



DOCTORAL THESIS

Understanding young people's well-being within a translocal everyday life:

How health and well-being are experienced and conditioned in the daily school life of young people recently migrated to Sweden

Ulrika Lögdberg



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Abstract

This dissertation deals with the relationship between young people's health, everyday life, school, and migration. It is a compilation dissertation based on a comprehensive summary (kappa) and four empirical articles. With the school as a point of departure, the dissertation's overarching aim is to explore everyday experiences of and conditions for health and well-being among young people who recently migrated to Sweden. Further, the aim is to illuminate and problematize the conditions and circumstances within which health is created and negotiated for this group of youths. The newly arrived youths' experiences and conditions for health and well-being are analyzed through an overall social and cultural framework that emphasizes everyday life and micro-processes. At the same time, everyday experiences, social positionings, and material conditions, explored in the various studies, are linked to power processes. The individual's room for agency in daily life depends on historical, structural, and relational conditions. In other words, health is related to power in various ways, which forms an extensive part of the dissertation's analytical focus. The findings are based on three independent data collections, all with a qualitative, exploratory, and health-promoting approach. The study participants are males and females (16–20 years old) from Afghanistan, Syria, Somalia, Ethiopia, Burundi, Thailand, Turkmenistan, Palestine, Kosovo, and Greece. The overall findings show how the young people's health and well-being are created and conditioned in relation to their relationally, spatially, and temporally situated life experiences, concerning their negotiations of migrant positions, and through their possibilities to matter in regard to the material conditions of the everyday life. By an overall social and cultural approach, emphasizing a translocal everyday life when exploring the conditions of health and well-being for young people recently arrived in Sweden, this dissertation contributes to an under-researched field at the intersection of young people's everyday life, school, migration, and health.

Keywords: Culture, ethnography, everyday racism, health, materiality, migrant positions, migration, photovoice, race, spatiality, temporality, translocational positionality, well-being, young people

List of scientific articles

This dissertation is based on the following scientific articles and referred to in the text by their roman numerals:

- I. Lögdberg, U., Nilsson, B., & Kostenius, C. (2018). “Thinking about the future, what’s gonna happen?” – How young people in Sweden who neither work nor study perceive life experiences in relation to health and well-being. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-being*, 13(1), 1–12.
- II. Lögdberg, U., Nilsson, B., & Kostenius, C. (2020). Young Migrants’ Experiences and Conditions for Health: A Photovoice Study. *SAGE Open*, 10(2), 1–12.
- III. Lögdberg, U., Öhlander, M., & Nilsson, B. (Submitted). Everyday navigation between adaptation and resistance: How young people negotiate their well-being in relation to assigned migrant positions in school.
- IV. Lögdberg, U., Öhlander, M., Lindgren, E-C., & Nilsson, B. (Submitted). Social, spatial, and material conditions for mattering: Newly arrived young migrants’ possibilities to matter in everyday life in a Swedish school.

Contents

Abstract.....	2
List of scientific articles.....	3
Introduction	6
Background.....	9
Perspectives on migration and health.....	9
School as a place that shapes “newly arrived” young people’s health.....	14
Positioning and the contribution of the dissertation	18
Aim and research questions	19
Theoretical framework.....	20
Health and well-being within a social and cultural framework	20
A translocal perspective	22
Material conditions for mattering.....	25
Methodology and methods.....	27
Methodological considerations	27
Accessing the study field and participants.....	33
Data production	36
Task-based interviews (Study I).....	36
Photovoice (Study II).....	37
Ethnography (Study III and IV).....	39
Analysis and trustworthiness	42
Ethical considerations	47
Discussion of findings and a critical “turning back”	50
Situated health experiences.....	50
Positioned strategies.....	56
Mattering through materiality.....	61
Reflexivity – a critical “turning back”.....	64

Understanding young people’s health and well-being within a translocal everyday life: conclusions and implications	67
Svensk sammanfattning	71
Acknowledgment	75
References	77

Introduction

This dissertation deals with the relationship between young people's health, everyday life, school, and migration. The debate about migration and the young "migrant's" place in the arriving country has intensified over the past decades, not least in Sweden (Thomas et al., 2019; Dahlstedt & Neergaard, 2015). Concerning the health of young people who have migrated, especially refugee youths, research has traditionally focused on conditions in the country of origin and the injuries and traumas that young people carry with them from their home countries (Wernesjö, 2012; Andersson et al., 2010; Chatty et al., 2005). However, recent studies show that conditions in the recipient country and the time after migration play a significant role in young people's health (de Montgomery, 2022; Skovdal & Campbell, 2015). The school has been emphasized as an essential social arena for so-called newly arrived¹ young people, and positive school experiences have been identified as a crucial settlement condition (de Montgomery, 2022; Nilsson & Bunar, 2016; Kia-Keating & Ellis, 2007).

Overall, education is often highlighted as one of the most critical determinants of health, and Sweden is commonly pictured as a leading country for social justice (Marmot, 2017, Marmot, 2005). Although Sweden, from an international perspective, has a comparatively high level of social equity (Esