shown to be most representative of an individualist American culture where subjects were studied (Hofstede 1984; Nevis 1983). Although the focus is mainly on applying the hierarchy in multi-national and international business and management settings, several essential points are made. Gambrel &

³ Appendix 4 shows the hierarchy of needs.

Cianci (2003) draw on several comparison studies in countries considered highly individualist and collectivist according to previous research. These countries included the United States, Germany, The Netherlands, Sweden and Australia representing individualism, and China, Greece, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan and South Korea representing collectivism.

Schwartz (1990) warns against oversimplifying these two terms. If individualism is interpreted to mean a focus strictly on personal interests and collectivism is a focus solely on the in-group, possible overlaps and harmonies may be excluded. The individual's goals may coincide with goals of the in-group, and "collective" goals of society as a whole may differ from those of the in-group (Gambrel & Cianci 2003:148).

Schwartz (1994) also suggests that "individualism" and "collectivism" may better be replaced by the cultural level dimension of autonomy and conservatism, or "embeddedness". Autonomy emphasises one's rights, freedom of choice and thought, and the ability to pursue one's self-interests. Conservatism entails that "a person's focus is participation in and association with the group and its shared way of life" (Gambrel & Cianci 2003:148).

The present author was initially intrigued by the phenomena touched on by Ethan Watters in his book *Crazy Like Us: The Globalisation of the American Psyche*. A disproportionate amount of humanitarian aid is designed and/or implemented by people and organisations coming from Western and often individualistic societies, while the majority of beneficiaries live in contrasting cultural contexts which tend to be more collectivistic in nature. In the case of Indonesia, cultural values and preferences are strongly representative of the latter category (The Hofstede Centre 2015a). The country scores especially low on individualism (and thus high on collectivism), making it an appropriate point of comparison against an individualistic society.

According to The Hofstede Centre (2015b),

Individualism can be defined as a preference for a loosely-knit social framework in which individuals are expected to take care of only themselves and their immediate families. Its opposite, collectivism, represents a preference for a tightly-knit framework in society in which individuals can expect their relatives or members of a particular in-group to look after them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty.

Drennan et al. (2005) discuss findings from semi-structured interviews with public health nurses in the United Kingdom providing support to refugee women and young children in the postnatal period, and how Maslow's hierarchy of needs can be used as a basis. The article discusses a number of issues facing refugees upon arrival, particularly women's struggle to adapt to a new environment. Although basic services are provided to both refugees and asylum-seekers on arrival, many experience difficulties with the language, accessing and receiving proper healthcare (including pre- and post-natal care and mental health services), and isolation, hostility or racism from the host community. For example, a 2002 study of 33 asylum-seeking women's experiences in England noted that half of women "reported experiencing neglect, disrespect and racism from the maternity services" throughout their maternity experiences (Drennan et al. 2005:156; Mcleish 2002).

The study tested the hypothesis that health visitors used Maslow's hierarchy of needs as a guideline for providing services: "The health visitors were all very clear that, faced with destitute families with children in short-term accommodation and with no family networks in a foreign country, the priorities were always to address the fundamental physiological and safety needs" (Drennan et al. 2005:159).

Furthermore:

Health visitors working with refugee families living in temporary accommodation reported that they prioritised working on physiological needs at the base of Maslow's hierarchy (Maslow 1968), just as described by those working with homeless families placed in temporary accommodation. The speed of transfer between temporary accommodation placements meant that they were unlikely to address needs at higher levels (Drennan et al. 2005:161).

This is a clear operationalisation of Maslow's first level of needs, which appears to indeed take precedence in situations of great need. The study's findings also suggested that the prioritisation of immediate protection from diseases (e.g. through immunisations for children) over longer-term preventive care (such as measures for early detection of cancer) was another example of a hierarchy of needs being applied, but this hypothesis requires further testing (Drennan et al. 2005:162).

However, trying to fit displaced persons' needs into a paradigm as concise as Maslow's hierarchy would exclude important factors. Women, children, the elderly and other vulnerable populations may have additional or individual needs which require a more comprehensive approach. The Women's Refugee Commission (2015) has created a list of "ten pressing needs that must be met during the first weeks and months of an emergency", including access to reproductive health care/services, protection from sexual violence and exploitation, maternal health services, and ensuring equal education rights for women and young people. While these could all be considered part of Maslow's "security" level, it is important to expand on his concepts to include issues which are becoming more and more necessary to integrate into policy for beneficiaries.

5.3 Open Society Foundations on Somalis in Malmö and Other European Cities

"Somalis in Malmö", part of the multi-part series "At Home in Europe: Somalis in European Cities", is a comprehensive study by the Open Society Foundations (2014) on the situation for immigrants (including but not limited to legally defined refugees and asylum seekers) from Somalia who have settled in Sweden through interviews (with 50 respondents) and focus groups. In the section, "Housing Settlement: Choice and Segregation", Open Society Foundations (2014:90-91) looks into a key helping or hurting factor in psychological recovery and discusses the advantages and disadvantages of both *eget boende (EBO)* and *anläggningsboende (ABO)*, referring to asylum seekers' choice between finding their own housing or accepting housing

procured by the Swedish Migration Board (*Migrationsverket*). Where one lives, and with whom, upon relocation can profoundly impact one's ability to adapt to the local culture, feelings of comfort, safety, and protection, and possibilities of finding income-generating activities and means for livelihood.

Responses were mixed; some argued that allowing Somalis to choose their own housing upon arrival is detrimental to their ability to adapt to Swedish culture and find employment, as well as to the resources of the larger cities where they often congregate. One focus group member stated:

First people should move around and get accustomed to the Swedish language and learn to navigate Swedish society. After that they could move into areas where other Somalis live, to share their customs. The usual pattern, however, is that new arrivals move into areas like Rosengård, where they speak only their native language and get to know very little about Sweden (Open Society Foundations 2014:91).

However, others argued for greater freedom of choice upon arrival, and one suggested that families may be better off with assigned housing, while singles should not be placed in such potential isolation. The focus group also revealed Somalis' general desire to be with other Somalis, and that even if job prospects might be better outside of Malmö, the social network and ability to bring more family members to Sweden may be of greater importance.

Open Society Foundations' (2014) methodology demonstrates qualitative data's ability to go beyond the facts and figures, and to explain some of the social and psychological factors which may influence decision-making in addition to hard data such as employment figures and income. Sometimes, a choice which may look best on paper for greater financial security, "success", or integration may come at a cost in terms of one's social network, sense of community, or individual psychological well-being.

Open Society Foundations (2014) conducted focus groups specifically on the theme of identity and belonging, in which they found Islam to be a universal representation of "comfort and

security”, and that Somalis abroad may even “replace their (former) home by preserving their identity and sense of community” (Open Society Foundations 2014:55). Tiilikainen (2007) explains that “in a religiously, culturally and socially new environment, Islam may work as a moral and practical compass in everyday life for Somali refugee women”. This exemplifies post-traumatic growth in practice, in this case with a strong religious component.

Through the interviews and focus group discussions, Open Society Foundations (2014) attempt to unwrap politically sensitive issues. The findings show prejudice among Swedes but also among the Somalis themselves, as many lack trust in the system intended to help them, namely regarding healthcare and medicine. While Sweden’s healthcare system is often considered one of the best and most all-inclusive in the world, it may be foreign and unfamiliar to immigrants used to different methods. As explained, “A majority of the informants did not approve of the doctor using a medical reference book to find any suggestions for treatment: they expected to be told immediately what was wrong without being asked too many questions” (Open Society Foundations 2014:100). To continue, “It has long been known that Somalis do not readily turn to the health-care system to get support for psychological problems...mental health disorders are often denied by the Somalis, who rarely seek the help of psychiatrists and psychologists” (Open Society Foundations 2014:97). This may also mean that immigrants and refugees with psychological needs do not access the available services which would theoretically benefit them.

The article is especially relevant since the author of this study interviewed two Somali refugees living in Sweden.

5.4 Klinthäll on Refugee Return Migration from Sweden to Chile, Iran and Poland

In “Refugee Return Migration: Return Migration from Sweden to Chile, Iran and Poland”, Klinthäll (2007) discusses factors which have influenced Chilean refugees’ decisions to stay in Sweden or return home (compared with those from Iran and Poland). An important distinction he makes is different categories of refugees based on their situations, and how they differ from

temporary labour migrants. “Rubicon” refugees are those who see their displacement as permanent, whereas “Odyssean” implies an intention to return home once conditions permit. Those under “temporary protection” with limited or unknown residency rights in the host country constitute an additional factor to consider in analysis (Klinthäll 2007:582).

The timeline is an essential part of Klinthäll’s (2007:588) analysis, and is an important factor to consider when looking at how Chilean refugees’ views differ:

The political and economic circumstances in the second half of the 1980s indicate that Chilean immigration into Sweden in the late 1980s was less politically motivated compared to earlier Chilean immigration, but had a stronger economic element. The early cohorts of Chilean refugees may then be more likely to nurture an ‘ideology of return’.

This is pertinent in examining the “after” phase of relocation because refugees’ psychological outlook and motivation to adapt can change based on whether or not they hope or expect to return home to their home country. This is especially important when looking at their efforts and ability to integrate into Swedish culture, find qualified permanent employment and housing, etc. The author sought to take this research into account in considering Chileans’ ability and desire to integrate into Swedish culture.

5.5 Kristal-Andersson on Refugee Psychology

In “Psychology of the Refugee, the Immigrant and Their Children”, Kristal-Andersson (2000) takes a mainly qualitative, in-depth look at refugees’ psychological, social and economic situations in a host country after relocation. This includes many personal anecdotes from therapy sessions with anonymous refugees and immigrants settled in Sweden, and is especially relevant to the author’s research in identifying so-called “states of being”, defined as “a certain set of feelings, thoughts or conditions” (Kristal Andersson 2000:88). These serve as a framework for understanding and analysing refugees’ experiences, though they are certainly not limited to

people who have experienced relocation or traumatic events (Kristal-Andersson 2000:88). 17 different states are named, of which the present author has chosen several to focus on for their direct relevance to the subject groups included.

The states of being were especially instrumental in the author's formation of the questionnaire conducted in Indonesia, which directly borrowed several of them and asked respondents to quantify their own levels. These were: sadness, fear, anger, loneliness, missing or longing for one's former home (a combination of missing and longing, which may be too difficult to differentiate for many respondents), and an option to describe another emotion or state (see Appendix 1). These themes inspired interview questions as well.

Kristal-Andersson (2000) touches on many important issues which people must face after relocation, including effects years after resettlement which may be invisible to the naked eye of aid organisations, the international community, national governments or even the local community, as they are often of a psychological nature and hidden within communities or the self. The author of the present study sought to identify, in a non-intrusive manner, some of these feelings which may linger in survivors even after basic needs have been met. The author also hoped to draw comparisons between states of being experienced by Indonesian subjects and refugee subjects in Sweden, as well as to identify which may be stronger, more applicable or more relevant in one case or the other.

“The stranger” refers to a refugee or migrant of any kind finding his or herself in an unfamiliar place in which the host population sees them as an unknown as well. Often, an immigrant must start from scratch — in physical and tangible ways such as finding new housing, schools and social circles and filing new paperwork — and less visible ways such as learning the social norms and nuances of a new culture. In the author's research, this would be far more likely in the Swedish context in which refugees came from a society far away. Importantly, “whether (the immigrant) remains a stranger and these feelings become the state of being does not appear to be based on how long the person is in the new country, but on how he/she encounters (and is encountered by) the new country” (Kristal-Andersson 2000:91). She provides examples of two

immigrants living in Sweden, whose limited knowledge of the Swedish language is identified as the key reason they feel like strangers.

“Language degradation” is a key concept which is obviously certain to differ greatly between internally displaced subjects and refugees in a country in which their mother tongue is not spoken. There is no doubt that proficiency and mastery of the host language is paramount to integration; the relative comfort and ease of continuing to speak one’s native language comes at the price of potential isolation and poor adaptation (Giordano 1973; Hartog 1971).

On a personal level, “language has a definite effect on our identity, self-conception, self-esteem and self-confidence” (Kristal-Andersson 2000:118; Baker 1983; Casement 1982; Condon & Fathi 1975; Edgerton & Karno 1971; Greenson 1950). Obvious as it may sound, it is important to bear in mind because the social dialogue about immigrants who struggle to understand or master the native language of their host country often focuses on the difficulty it creates for the hosts rather than the potential psychological difficulties experienced by the foreigners who are unable to communicate or fully express themselves. An immigrant or refugee may spend years studying and practicing the language of their new country, but his or her accent or intonation “may be a constant reminder, to oneself and others, of being an outsider” (Kristal-Andersson 2000:119; Kristal-Andersson 1975).

The states of “missing” and “longing” are closely related and interlinked, for which the author combined them in one questionnaire term. Kristal-Andersson (2000:97-103) differentiates the two by explaining that “missing” is often subconscious or a hidden reason for feelings of unhappiness, while “longing” is a feeling of which someone is more aware. They may be actively thinking about something or someone which they would like to see or experience but cannot due to physical limitations. She describes the accounts of several immigrants who, despite having a good life on the surface in Sweden with housing, a family and a good job, still miss or long for elements of their homeland which cannot be replicated abroad. This may include landscapes, specific places of meaning, weather, or even smells or sights of particular nostalgic

importance. These absences may not have obvious significance to the outside viewer, but contain emotional value for the individual through his or her experiences.

The degree to which survivors of both the volcanic eruptions and the earthquake in Java missed or longed for their old home and its associations was of interest to the author. Although relocated in a nearby or the same place, was it still possible that elements of the former life to which one was accustomed were gone? Could they be recovered? For refugees in Sweden, the level at which one misses or longs for a troubled homeland is also a complex question.

“Sorrow” is a state of being in which a displaced person may feel regret or grief for having left something behind (Kristal-Andersson 2000:113-114). This opens up a discussion of many other factors which affect one’s feeling towards his or her country of origin. For this study, a key difference to consider is whether the deterioration of one’s former home was caused by natural or supernatural/spiritual factors (in a disaster, often interpreted to be an act of Mother Nature or a higher power) or by man, in cases of political unrest or war. “Because the refugee cannot return to the homeland, he/she can have conscious or unconscious feelings of sorry over what he/she has been forced to leave behind. These feelings may become part of his/her inner world and experience of life in the new land” (Fairbairn 1943; Kristal-Andersson 1975).

“Value degradation” is another theme which would likely affect the refugee group in Sweden but not Indonesians. This is simply because the cultural context into which they were displaced, a few miles from the original home in the case of volcano survivors in Ngancar and in precisely the same village for earthquake survivors in Pancuran, was so minimally different from the home that cultural differences and nuances could likely be ignored. As Kristal-Andersson (2000:123) explains, “the refugee/immigrant usually comes to the new country with a value system formed from childhood. Faced with a new value system that may be different from his/her own, the individual is forced to compare and question values on a conscious or unconscious level”.

To pinpoint the state of “inferiority”, Kristal-Andersson (2000:127-128) describes an excellent case example of a man who successfully sought political asylum in Sweden:

He was a professor of architecture, a respected intellectual and socialist in his own country. He and his family were forced to flee from their country after the take-over by the right-wing military regime. He was working as a manual labourer in Sweden. Due to many different but mostly bureaucratic factors in the Swedish societal system he could not work in his own profession. He did not protest against this decision, because he was thankful to receive political asylum. He had always felt that manual labour is as important as intellectual work, but had never done it before.

Through trust in therapy sessions, the counsellor was able to get to the cause of the man’s psychological difficulties: although in principle he held manual labour in high regard, he was unable to accept being a manual labourer himself. In fact, “his deep self-hatred as an inferior manual labourer came out, and his disappointment and anger at the Swedish system for offering him such work in exile” (Kristal-Andersson 2000:128).

This man’s situation touches on other phenomena which may be representative of many refugees’ experiences. As he was generously being offered shelter and safety by Sweden and the Swedish government, he felt “tongue-tied” to complain about what he felt was unfair treatment from the employment office (*Arbetsformedlingen*) and other government or social services. This could be considered a sort of “moral black-mail” — if a host country gives a refugee the chance to live in conditions which are far safer and on paper better than in the home country, the refugee may feel no right to complain about imperfections or injustices in the home country which may seem “insignificant” compared to the violence or life-threatening events at home.

These states of being were considered throughout the research process as possible psychological factors to explain subjects’ emotions and experiences. ***5.6 Self-Determination Theory (SDT), Motivation, and the Locus of Control***

Theories of self-determination may be important in considering humanitarian crisis survivors' resilience and ability to adapt to a new post-crisis environment. SDT identifies three innate psychological needs: competence, relatedness, and autonomy. Competence and autonomy both refer to the need to be able to control one's own outcomes and act independently. However, this does not mean being isolated or immune from a need for social contact, as there is a universal need to "interact, be connected to, and experience caring for others" (Baumeister & Leary 1995; deCharms 1968; Deci & Vansteenkiste 2004; White 1959).

Chua & Koestner (2008) explored the concepts of autonomy and solitude in the framework of SDT, exploring how "autonomous" versus "controlled" motivation could affect levels of loneliness. Autonomous motivation can be generally defined as doing something out of free will and choice, and doing it based on intrinsic benefits. Controlled motivation implies some sort of pressure, usually external but not always. Behaviour based on controlled motivation depends largely on one's perceived benefits from the action, such as the social acceptance gained through drinking alcohol.

In the context of the present study, the author seeks to explore self-determination and intrinsic motivation as possible protective factors for crisis survivors. In other words, the ability to survive and live autonomously, without the need for external approval or motivation, could be an important trait in being able to adapt to and thrive in a new environment without a strong social network. These concepts are strongly linked with Daun's (1996) findings on individualism in Sweden, which will be discussed in Section 5.7.

Above all, the focus is on how respondents view their own needs. The aforementioned theories could serve as a base or point of departure, but the author mainly sets out to see how each survivor viewed their own path to recovery — what they had been able to restore, what was missing, and what was most important along the way. The author hopes to then tie this information into a framework of relevant theory and policy.

This is closely interwoven with the concept of the locus of control, referring to the degree to which an individual views occurrences as either controllable (an internal locus of control) or uncontrollable (an external locus of control) (Rotter 1966). For example, someone who is struck by a car while crossing the street may interpret it as their own fault for crossing irresponsibly (internal locus) or the fault of the driver or even the act of a higher power (external locus). Generally speaking, one may assume that internalising positive events and externalising negatives improves well-being, and vice versa. Someone who doesn't give him or herself credit for accomplishments or positive personal results, but blames themselves when something turns out poorly, is likely to have more psychological difficulties than one who gives him or herself credit for things which turn out well and is able to explain negative outcomes as a result of something or someone else. Of course, this does not always hold true and extremes may lead to delusion and social or psychological problems as well.

In this study, the locus of control is an important concept in several ways. Firstly, the explanation of a natural or man-made humanitarian crisis may differ greatly between different individuals. We can all think of a catastrophic event in which blame is directed towards many different people, organisations, or events, or the event is rationalised through religion or divine intervention. A salient negative example would be when prominent American evangelical Pat Robertson explained the 2010 earthquake in Haiti as part of a "pact with the devil", in which he claims the Haitian people agreed to serve the devil in exchange for freedom from French rule. Hurricane Katrina in 2005 was justified by some as divine retribution for American sins, namely homosexuality (Cooperman 2005). These are extreme examples of an external locus of control, enabled by the fact that the cause of many natural events is uncertain enough that politicians and conspiracy theorists can exploit them to promote their own agenda or worldview.

The locus of control is relevant in explaining the crisis itself, but also the recovery process. That is, survivors of the same crisis may feel very differently if one feels that his or her actions can determine the future, but another feels that it is the actions of others, a higher power, or "fate" which will determine it. Research on tornadoes and their damage in different parts of the USA

has shown a link between a more external locus of control and more casualties, with a possible explanation being that those with a more external locus of control take a more “*que será será*” approach, seeing themselves as less determinant of future outcomes and therefore less likely to take precautionary measures (Sims & Baumann 1972).

The author hypothesised that Indonesians would express a firmly external locus of control in explaining both the natural events which took place and their ability to recover — that they would feel that damage from Mt. Merapi’s eruptions or the earthquake could not be blamed on themselves or their community, but instead explained as an inevitable divine act. In the recovery process, the author predicted that subjects would allude to a more internal locus of control, but still with a strong connection to their beliefs. In other words, the author expected that a family might exhibit incredible resilience and an ability to build back their lives after the disaster, but that this inner strength would be largely dependent on the external divine presence. Whether this spiritual element is truly outside of and not “within” the individual, however, was a question which the author did not attempt to answer.

In the context of refugees in Sweden, the author predicted a more internal locus of control with regard to the recovery process, though the political events leading to displacement were still externally based. In other words, the crisis which forced displacement were in no way the doing or the fault of the refugees themselves, but of political groups and actors whose decisions and actions led to war, persecution, or unrest. And while the natural disasters in Indonesia may be explained or justified by external factors, the events forcing displacement to Sweden would be much more negative and unforgivable. Especially for non-religious refugees, such as many of those coming from Chile, it would follow that they relied more on their own motivation, drive, and will, and less on an external power. Since they fled a man-made disaster, there was much more opportunity to identify a person, group, or system to blame for the crisis (as opposed to an earthquake or volcanic eruptions in which, except in rare situations, there are not people directly at fault). The author predicted that refugees with a more internal locus of control may be better able to adapt to a new country and its social context, as it often takes great inner strength and

initiative to be able to face daunting changes, a new language, a new system, and the challenges of adaptation.

5.7 The Cultural Context of Sweden as a Host Country

In the context of resettlement, be it for refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs), immigrants, economic migrants, or anyone moving locations in any way, the ethnic and cultural make-up of the new neighborhood can play a major role in both the decision of where to move and the experience of integration. The nature of Sweden as a host culture and the concept of the ethnic enclave are combined here because they are so closely interlinked in the case of immigration and refugees' experiences. The aim in this study is to see how norms, practices and cultural nuances which characterise Sweden might affect refugees' ability to adapt and integrate, as well as the emergence of so-called ethnic enclaves or "ghettos" which has taken place throughout Sweden's metropolitan areas in recent decades (Back et al. 2013). Suburbs or areas with a high concentration of immigrants include the Gottsunda neighbourhood of Uppsala, Rosengård in Malmö, and, *inter alia*, Husby and Rinkeby in the Stockholm metropolitan area (Back et al. 2013; Daley 2011). The author was curious to see what psychosocial factors might aggravate segregation.

While it is common to focus comprehensively on the ethnic or cultural makeup of those who come to a country as immigrants of some sort, it is also important to consider the fabric of the country in which these people are relocating. In his exhaustive and at times disparaging book *Swedish Mentality*, Åke Daun (1996) looks at many features of Swedish society which make it unique, extreme, and especially "foreign" or difficult to understand and adapt to for many non-Swedes. Though it was published nearly twenty years ago and norms and practices are ever-changing, it touches on many tendencies and personality traits still relevant in today's Sweden.

Many such characteristics could be highly relevant to a refugee's life and psychosocial well-being after resettlement. Swedes are stereotyped as shy, stiff, socially anxious, emotionally

unexpressive, non-confrontational, averse to unnecessary or trivial small talk (*kallprata*), and unlikely to initiate interactions with strangers or even new neighbours (Daun 1996). In fact, Daun (1996:118-122) dedicates an entire sub-chapter to “Norms for Being Quiet and Taciturn”, in which he describes phenomena such as the following excerpt from Thörnberg's (1985) interviews with Chileans in Sweden:

“It is so quiet on the train. In Chile we say ‘hello’ even when we don’t know the other passengers”. Contact with neighbors was described similarly: “You greet each other in Sweden with a reserved ‘hello’ and a nod; no conversation arises. . . . To go into an elevator and ‘be completely silent and only stare at the buttons’ also feels very strange” (Daun 1996:119).

Talking loudly or with strangers can be seen as rude or as a sign of “abnormality”, and “low-status immigrants are often subjected to negative comments when they talk with loud voices” (Daun 1996:120; Öhlund 1982). Furthermore, “adult Swedes generally dislike young people’s ‘unruliness and loudness’ and dislike immigrants for the same reason” (Daun 1996:125). Öhlund (1982:41) unearthed some Swedes’ candid perceptions of immigrants with respect to noise level: “There was lots of trouble because they like come with their languages and ways and they shout and scream and are loud. Swedes are quiet”. From another interview:

I think it’s crucial if the immigrants are noisy and if they’re seen out on the streets, coming with large families, so there’s lots of noise. Then people don’t like them. We’re not used to that. You see it yourself with they come along in the subways, like fifteen of them, yakking away. . .you sigh and think, God, what a pain, can’t they keep quiet?

To consider this unique to Sweden is presumptuous, but such prejudices and the “norm of silence” could make immigrants’ initial attempts to make Swedish friends and immerse themselves in the social structure trickier than in more open or naturally social environments. Thus, the author aimed to investigate the validity and significance of such notions as told through the refugees and immigrants’ own words.

Daun (1996:103-109; 133) speaks extensively of individualism in Sweden. Despite its frequent classification as a socialist country, which is generally associated with an emphasis on the collective good, Sweden ranks as one of the most individualist nations in the world (The Hofstede Centre 2015c). This is due to a “stress on social autonomy, not being dependent on others, whether neighbours, relatives, employers, or whoever” (Daun 1996:104). How this stress on the self, individual responsibility and sufficiency would affect refugees’ experiences was a central aim of the research.

VI. FINDINGS

6.1 Volcanic Eruption Survivors in Ngancar, Java, Indonesia

This was the first subject group with which the author spoke through interviews and questionnaires. The author first spoke with Ngancar’s chief of village and his wife, who explained in great detail the situation which the residents had faced and their process of recovery. This family was amazingly forthcoming in describing the emotions which had come over them during the process, and repeatedly returned to a common point: having a position of leadership and responsibility in the community pushed them to persevere and fostered resilience throughout the process of displacement and relocation. Without their own strength, determination, and assistance to the community they said, the entire village would suffer.

Although not everyone in Ngancar had such influence and importance in terms of their role in the community and its future, all respondents expressed feelings similar to the chief of village in terms of their own family. They had to stay strong and continue working and improving their situation for their spouses and their kids. Several expressed feeling stronger and more connected with their spirituality after the disaster than before, having developed personally and as a community through the hardship and recovery process. This appeared to be a period of post-traumatic growth.

When asked how the social network and community's well-being as a whole affected their own happiness, nearly all agreed that staying with the same community, sharing hardships with them, and being able to persevere and thrive again together was a key element to psychological recovery. Absolutely none expressed any desire to distance themselves from either the place or the people they were with before the disaster struck. This was their home — they were determined to rebuild it.

Although likely very few of its residents would consider the notion, Ngancar's homogeneity means it could be considered an ethnic enclave. This classification's relevance is mitigated because the town is so autonomous from any others in which other ethnic groups may dwell. In addition, the village before the disaster was made up entirely or almost entirely of ethnic Javanese people, just as the relocation village. With absolute homogeneity, autonomy, and lack of interaction with other municipalities where other ethnicities reside, any possible tension and need for adaptation — whether it be assimilation, integration, or any degree of multiculturalism — is nullified. Whether this is positive or negative is another question, but in this case it was clear that residents of Ngancar were not faced with any ethnic or racial challenges which are so relevant in the Swedish context.

The author did interview one couple who had moved to the region from Jakarta just one year before Merapi erupted and forced them from their new home. Just like those born in the immediate Ngancar region, the couple had no thoughts of moving anywhere else (e.g. back to Jakarta) after the devastation. They had come for a slower and more peaceful life outside of the big city with the livelihood opportunities from dairy farming, and were determined to rebuild this dream despite so little time before having to relocate.

Livelihoods were a main topic brought up by interviewees; as one 50 year-old male said: "I was a successful farmer and possessed a larger area to cultivate some fruits and white peppers. Since the eruption occurred, as much as 93% of my farm was destroyed and the remaining area that I

can cultivate now is only 7%. It was like I could buy a new car, but now I just can buy its tires”.⁴ On a social level, this interviewee said that little had changed, other than a few “clashes” with those who were thought to receive more assistance, or those who tried to rehabilitate their former homes. Because the residents of Ngancar had all been provided relocation housing by the government, some residents of nearby villages who did not receive anything expressed jealousy, according to several interviewees. A few also described certain neighbours as “lazy”, relying on money from the government rather than their own work for income. A similar discourse might be heard nearly anywhere in the world where a welfare system exists.

In addition to semi-structured in-depth interviews, the author compiled quantitative data from 31 people who completed questionnaires (see Appendix 2). To begin with, every respondent reported that religion and spirituality was either “important” or “very important” in their lives, showing a high level of homogeneity on this level. This was not anything unexpected, but important to bear in mind as its fundamental role in these subjects’ lives means that it likely had an impact on many other responses and reactions to life events. One of the most extreme statements came from the husband of the aforementioned couple who came from Jakarta; in the interview, he expressed his belief that deaths in the eruptions were justified by divine retribution for immoral behaviour, namely gambling and premarital sex. No other interviewees expressed any similar explanations.

In Ngancar, “sadness” was the emotion or state of being which was subjects reported feeling most strongly after the disaster, with eight respondents ticking “4” and twelve ticking “5” on the scale from 1 to 5. Nine of the twelve who ticked “5” were females, suggesting a gender divide on this emotion. When asked to elaborate in interviews, respondents explained that they were sad to have lost the sentimental value of their former home, more than the physical structures.

When asked to quantify their level of “anger”, 28 of 31 ticked either “1” or “2”; none ticked “4” or “5”. No one ticked “4” or “5” for their level of loneliness either, which makes sense as they

⁴ Translation by Akar, H.K. (research assistant). Original in Bahasa Indonesia.

were able to stay with their family and the same neighbours and community. This is backed up by responses to the statement, “Staying with the same community from before the volcanic eruptions has helped me cope with the difficulties”, to which 26 of 31 respondents said they either “slightly agree” or “completely agree”. In other words, the negative impact of the disaster did not seem to prompt any desire to “start anew” or distance oneself from the other people associated with the tragedy, but instead to grow closer to them.

An interesting result was the response to the statement, “To be able to help others, it is important to first help oneself”. Although this statement can be interpreted in different ways, one could imagine in simple terms that more agreement would represent a more individualistic mentality. Indeed, in collectivist cultures it is often helping others first and foremost which is seen as a way of helping oneself (Watters 2010). However, 12 of 31 respondents either slightly or strongly agreed, while 13 slightly disagreed, showing less homogeneity than expected on this matter.

Respondents’ answers on whether or not their various types of needs (physiological, security, social, and personal) were being met did not show any significant patterns. In fact, at least half said “fulfilled” for each category of needs.

6.2 Earthquake Survivors in Pancuran, Java, Indonesia

In speaking with survivors of the earthquake which struck the Yogyakarta area in 2006, it was immediately apparent that they shared much in common with the volcanic eruption survivors in Ngancar in terms of their views of family, community, and religion as essential recovery factors. Their explanations of the event were very similar — the most common explanation was that it was an “act of” or “test from God” — and nearly all viewed their recovery process as spiritually motivated, supported by the fact that an overwhelming 31 of 32 questionnaire respondents declared religion or spirituality “very important” in their lives. This was another example of the subjects apparently experiencing post-traumatic growth, although it cannot be assumed that everyone experienced such positive effects after the disaster.

One of the major differences between these two events was the suddenness of the earthquake. While government warnings allowed residents of villages on the slopes of the volcano some time to gather belongings, evacuate and prepare both physically and mentally, one cannot prepare for or anticipate an earthquake in any way except sound construction and building safety. The fact that it came out of nowhere and completely unexpected was clearly a factor which aggravated the difficult recovery process for survivors. This was reflected in questionnaire respondents' quantification of emotions: 17 of 32 (53.1%) ranked their level of fear after the earthquake as 5 on the 1-5 scale, opposed to just 6 of 31 (19.4%) in Ngancar.

Also fascinating was the fact that 20 of 32 (62.5%) of questionnaire respondents in Pancuran reported missing or longing for their former home at the highest ("5") level, much higher than the 8 of 31 (25.8%) in Ngancar. This is especially interesting because, while Ngancar's residents had been displaced several kilometres from their homes, Pancuran's residents all built back their home on the same plot of land as before the earthquake. Thus, despite living in the same physical location in a newly built house, their missing or longing for the former home was still substantial. This supported the author's hypothesis that distance could be a helping factor in recovery after a humanitarian crisis, in the sense that being far away might help one detach him or herself from past sadness or loss, commonly known as "out of sight, out of mind".

The interviewees all spoke extensively of the test from God and spirituality, such as the mythical Queen of the South Sea, whose anger was believed by many to be the source of the earthquake. As one man around 50 said, "This disaster has made us more cautious. At the same time, we have also become tougher since we already experienced a very hard time and survived. Like somehow we have built tolerance towards disaster, now we are not scared as much of it and can be more calm in living our lives"⁵ (Male, 45, interviewed August 2014).

⁵ Translation by Fahadi, P.R. Original in Bahasa Indonesia, August 2014.

The author did not obtain any demographic data on Pancuran to outline the ethnic makeup of its residents. However, every indication was that it mirrored Ngancar in being a profoundly homogeneous community in which any possibilities of racial segregation or tension were eliminated by the stark absence of minorities. Since the author spent less than a week in the village, it is of course possible that hidden tension does exist under the surface.

6.3 Refugees in Sweden

The first subject the author interviewed in Sweden was a 63 year-old male, who had been imprisoned for three years after the *coup* and was eventually able to seek refuge in Sweden through negotiations by humanitarian and human rights organisations. He first arrived to Alvesta, a refugee camp in the southern region of Småland which hosted a large number of Latin American refugees in the 1970s. Alvesta was a popular destination for Chilean refugees, and the majority with whom the author spoke spent time here in their initial months in Sweden.

The issues of race/ethnicity, integration, segregation, and the ethnic enclave or ghetto were discussed with each and every interviewee, and this first interviewee stated his view of the “ghetto” as a positive environment in which one can be with those who share things in common, such as language, values, and experiences. The Flogsta neighbourhood of Uppsala was described by another interviewee as a “positive ghetto”.⁶ This first subject also touched on one of the most surprising and important findings of the study: nearly every refugee made it clear that they personally had never experienced or felt any sort of racism or maltreatment from the Swedish people or system based on their ethnic origin. Every single refugee originating from Latin America, as well as the lone Bosnian interviewee, expressed this to some degree or another.

This did not mean an absence of difficulties in adapting to cultural nuances and challenges which differentiated life in Sweden from their home country. Although this Chilean man, 63, said it was not hard to find a job of some kind in the 1970s, it took him seven years on top of two additional

⁶ Translation by author. Original: “Flogsta fue un ghetto positivo” (Female, 81, interviewed 12 March 2015).

years of schooling to find qualified work in Sweden. Feelings of frustration and inferiority (a state of being as described by Kristal-Andersson (2000)) were evident, especially as refugees struggled to find work for which they were educated and qualified in their home country. However, they felt very firmly that race was not a factor which determined their capabilities or success in their new life in Sweden. On the contrary, many emphasised the solidarity demonstrated by Swedes, who went out of their way to make the newcomers feel welcome and take an interest in the country of origin and its political situation (Chile above all). Several even remembered Swedes speaking what Spanish they knew to help the refugees feel more comfortable before they became proficient in Swedish. These anecdotes and experiences painted an image of a model host country environment for refugees.

The locus of control was another concept explored by the author during interviews in Sweden. Who were the most important people or groups in determining one's recovery? Two respondents alluded concretely to the self as the most important factor in psychological health after well-being, before any external or social factors. "If you want it, you can do it"⁷, expressed an 81 year-old Spanish woman who had been living in Chile at the time of the *coup*. A 74 year-old Argentinian woman, who was also in Chile at this time before finding refuge in Sweden, said that she has never been depressed because she has always believed in herself and relied on her inner strength and determination to succeed regardless of adversity and the challenges she faced. A strong focus on the self pervaded throughout the interview. "I wanted to develop myself — me. I wanted to help myself and what was around me"⁸. Despite coming from a fairly collectivist society, her approach to improvement and adaptation represented a very individualistic perspective: focusing on her own needs and well-being as a means for helping others and the group as well.

⁷ Translation by author. Original: "Querer es poder" (Female, 81, interviewed 12 March 2015).

⁸ Translation by author. Original: "Yo quería desarrollarme, yo. Quería ayudarme a mí y a mi alrededor" (Female, 74, interviewed 13 February 2015).

This Argentinian woman was declared a *persona non grata* in Chile, supposedly because of her political stance but more simply because she was a foreigner, she believes. Her point of arrival in Sweden was also the Alvesta refugee camp. She described the newness of everything, not knowing a word of the language and being shocked by the cold weather. Living in various small towns for several months at a time, she welcomed the presence of other Latin Americans with whom she could speak and share some of their common experiences and foreignness.

She saw employment as an element which could not be overemphasised: “I think one of the best ways (to adapt) is for people to begin working as soon as possible — in some way they have to do it. Working helped me a lot, to meet a lot of people, to share and to understand. To understand because here, it’s not like in my country”⁹. Whose responsibility it is to find work is another question, but many interviewees believed that finding work rests mainly on the refugee’s shoulders. With a much more selective labour market today and more positions requiring high educational qualifications which many arriving refugees do not possess, those who arrived decades ago may have trouble grasping just how difficult it is for refugees who arrive today to find work, regardless of their own efforts and motivation. It is important to bear in mind that, especially in the present context, many refugees and immigrants in Sweden search for years before they secure employment.

The director of an Introductory School Centre (*Centrum för introduktion i skola*) underscored education’s importance as the pathway to employment. In Sweden especially, the population’s high rate of educational background and qualifications means immigrants often begin at a great disadvantage. In the director’s 15 years working with immigrants, he has seen significant increases as well as changes in the demographics of refugees arriving to Sweden. “If they have been in school before, they have more to get into the society. I don’t think most of them (have negative feelings towards Swedes or Swedish society), but they are afraid of not making it and being a part of it” (Male, interviewed 4 May 2015). His experience was that many are

⁹ Translation by author. Original “Yo creo que una de las mejores formas (de adaptar) es que empieza a trabajar lo antes posible — de alguna manera lo tiene que hacer. El trabajo me ayudó mucho a conocer gente, a compartir, a entender. A entender porque aquí no es como en mi país” (Female, 74, interviewed 13 February 2015).

intimidated by the high requisites for applying for jobs, and one of the greatest challenges is for refugees to stay positive in believing that they can get the education they need, find a job, start a family, and live a good life in Sweden. “There are so many formalities putting a stop to (integration); there’s so much that we have to change”.

The experiences recounted by refugees who came more recently, and due to crises outside South America, were less homogeneous and more difficult to generalise. However, the issue of racism still appeared to be minimal in the first- and second-hand experiences of the subjects, which was one of the biggest surprises to the author since much of the social discourse and media regarding immigration and integration issues in Sweden focuses on segregation, overt displays of racism and racial tension, and overall negative effects and failures in creating an equal and integrated society.

An interesting point on racism was brought up by several respondents: the suggestion that racism in Sweden is often repressed or hidden due to social unacceptability. In the words of a 25 year-old male Tanzanian immigrant who has lived in the city of Uppsala for 13 years, “Swedish people are really afraid of being racist. Even if they are racist they won’t show it to you. Even the Swedish Democrats (*Sverigesdemokraterna*) deny it; they have a need for feeling like they’re good people and being seen that way”. He even extended to a possible explanation for Sweden’s consistently well-regarded policy for welcoming refugees: “They always have some kind of a need to be loved or liked, so people see them as good people”. These perceptions are supported by Daun (1996:105), whose research showed paramount emphasis on, *inter alia*, sameness, consensus, conviviality, avoiding disagreement, conflict, offensive statements or extreme displays of emotion in Swedish society.

Language was a central theme for every single respondent. Without prompt, every participant named proficiency in the Swedish language as a or the key to opportunities in Sweden.¹⁰ This

¹⁰ Although English is nearly universally spoken and understood as a second language in Sweden, very few of the subjects arrived with more than very basic English ability.

was an obvious and vital distinguishing factor from Indonesia, where subjects did not need to learn a new language in their location of resettlement.

The Argentinian respondent described her initial struggles: “I spent two months without talking, silent — I thought I was going to remain mute”¹¹. Soon after, however, she made a Swedish-speaking Finnish friend who showed great solidarity in helping her learn the basics. She also signed up for both Swedish and English classes, which expanded her social network and introduced her to more people with things in common. Although she characterised Swedish society as very different from what she was used to, she “was lucky to fit right into the places. So I never felt like I was outside, I always felt very integrated”¹². She was not sure how to pinpoint this positive occurrence, other than her way of being and generally positive attitude.

According to a 38 year-old Kurdish male who has lived in Sweden for 15 years, “everything depends on your ability to speak the language and know the social codes”. The aforementioned 25 year-old Tanzanian male explained: “It was hard — the language was hard. I could speak a little English. It still feels like the language is hard (after 13 years). To be honest you can be really good in Swedish, as a foreigner, but it doesn’t mean they will give you work”.

He arrived at age 12 and, being thrust immediately into a school setting, not knowing Swedish made going to class and socialising with classmates a confusing and daunting experience. But the language was not the only difficulty in integrating; like many foreigners he found it difficult to get to know the local people. The Argentinian interviewee expressed a similar feeling, and said that through her work she was able to understand the Swedish social structure better. She learned to understand the climate’s effect on behaviour, and that people do not casually converse with their neighbours or on the street in the same way as in South America. Daun (1996:90) explains that “there is a generally widespread Swedish attitude, summed up in the idiomatic expression,

¹¹ Translation by author. Original: “Dos meses pasé sin hablar, muda. Yo creía que me iba a quedar muda” (Female, 74, interviewed 13 February 2015).

¹² Translation by author. Original: “Tuve la suerte de encajar justo en los lugares. Entonces yo nunca me sentí afuera, me sentí siempre muy integrada” (Female, 74, interviewed 13 February 2015).

‘One should not poke one’s nose into other people’s business’’. He adds that “Swedes are interpreted by many immigrants as ‘socially closed’ and ‘spiritually empty’” (Daun 1996:17). While this respondent did not go so far, he said the transition from Tanzanian culture was an initial shock:

In Africa you say ‘hi’ to people outside, if you’re on the bus or see someone older. Here you can’t say ‘hi’ to people — you can but you don’t know if they’ll respond. It’s always felt like you cannot get close to someone here in Sweden. It’s possible but it’s hard. It’s like they are afraid of something. (Male, 25, interviewed 4 May 2015)

This respondent continued by discussing other factors which contributed to a feeling of separation and even isolation from the host community. Different traditional customs had an impact on the nature of his social life and sometimes made it less compatible with that of Swedes, such as his abstention from alcohol in association with his Muslim faith. This led him to turn down invitations from his Swedish classmates to parties and social events, for which he conceded: “Maybe (the separation) was partly my fault, because I didn’t really take the time to know them” (Male, 25, interviewed 4 May 2015).

Interestingly, after 13 years in Uppsala and now speaking fluent Swedish, some of these early feelings and obstacles to integration have not been erased. “Most of my friends are foreigners; I don’t know many Swedish people to be honest. Swedish people are not really cold, just somehow or somewhere afraid of talking to us” (Male, 25, Interviewed 4 May 2015).

For one 38 year-old male Kurdish refugee, the biggest surprise was the newness of Sweden’s organisation — traffic, people, homes, schools, bikes, with everything working in an ordered system. This wasn’t so much a challenge of adaptation, just a novelty, and he liked seeing how a system could function so well. Subjects indeed appeared to recognise and appreciate the opportunities available in Sweden, not taking them for granted. “I mainly like the country because of the hospitals and the schools,” said the Tanzanian. Others mentioned that not

everyone who comes is able to access national resources for various reasons, a point supported by Open Society Foundations (2014:97-100) in describing how many Somalis, especially older generations, are confused by the health care system and therefore hesitant to use it.

Whether this can be generalised to all refugees and immigrants is uncertain, but many of those arriving to Sweden come from backgrounds in which services for mental health are often extremely limited, inaccessible, or seen as socially unacceptable or taboo. As the Tanzanian said, “if you move to a new society, somehow your mind has to come to that society. You have to become part of it. It takes years, but you have to get used to someone else’s system if you live in their country. If you really wish to have work and to be accepted as one of them, then you have to become one of them. Either you walk amongst them as someone else, or you walk amongst them as one of them”. The Kurdish man echoed this sentiment:

If I want to come into (Swedish) society, I have to do as they do. When you come to a new country with new culture and new language, you carry with you many things from your own country and your identity. And when you compare them with what you see here, sometimes it becomes hard to choose which one is right and which one is wrong. Then you have to make a choice: throw away your bad things, keep your good things, and take your new society’s good things and don’t care about the bad things here. (Male, 38, interviewed 4 May 2015)

This interviewee spoke extensively about the choices one must make when in a new society, and how one can go in multiple directions, sometimes extreme. For example, some people become more nationalistic or more religious once they are abroad. “In the beginning I tried always to find Swedish friends, just to talk to, to know how they work and how they are — to know how their culture is, how their society is. But it’s very, very hard in the beginning because Swedish society is a bit closed”.

Regarding housing, he tried to be around mostly Swedish people in the beginning, which he also found hard. He pointed to the society and the tendency of Swedes to have a figurative box or bubble around them, making it more difficult to enter into their social or residential network.

This brought up the dichotomy of assigned or self-chosen housing (*anläggningsboende* and *eget boende*), to which he opined that newly arrived refugees would do best to be assigned housing in a place where they can learn the language and become immersed in Swedish society. Later, however, they could be given the option to secure their own housing. His view thus mirrored the aforementioned insight on housing from a respondent in “Somalis in Malmö”, who believed it was first important to be immersed in Swedish society before then having more choice of where to live and with whom to associate (Open Society Foundations 2014:91).

He saw the ethnic enclave or ghetto as very detrimental to adaptation and integration, as it aggravates rather than curbs segregation, isolation, in-group out-group thinking, and foreigners’ ability to learn the Swedish language. He noted that it is not always the system’s fault. Immigrants often choose to live around others who speak the same language and share things in common because it’s more comfortable in the short term, but in the long term it’s not a good solution.

The author asked every interviewee about their views on psychological health services, and while most denied that it was taboo or a sign of weakness to be “in treatment”, none reported having used services available in Sweden. Instead, they pointed to both internal and external factors as means for regaining mental strength — inner will, determination, keeping up a strong social network, a busy schedule, and education and employment above all. “I have never been depressed”, said a 64 year-old Argentinian female interviewee, who pointed proudly to a long list of activities, social networks and positions which have kept her active, busy and happy since being displaced from Chile. Other respondents echoed her sentiments, all of them pointing to employment and involvement in society as keys to maintaining mental health. The Argentinian woman called this the base for her successful adaptation and happiness in Sweden, along with keeping in touch with her home culture by speaking Spanish regularly and spending time with Latin Americans as well as Swedes.

A 45 year-old Chilean woman the author spoke with, who came to Sweden when she was just nine years old, said she believed that the psychological trauma is greater when moving at such a young age than when as an adult. On the flip side, she believed that many pieces of adaptation were easier — learning the language, making friends, and integrating in general. Indeed, today she considers herself fully Swedish and even sometimes “forgets” her Chilean origin or how to say things in Spanish.

Returning to the concept of distance as a potential helping tool, the Argentinian interviewee (74) said without hesitation that being in Sweden, so far away physically and culturally from the atrocities she’d experienced in Chile did not help to forget about them. “You never forget it — and you don’t forgive either”¹³ When asked about distance as a potential helping factor, the majority of subjects reiterated that in the early years after relocation, their main thoughts were of returning to their home country. The Bosnian woman and several others, however, were determined as soon as they arrived to begin a new life which would distance themselves from the difficult past.

The concept of adaptation may have different meanings or connotations, especially whether it implies assimilation, multiculturalism, or another type of societal “model”. One’s background obviously plays an immense role in his or her ability to adapt, which can mean cultural upbringing but also one’s pretext in the home country before emigrating or being displaced. In concrete, the Tanzanian respondent suggested:

I think...if you moved from a country where there was a war to come here, where it’s peace, you are more likely to adapt because, ‘I have to adapt in order to live here, if I’m going to have it good with my kids, or my mother, or whatever’, though still you have to adapt really fast...rather than coming here because of poverty, (in which case) you won’t really adapt as quickly. (Male, 25, interviewed 4 May 2015)

¹³ Translation by author. Original: “Nunca se olvida — y tampoco se perdona” (Female, 74, interviewed 13 February 2015).

These refugees would fall under the “Rubicon” category as defined by Klinthäll (2007:582) in describing different mentalities for those who flee.

An individual or a family’s ability and motivation to adapt will differ based on specific factors, but the question of whether those truly forced out of their home country and into another one (i.e. refugees) see adaptation differently than, for example, economic migrants, is important. Perhaps the most significant related element is one which was brought up by numerous respondents: since many refugees and immigrants foresee a return to their home country “once the situation gets better”, often in the short-term, they do not think that adapting to the host country, learning the language, or establishing a social network will be necessary in the long-term. This was expressed by multiple refugees from Chile, who remember being sure that they would be able to return home shortly (“Odyssean” refugees as termed by Klinthäll (2007:582) for their intention to return to their home country once conditions permitted). One respondent, a 62 year-old male, said that “for three years I denied needing to learn Swedish, thinking the whole time I would be going back to Chile, always with my suitcase packed”.¹⁴ Another respondent, a Spanish woman who lived in Santiago at the time of the coup, explained:

We were so sure that after four, five or six months, the situation in Chile would be resolved. It seemed impossible that a country which had been a democratic republic for so many years wouldn’t. We treated the Swedish language as almost insignificant. I had an ability to learn languages, but I didn’t pay attention at all. The poor professor, I don’t know how she put up with us.¹⁵ (Female, 81, interviewed 12 March 2015)

This occurrence was very familiar to the Kurdish refugee with whom the author spoke. In his words, “99% of immigrants think that they’ll go back one day — that stops them from

¹⁴ Translation by author. Original: “Durante tres años me negaba a aprender sueco, pensando todo el tiempo que regresaría a Chile, siempre con la maleta hecha” (Male, 62, interviewed 4 February 2015).

¹⁵ Translation by author. Original: “Estábamos tan seguros que después de cuatro, cinco, seis meses, se resolvería la situación en Chile. Parecía imposible que un país que fuera una república democrática durante tantos años no la sería. Veíamos el idioma sueco casi sin significado. Tenía capacidad de aprender idiomas, pero no hacía caso para nada. La pobre profesora, no sé como nos aguantaba” (Female, 81, interviewed 12 March 2015).

integrating”. Because of this, he says, “they cheat themselves (out of opportunities and adaptation). It’s better for me to accept that I’m here to stay”.

Religion was a factor which, in its general absence, made adaptation comparatively simpler for every refugee from Chile with which the author spoke. As the majority of Chilean refugees came from left-wing political backgrounds in which religion played little or no role, coming to Sweden, one of world’s most secular countries, did not result in a shock or a great need to adapt in this sense (WIN-Gallup International 2012). In fact, several respondents from Chile expressed their liking for suddenly being in a society in which the majority of people did not practice. Being away from the Catholic church and the religious doctrine integrated in the right-wing Pinochet regime was a positive.

Chilean refugees are a unique group in this sense, as the majority of refugees who have come to Sweden in the subsequent decades have come from religious backgrounds. It is important, of course, not to assume that they do. Several respondents described situations in which the host Swedish population assumed they were Muslims because of their country of origin, their way of dressing, or their abstention from alcohol. As one explained, although he is indeed a Muslim, his choice to abstain from alcohol was not based on his religion but simply on his dislike for the taste. “When I say I don’t drink, people say ‘Oh, it’s because of your religion’. I say I don’t smoke, they say, ‘Oh it’s because of your religion’. But (if a Swede said they didn’t smoke), no one would say, ‘Oh it’s because you’re a Christian’” (Male, 25, interviewed 4 May 2015).

Through this relatively benign example, we can see how assumptions and false links of causation can lead to cultural misunderstandings, confusion and contempt. This respondent used this example to emphasise the need to always get to know each individual before assuming they possess characteristics typical of their “group”. “The consequences of one person’s actions go to everyone else (in the group), and it gives them a bad name”; a phenomenon which he feels is unfortunately increasing with Islamist terrorist groups and attacks. While one’s religion should not play a part in the employment process, he believed that it can be a disadvantage for

foreigners even if an employer does not explicitly state as much. “They don’t really say it’s because of your religion and the way you dress, but still you can see” (Male, 25, interviewed 4 May 2015). This prompts some people to change how they dress and appear in order to improve their chances of finding employment, which may lead to feelings of degradation of culture, religion, or identity. Despite these difficulties, however, he says that in his experience it generally has not been hard to be a Muslim in Sweden.

The Bosnian woman had a unique experience, as she was not religious but was surrounded by mostly Bosniak Muslims in her initial months in Sweden, during which time she was housed with her mother in military barracks. “When you get people from a religious war...they tend to stay with their own group, so Muslims with Muslims, Serbs with Serbs, etc. The majority of the people there were Muslims, and I wasn’t, so as people started being segregated, I started getting bullied. They weren’t just bullying me — even people who were nice to me and my mom were getting bullied because they were hanging out with me” (Female, 34, interviewed 17 February 2015). This was the clearest indication of religion, as well as the “ghetto” housing formation, playing a detrimental role. In fact, this woman stated that she has disliked religion to this day based on the way she was treated there. It makes sense that of all the subjects from any location, she was most negative towards the concept of religion as it was central to the very war which displaced her. One Chilean, a 61 year-old male, echoed her sentiments — although he had never felt victimised by racism, he experienced social problems with gossip when living in a “ghetto” of only Chilean refugees. He became psychologically unwell and experienced an identity crisis, eventually deciding to seek professional help. Another Chilean male and his wife, aged 62, described the fragile identity in his family. When he and his wife decided after many years that they wanted to move back to Chile, their daughter, who’d been raised almost all in Sweden, told her mother: “Mom, I’ll go to Chile with you (and Dad). But you’re going home, and I’m going into exile”¹⁶. This couple also described their two daughters as “one Chilean, one Swedish”.

¹⁶Translation by author. Original: “‘Mamá, yo me voy a Chile con ustedes. Peo una cosa: ustedes regresan a su patria, y yo me voy al exilio’” (Male, 62, interviewed 4 February 2015).

The last refugee in Sweden with whom the author spoke was one of the most inspirational interviewees, and at the same time a representation of some of the greatest challenges Sweden and society as whole still faces. She was a 19 year-old Somali-born refugee from Kenya; she had lived with her family in a refugee camp in Kenya until the age of 16, when she fled to Sweden. Further details surrounding her journey and what prompted her to flee were confidential.

Like many others, she said that learning the Swedish language was the most difficult aspect of life when she arrived, and the biggest challenge to adaptation. “I used to speak English with people but they would act differently, like you didn’t know anything or had never been in school”, she explained. After three years she has become fluent in Swedish, but this has not broken down the barriers to making friends with locals and integrating into the social network. In fact, she said that she didn’t currently have any Swedish friends. While she definitely had felt judged by local people, she admitted that she herself had also held prejudices or *fördomar*, a term which can translate to bias, prejudices, preconceptions or stereotypes. For example, she became friends with a Swedish classmate who had a nose piercing of which she had not approved. In turn, this girl held preconceptions about women like the interviewee who wore a headscarf or *hijab*. However, through getting to know one another, they realised they shared in common a great love of cooking, and were both able to shed some of their *fördomar*.

Regarding Swedish social norms, the interviewee said that she now felt hesitant to talk about many things which were acceptable in her upbringing. As many other foreigners note, she has seen how Swedes rarely take initiative to talk with strangers or initiate conversations in public places, such as on public transport. This, she said, was a drastic difference from where she lived in Kenya. However, she has also seen positives in coming to Sweden and how it has helped her grow: “I didn’t change; I am who I am and I’m proud of myself. I’m proud of (being a refugee) — you have to be proud of your identity, *eller hur?*” She also has experienced Sweden’s individualistic culture in comparison to both Somalia and Kenya, and talked in depth about the emphasis on self-sufficiency and independence in Scandinavia. “I have learned to never depend on someone (else). You have to pull up your own socks and find your own success”. The

implications of this type of mentality are addressed in the Discussion and Policy Implications section.

VII. DISCUSSION AND POLICY CONTEXT

The majority of subjects expressed great resilience and an ability to recover in most ways from the respective crises, albeit in very different ways. Indonesians stressed religious beliefs, community and family, while most (but not all) refugees in Sweden alluded to inner strength, determination and drive. The refugees in Sweden who were religious appeared to find inspiration both internally and externally, suggesting that they had both kept characteristics from their home culture and adapted “Swedish” traits. Overall, the author’s hypothesis that distance might be an important helping factor for recovery did not seem to gain enough traction to be supported, especially considering that no Indonesian subjects expressed any desire to be further away from their original home which had endured a catastrophe. Most refugees in Sweden did not consider the physical or cultural distance to be an important factor in recovery, while the results showing missing and longing for the former home in Indonesia suggested that many already experienced an emotional distance despite being in the same physical location.

As expected, Indonesian subjects appeared much more able to explain or rationalise the crises which hit as a natural or divine occurrence, while refugees in Sweden expressed (though not to a large extent) anger towards the people who had caused the crisis. This was exemplified by the 74 year-old female Argentinian refugee, who stated emphatically that she would never forget or forgive what occurred.

While research on policy implications and the social discussion in the Indonesian context is limited, extensive attention has been given to the current and recent situation in Sweden regarding immigration (including refugees and asylum seekers), integration, multiculturalism, marginalisation, discrimination, and racism. Despite negative events which draw international attention, segregation and immigrant “ghettos” in major cities, Sweden is one of the most

generous countries in the world regarding the entry and protection of refugees and asylum seekers. Most of the interviewees in Sweden strongly supported this notion, saying above all that they'd been given great opportunities (for education, health care, et al.), the fulfilment of basic needs, and above all a peaceful home.

The concept of the ethnic enclave or “ghetto” sparked interesting conversation, with most interviewees in Sweden seeing it as something negative. A few, namely the Bosnian woman and the male Chilean refugee (who struggled with gossip among fellow Chileans in a concentrated community) named it as one of the worst phenomena during their time after relocation. Most agreed that it was detrimental to the integration process and hurt immigrants' chances of being accepted, learning Swedish, and finding jobs, but several pointed to the positive aspects of being close to others with similar backgrounds and personalities who could speak the same language. In Indonesia, because subjects were not in a foreign land, the notion has an entirely different meaning. However, according to questionnaire and interview findings, nearly every single subject considered it a positive to stay with the same people after relocation, suggesting that people do not easily accept the idea of suddenly living among strangers or people different in key psychosocial ways.

Fierce debate has been sparked over the best fixes for integration in policy, attitude and approach, such as stressing assimilation, multiculturalism/pluralism, more responsibility on the part of immigrants, the host community or government agencies. This can be differentiated by so-called “one-way” or “two-way” integration, meaning the responsibility falling mainly on immigrants' shoulders or on the host community's as well. This is not unique to Sweden; Europe as a whole is seeing increasing levels of immigration due to favourable working conditions, widespread instability and threats in the Middle East and North Africa, and globalisation which is increasing and facilitating movement across borders and cultures. In a survey by the popular newspaper Dagens Nyheter (2015), six in ten Swedes said they believe immigration is good, though 58% believed that the government is doing a “poor” job when it comes to immigration and integration, with only 28% replying that it is doing a good job. In other words, while people

generally support the principle of immigration, they believe its implementation is failing in practice for various reasons. Those with higher education were both more likely to believe that immigration is a good thing, and least likely to believe that integration is working well.

In many European nations, explicitly anti-immigration movements and political parties have sprung up and gained steam in recent years, such as the Swedish Democrats (*Sverigedemokraterna*), the Front National (FN) in France and the UK Independence Party (UKIP) in the United Kingdom to name a few. These parties' rising success has been attributed partially to their populist ability to scapegoat immigrants and especially Muslims as culprits of societal and economic problems for host country nationals, a theme which was touched on both in Daun's (1996) research and in interviewees' experiences in the present study.

The 25 year-old Tanzanian immigrant the author spoke with, who has lived in Sweden for 13 years, points to a gradual increase in scapegoating and suspicion of Arabs and Muslims in connection with terrorist attacks and groups such as Islamic State/ISIS/ISIL. "I have to say when I came to Sweden it wasn't as racist. Now it's growing. When someone does something wrong, the consequences go to everyone else (in the group). They'll say, 'It's you people who are like this. You guys brought them here, so it's all your fault.' When someone stabs someone else, it's always, 'The foreigners did it'" (Male, 25, interviewed 4 May 2015).

He talked about the "us vs. them" or in-group and out-group mentality, also known as groupthink, which is such a fundamental element of the discussion on integration. As he said, "They will still say that a group is bad, but this guy from that group is not bad — that's because they already know you".

Although outbursts of overt race-based violence and contempt towards foreigners or minority races and ethnicities have not been uncommon in recent years, and some groups actively promote blatantly racist messages, the notion that Swedes' racist feelings or leanings would be overshadowed by an emphasis on cultural acceptance would make sense in the national context.

Daun (1996) discusses extensively the importance in Swedish culture of adhering to social norms, avoiding conflict and not standing out with extreme views or behaviour (the Law of Jante or *Jantelagen*) (Sandemose 1933). This could help explain a propensity to repress or mute any expressions which may be seen as politically correct and/or socially unacceptable, racism being an obvious example.

One of the most important factors to consider in the immigration and integration debate is time. Integration is rarely immediate or short-term: it requires time to learn and adapt to a new culture and its norms, and especially in this context, to learn the language and find economic livelihood. The respondents all stated that mastering the Swedish language was one of the principal keys to becoming part of Swedish society. Without it, full integration can never take place. For this reason, free Swedish for Immigrants (*Svenskundervisning for Invandrare* or SFI) classes are offered for all in an effort to speed up the ability to integrate through communication and increase prospects in the job market, which is extremely limited for those without Swedish language skills.

Employment was another theme which every Chilean respondent considered to be vitally important. This is a clear point of divergence between the Chilean group who arrived in the 1970s or 1980s — when the job market was less competitive with fewer immigrants competing for basic jobs. Many Chileans arrived to Sweden already highly educated or professionally qualified in areas which could be more quickly and easily transferred to the Swedish job market.

Reflecting these themes, respondents in the Dagens Nyheter (2015:8) survey reported that “the most common criticism is segregation and alienation, problems with housing, jobs and education — and racism and xenophobia. This is not a concern only for incomers; nearly eight in ten Swedes “are worried about the increasing xenophobia”¹⁷. Others also point to slow administration, for example with the Swedish Migration Agency (*Migrationsverket*) and the

¹⁷ Translation by author. Original: Nästan åtta av tio svenskar är oroade oroade av den ökade främlingsfientligheten.

Swedish Public Employment Service (*Arbetsförmedlingen*)”¹⁸. This corroborates research evidence showing that long processing times are correlated with the deterioration of mental well-being for asylum seekers, and that speedy processing should be prioritised to limit such problems (The Conversation 2012; RANZCP 2015). An extreme counter-example can be found in Australia, where asylum seekers who attempt to enter the country by boat are diverted to off-shore processing centres for long periods of detention under questionable living and human rights conditions (Parliament of Australia 2013).

The 74 year-old Argentinian interviewee, who stressed her inner fortitude and motivation as vital for finding work quickly, admitted that the situation has changed drastically since her first years in Sweden in the 1970s. “I know that now, of course, (as I am involved in and follow politics) there is racism. We can see a big difference because there was no racism before, because this is a multicultural society as well”¹⁹. It is hard to know how to best interpret this statement, but most people familiar with Swedish society over the past decades seem to agree that attitudes and opportunities have shifted substantially. The increase in immigration and job market competition have made for challenges without rapid or simple solutions. Whether racism has truly increased is a loaded question, but one can surmise that the increased competition will naturally lead to more scapegoating and contempt on a racial level. It is likely that racist attitudes have been brought out more by economic and political factors. One must also again consider that Latin American refugees may have been seen and treated differently than other groups arriving nowadays. If different demographics of refugees changed places in time, we would likely see different attitudes emerge. Therefore, it is perhaps a bit too simplifying to conclude that Sweden or Swedes have become more racist.

¹⁸ Translation by author. Original: “den vanligaste kritiken är segregation och utanförskap, problem med bostäder, jobb och utbildning — och rasism och främlingsfientlighet. Flera pekar även på långsam handläggning, till exempel hos Migrationsverket och Arbetsförmedlingen”.

¹⁹ Translation by author. Original: “Yo sé que en este momento, por supuesto (como estoy metida en la política y la sigo), que hay racismo. La diferencia la notamos mucho porque antes no había racismo, porque estar es una sociedad multicultural también” (Female, 74, interviewed 13 February 2015).

Let us return to the theme of “value degradation”, one of Kristal-Andersson’s (2000) states of being which the author predicted would strongly affect refugees in Sweden but internally displaced Indonesians to a minimal or nullified effect. Kristal-Andersson (2000:123) explains that “faced with a new value system that may be different from his/her own, the (refugee/immigrant) is forced to compare and question values on a conscious or unconscious level”.

In the interviews with Chilean, Argentinian, Spanish and Bosnian refugees, it became clear that the individuals felt more in common with Swedish society and its values than they felt apart, different, or marginalised based on their values or beliefs. In fact, they described notions such as the incredible solidarity shown to arriving Chileans by the Swedes, Swedes’ interest in Chilean culture and a mutual understanding of values, and in many cases greater freedom for refugees to express their political values once they arrived on Swedish soil. Various interviewees spoke of joining political groups and syndicates in their new country and becoming politically active without any fear of intimidation or violent threats which they had experienced after the coup in Chile. One Chilean even expressed her feelings of Swedish patriotism.

The author did not expect South Americans to find such similarities with Swedish society. In fact, it appears that when refugees share common values with the pervading host society, they may in fact be able to express these values to a greater extent than before, rather than seeing them repressed or degraded as Kristal-Andersson (2000) found in her research. However, it is essential to bear in mind the unique nature of South Americans’ situation when compared with the majority of refugees arriving to Sweden nowadays. Namely, the practice and expression of cultural values may be less viable and less accepted, and both refugees and immigrants arriving to Sweden and most European countries are likely to experience greater challenges in maintaining their values from home.

On the other hand, respondents from Iraq/Kurdistan, Somalia and Tanzania expressed strongly that they initially felt far from their culture and experienced many differences between Swedes and the people in their home countries. These subjects clearly did not experience the same degree

of solidarity or common ground reported by those who fled from Chile, but they also did not express contempt. They mainly expressed that Swedes went about life in a different way, not necessarily or better or worse, and that they were indeed able to continue living with most of their customs from home after displacement. When asked whether they felt they had had to sacrifice or leave anything culturally valuable in their home country, some said yes but that the chance to live in a better country made it worth it. When asked if their identity had in any way been lost or compromised, some struggled to find an answer. Some pointed to Sweden's cultural emphasis on openness to different cultures and religions, and their ability therefore to preserve and continue practicing most of the customs and traditions which were important to them in their original home.

“Language degradation”, however, was a state of being universally applicable to respondents in Sweden. The difficulty of acquiring a new language depends on many factors, including the similarity of one's mother tongue (and pre-existing knowledge of other languages), motivation, time, and cognitive and listening abilities which make the difficulty of learning a new language vary widely. The language bar seems to be high in Sweden in terms of finding work: “I think everything depends on...your ability to speak the language. Talking right, talking with their melody. It's better for an American or a British person speaking bad Swedish than it is for (someone like) me”, said the 38 year-old Kurdish refugee. Of course, a major obstacle is when one believes he or she will return home to the home country and no longer need the language, especially in a country such as Sweden with a language of minimal use elsewhere.

Some respondents, such as the 34 year-old Bosnian woman, began learning Swedish immediately with no thoughts of returning home or having an option in which the language would not matter (so-called “Rubicon” refugees according to Klinthäll (2007:582)). But regardless of interviewees' motivation to learn Swedish, everyone pinpointed language as a key element to “making it”. Whether their language was “degraded” is a more complex question to answer, but we can deduce that when unable to express themselves to the host population, refugees' self-confidence, self-esteem and overall psychosocial well-being may suffer. This

brings us back to the fundamental question: To what degree should refugees and immigrants stay with people of their own background, including those with whom they can speak their mother tongue?

The “inferiority” state of being was also relevant in both Indonesia and Sweden. Among refugees in Sweden interviewed for this study, only a few expressed hints of feeling inferior because of relegation to unskilled labour during their initial years after resettlement. Language was again undoubtedly a key factor, as lacking proficiency in the local language can nullify the significance and applicability of many skills and qualifications which may depend on communication.

Individualism and collectivism can play an important role in the process of adaptation to a new environment. It is clear that the majority of South American refugees (as well as the Bosnian refugee) found Swedish society less different or shocking on this level than did those from Africa and the Middle East. Although Chile ranks very low on The Hofstede Centre’s (2015d) individualism scale with a score of 23, the subgroup of Chileans who sought refuge in Sweden was quite distinct. The author surmised that most placed a great emphasis on individual achievement and prosperity, and religion played a minimal or non-existent role in their lives. Though lacking in empirical evidence, the Latin Americans who came to Sweden because of the *coup* appeared to be of a more individualist mentality than the average Chilean as measured by The Hofstede Centre (2015d). In other words, they were already fairly “Swedish” before they even arrived.

Daun’s (1996) research on Sweden as a highly individualistic country shows many immigrants finding it difficult to adapt to Sweden’s emphasis on self-sufficiency and independence as an individual, instead expecting to have a group in which people rely more on each other. Coming unaccompanied to the country is an aggravating factor to this difficulty, as immigrants may find it harder to befriend neighbours, colleagues or classmates than in other countries. Several interviewees in this study wholeheartedly confirmed this hypothesis, speaking explicitly about the perceived asocial nature of Swedish society.

Most of the Chilean refugees interviewed came to Sweden after high educational, professional and/or political aspirations had been shattered by right-wing oppression, intimidation, incarceration, and in many cases torture. In this sense, their situations were similar to that of Kristal-Andersson's (2000) aforementioned refugee who struggled with inferiority. While the peace and security they found in Sweden was unquestionable, their entire outlook was changed from high aspirations and dreams to starting again, from zero. An outsider may find it obvious to be thankful for freedom from war or political unrest, even if accepting unskilled or manual labour comes with it. But we can see that the process of adaptation and acceptance of a new life in resettlement can be far more complicated, and a frenzy of factors may affect the refugee or immigrant's well-being in terms of feeling competent and worthy in his or her new environment.

Inferiority seemed to be a highly relevant issue for many Indonesian respondents. As Indonesia ranks high on The Hofstede Centre's (2015a) "masculinity" scale, a male's ability to be a prosperous head of household able to provide for his family is likely to be of importance. While both genders expressed a strong emphasis on regaining economic livelihood as a priority in life after resettlement, it was particularly the men who showed a need to have an income to feel competent and not inferior in their family role. This was especially true in Ngancar, as residents of Pancuran had regained more of their means of income since the earthquake.

Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs was only slightly useful. The element of security was paramount among Indonesian subjects, because they truly needed improved livelihoods to provide adequately for their families. Refugees in Sweden were, for the most part, provided with enough to cover basic physiological needs; no refugees who came from Chile in the 1970s and 1980s reported having any difficulty on this level. Some Indonesian respondents suggested feeling the same lack of fulfilment on the "love and belonging" rung, but to be truly sure one would need to conduct more comprehensive and potentially intrusive psychological research. It also became apparent that the Indonesian subjects would not view concepts such as self-esteem and self-actualisation in the same way as those coming from more individualist backgrounds. In

fact, one of the main critiques of Maslow's hierarchy is that it is built for an American or Western, individualist context, and is not applicable in cultures which are built on different social fabric. This certainly seemed to be the case in this study.

On a methodological level, the semi-structured interviews provided an excellent, candid insight into the lives of disaster survivors and refugees post-crisis and resettlement. Quantitative questionnaires, while not as descriptive or personal, provided both an excellent way to compare Ngancar with Pancuran and a handy alternative considering the author's inability to understand interview material in Bahasa Indonesia.

VIII. CONCLUSIONS

The author's greatest take-away was subjects' incredible positivity, resilience, and ability to accept and recover from what happened in their lives. The methods of doing so obviously differed greatly between groups, but it was apparent that people in general have an immense ability to overcome the horrors of a humanitarian crisis on a psychological level. The contrasting ways in which subjects coped with and recovered from crisis reiterated one of the author's main bases for investigation: psychosocial recovery and well-being is not universal, but culturally unique and must be valued and treated as such.

Admittedly, the subject groups in this study were too divergent to compare on certain measures. For instance, trying to compare the experiences of adaptation and integration for internally displaced persons (IDPs) with refugees was more difficult than imagined, as factors such as learning an entirely new language and adapting to a largely different social construct were not applicable to Indonesian disaster survivors who were displaced very close to their original home, and play such a critical role.

Although Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs could not be applied consistently as a means for analysis, other theoretical material proved to be highly relevant, with many of its findings

confirmed. Kristal-Andersson (2000) provided an in-depth look at the “states of being” which can typify refugees’ experiences, and many were reflected in the author’s interviews in Sweden. “Language degradation” and “inferiority” were perhaps the most relevant, as every interviewee identified not knowing Swedish as a main difficulty in early years. This was then directly linked with limited opportunities to find employment and apply previous education and experience, which naturally can lead to feelings of inferiority and other negative states of being.

Religion proved to be one of the most important, and most homogeneously divergent, factors. That is, in the Indonesian subject groups literally every participant considered religion to be important or important and their lives. As such, they also almost unanimously considered religion to be an important helping factor for recovery. Consistent with the hypothesis, their locus of control appeared to be external — they explained the events through God and spirituality, and this in turn gave them a sense of comfort and understanding after the crisis.

By contrast, most of the refugees in Sweden with whom the author spoke arrived to the country with minimal or no religious beliefs, and considered religion to be entirely irrelevant to their mental rehabilitation. One (the woman from Bosnia) even identified religion as something she wanted to distance herself from upon arrival to Sweden.

What does this imply about religion? The author’s assessment is that it can be an invaluable helping factor for those who believe in it, but it is not necessary or the only way to psychosocial well-being after a crisis. For the majority of refugees interviewed in Sweden, adaptation, integration and well-being in the host country depended on several keys: education, mastering the Swedish language, finding employment, and fostering a social network. The Indonesian subjects were equally adamant in pointing to income and economic livelihood as a key, although for the refugees the element of *work* meant more than subsistence for one’s family — it meant a path to making friends and contacts, and becoming part of Swedish society.

Self-determination theory (SDT) was also relevant. The author saw how Indonesian subjects held a more *que será será* attitude towards life and its events, including after the disasters, while many refugees in Sweden spoke poignantly and with conviction about how they themselves are the protagonists of their lives — their own drive determines their outcomes and success, they act for themselves and cannot rely on anyone else. The author had predicted Indonesians to see events externally in a way typical of a religious, collectivist culture, but the degree to which refugees (especially from Chile) viewed their recovery and well-being from an individual perspective was unforeseen.

The author felt slightly concerned that the experiences reported by refugees from the Chilean *coup* were in a way “too positive”, i.e. Sweden and the Swedish people had been so welcoming for incoming refugees in the 1970s that it may give a skewed image to generalise their findings. This was supported by the very first Chilean the author spoke with by phone, who requested to not be officially included in results explicitly because he felt that his experience had been so positive that it would paint an unfair picture unrepresentative of the struggles for many newly-arrived refugees and immigrants.

The subjects’ collective dialogue suggests that efforts to rebuild and bridge gaps are primarily the responsibility of people themselves (including the beneficiaries), but that the government and humanitarian organisations’ role helping people help themselves is vital and generally highly appreciated. This may depend heavily on religion and the scale of individualism versus collectivism, but the findings showed inner strength and determination as a key universal catalyst to recover. The difference lies in whether this strength has an internal or external origin.

In the Indonesian context, beneficiaries were overall very happy with both governmental and non-governmental relief efforts. The main gap identified was the preservation of livelihoods, and specifically that subjects in Ngancar wanted a better way to evacuate and save their livestock and other animals in case of future eruptions. Livestock evacuation routes are indeed being implemented in certain communities on Mount Merapi’s slopes, including another village the

author was able to visit, showing that these needs are being addressed. In the Swedish context, the refugees themselves mainly believed it was their own responsibility to do what they can to adapt, but the Introductory School Centre director asserted that the host society also needs to do more to facilitate refugees' education, ability to find employment, and integration. Therefore, the so-called "two-way" integration appears to be the best formula. Perhaps most worrisome is the trend in Sweden that more and more qualification is becoming a prerequisite for finding work, putting many refugees at an even greater disadvantage upon arrival and requiring even more time to be able to gain equal footing.

Overall, the findings confirmed that the underpinnings of psychosocial well-being and adaptation do vary enormously across different cultural contexts. When addressing beneficiaries' needs, it is paramount that actors and organisations take into account their cultural profile as well as that of the host community, to know how best to approach the consistently difficult tasks of psychological recovery and integration. There is no right or wrong path to psychosocial well-being, which is why on this level the humanitarian world must continue discovering and identifying the best ways to help each unique community.

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Appendix 1: Questionnaire in English (given to respondents in Ngancar and Pancuran, Java, Indonesia, for whom it was translated to Bahasa Indonesia)

Age: Sex:

1. How long have you lived in (Ngancar/Pancuran)?

- a) 0-5 years b) 6-10 years c) 11-15 years d) more than 15 years

2. On a scale of 1-5 with 5 being the most, rate the level to which you experienced the following emotions after the (volcanic eruptions/earthquake):

- a) sadness
b) fear
c) anger
d) loneliness
e) missing or longing for your former home
f) other (describe) _____

3. How important is religion and spirituality in your life?

1-5 scale

How much do you agree with the following statements?

(strongly disagree - slightly disagree - neither agree nor disagree - slightly agree - strongly agree)

4. Staying with the same community from before the earthquake has helped me cope with the difficulties.
5. Since the earthquake, the well-being of the community has affected my own well-being.
6. My religious beliefs have helped me cope after the (volcanic eruptions/earthquake).
7. I want to live permanently in (Ngancar/Pancuran)

8. a) In your current situation, how well would you say your physiological needs (food, water, shelter) are being met? (very poorly - poorly - neither well nor poorly - well - very well)
- b) How well would you say your security needs (economic livelihood, physical security, safety from harm and threats of harm) are being met?
- c) How well would you say your social needs (friends, family) are being met?
- d) How well would you say your personal needs (self-confidence, personal growth, intimacy) needs are being met?

Agree or disagree:

9. It is a community's responsibility to provide assistance to people in need
10. It is the government's responsibility to provide assistance to people in need.
11. To be able to help others, it is important to first help oneself.
12. There is social equality in (Ngancar/Pancuran).

Appendix 2: Questionnaire Results for Volcanic Eruption Survivors in Ngancar, Java, Indonesia (Note: number of responses are placed after the value, e.g. 4:9 means that 9 respondents selected “4”.)

Age:

Gender: Male: 12 Female: 19

1. How long have you lived in (Ngancar/Pancuran)?

a) 0-5 years: 3 b) 6-10 years: 2 c) 11-15 years: 0 d) More than 15 years: 26

2. On a scale of 1-5 with 5 being the most, rate the level to which you experienced the following emotions after the volcanic eruptions:

a) sadness 1:2 2:5 3:4 4:8 5:12

b) fear 1:1 2:5 3:10 4:9 5:6

c) anger 1:18 2:10 3:3 4 5

d) loneliness 1:20 2:7 3:4 4 5

e) missing or longing for your former home 1:7 2:3 3:8 4:5 5:8

f) other (describe) _____

3. How important is religion and spirituality in your life?

Not important at all - Not very important - Neither important nor unimportant - Important: 9 - Very important: 22

How much do you agree with the following statements?

4. Staying with the same community from before the earthquake has helped me cope with the difficulties.

Strongly disagree - Slightly disagree:3 - Neither agree nor disagree:2 - Slightly agree:13 - Strongly agree:13

5. Since the earthquake, the well-being of the community has affected my own well-being.

Strongly disagree:2 - Slightly disagree:9 - Neither agree nor disagree:7 - Slightly agree:11
- Strongly agree:2

6. My religious beliefs have helped me cope after the (volcanic eruptions/earthquake).

Strongly disagree:1 - Slightly disagree:1 - Neither agree nor disagree:6 - Slightly agree:10
- Strongly agree:13

7. I want to live permanently in Ngancar.

Strongly disagree:0 - Slightly disagree:7 - Neither agree nor disagree:0 - Slightly agree:10
- Strongly agree:14

8. a) In your current situation, how well would you say your physiological needs (food, water, shelter) are being fulfilled?

Very unfulfilled:0 - Unfulfilled:2 - Fulfilled:21 - Very fulfilled:6 - Completely fulfilled:2

b) How well would you say your security needs (economic livelihood, physical security, safety from harm and threats of harm) are being fulfilled?

Very unfulfilled:0 - Unfulfilled:1 - Fulfilled:28 - Very fulfilled:2 - Completely fulfilled:0

c) How well would you say your social needs (friends, family) are being fulfilled?

Very unfulfilled:0 - Unfulfilled:3 - Fulfilled:22 - Very fulfilled:3 - Completely fulfilled:3

d) How well would you say your personal needs (self-confidence, personal growth, intimacy) needs are being fulfilled?

Very unfulfilled:1 - Unfulfilled:6 - Fulfilled:13 - Very fulfilled:9 - Completely fulfilled:2

Agree or disagree:

9. It is a community's responsibility to provide assistance to people in need.

Completely disagree:1 - Slightly disagree:4 - Neither agree nor disagree:3 - Slightly agree:18 - Completely agree:5

10. It is the government's responsibility to provide assistance to people in need.

Completely disagree:1 - Slightly disagree:1 - Neither agree nor disagree:1 - Slightly agree:18 - Completely agree:10

11. To be able to help others, it is important to first help oneself.

Completely disagree:2 - Slightly disagree:13 - Neither agree nor disagree:4 - Slightly agree:5 - Completely agree:7

12. There is social equality in Ngancar.

Completely disagree:3 - Slightly disagree:9 - Neither agree nor disagree:9 - Slightly agree:8 - Completely agree:2

Appendix 3: Questionnaire Results for Earthquake Survivors in Pancuran, Java, Indonesia (Note: number of responses are placed after the value, e.g. 4:9 means that 9 respondents selected “4”.)

Age:

Gender: Male: 15 Female: 17

1. How long have you lived in Pancuran?

a) 0-5 years: 0 b) 6-10 years: 2 c) 11-15 years: 1 d) More than 15 years: 26

2. On a scale of 1-5 with 5 being the most, rate the level to which you experienced the following emotions after the earthquake:

a) sadness 1:4 2:3 3:4 4:6 5:15

b) fear 1:5 2:3 3:3 4:4 5:17

c) anger 1:20 2:8 3:0 4:2 5:2

d) loneliness 1:9 2:4 3:8 4:1 5:8

e) missing or longing for your former home 1:6 2:1 3:2 4:3 5:20

f) other (describe) _____

3. How important is religion and spirituality in your life?

Not important at all - Not very important - Neither important nor unimportant - Important: 1 - Very important: 31

How much do you agree with the following statements?

4. Staying with the same community from before the earthquake has helped me cope with the difficulties.

Strongly disagree:0 - Slightly disagree:0 - Neither agree nor disagree:2 - Slightly agree:4 - Strongly agree:26

5. Since the earthquake, the well-being of the community has affected my own well-being.

Strongly disagree:6 - Slightly disagree:2 - Neither agree nor disagree:5 - Slightly agree:13
- Strongly agree:6

6. My religious beliefs have helped me cope after the earthquake.

Strongly disagree:0 - Slightly disagree:0 - Neither agree nor disagree:2 - Slightly agree:4 -
Strongly agree:26

7. I want to live permanently in Pancuran.

Strongly disagree:0 - Slightly disagree:2 - Neither agree nor disagree:0 - Slightly agree:9 -
Strongly agree:21

8. a) In your current situation, how well would you say your physiological needs (food, water, shelter) are being fulfilled?

Very unfulfilled:1 - Unfulfilled:2 - Fulfilled:23 - Very fulfilled:1 - Completely fulfilled:4

b) How well would you say your security needs (economic livelihood, physical security, safety from harm and threats of harm) are being fulfilled?

Very unfulfilled:0 - Unfulfilled:0 - Fulfilled:25 - Very fulfilled:2 - Completely fulfilled:5

c) How well would you say your social needs (friends, family) are being fulfilled?

Very unfulfilled:0 - Unfulfilled:2 - Fulfilled:21 - Very fulfilled:4 - Completely fulfilled:5

d) How well would you say your personal needs (self-confidence, personal growth, intimacy) needs are being fulfilled?

Very unfulfilled:0 - Unfulfilled:0 - Fulfilled:21 - Very fulfilled:6 - Completely fulfilled:5

Agree or disagree:

9. It is a community's responsibility to provide assistance to people in need.

Completely disagree:0 - Slightly disagree:0 - Neither agree nor disagree:0 - Slightly agree:10 - Completely agree:22

10. It is the government's responsibility to provide assistance to people in need.

Completely disagree:0 - Slightly disagree:0 - Neither agree nor disagree:0 - Slightly agree:8 - Completely agree:24

11. To be able to help others, it is important to first help oneself.

Completely disagree:0 - Slightly disagree:8 - Neither agree nor disagree:2 - Slightly agree:
13 - Completely agree:9

12. There is social equality in Pancuran.

Completely disagree:0 - Slightly disagree:3 - Neither agree nor disagree:4 - Slightly
agree:18 - Completely agree:7

Appendix 4: List of Interviewees

Interviewees in Ngancar, Java, Indonesia	Gender	Age	Country of Origin
P1	Male	52	Indonesia
P2	Female	54	Indonesia
P3	Female	38	Indonesia
P4	Male	27	Indonesia
P5	Male	50	Indonesia
P6	Male	42	Indonesia
P7	Female	40	Indonesia

Interviewees in Pancuran, Java, Indonesia	Gender	Age	Country of Origin
P1	Male	45	Indonesia
P2	Female	30	Indonesia
P3	Female	57	Indonesia
P4	Male	31	Indonesia
P5	Female	63	Indonesia
P6	Male	Over 60	Indonesia

Interviewees in Stockholm and Uppsala, Sweden	Gender	Age	Country of Origin
P1	Male	63	Chile
P2	Male	62	Chile
P3	Female	62	Chile
P4	Female	74	Argentina
P5	Female	45	Chile
P6	Male	72	Chile
P7	Female	34	Bosnia & Herzegovina
P8	Female	81	Spain
P9	Male	61	Chile
P10	Female	57	Chile
P11	Male	25	Tanzania
P12	Male	38	Iraq
P13	Male	21	Somalia
P14	Female	19	Somalia
P15	Male	Unknown	Sweden

Notes: Interviewee “P11” was an immigrant a refugee by legal definition. “P15” was the director of an Introductory School Centre (*Centrum för introduktion i skola*).

Appendix 5: MASLOW'S HIERARCHY OF NEEDS (1943)



Available at: <http://www.researchhistory.org/2012/06/16/maslows-hierarchy-of-needs/> [Retrieved 15 May 2015].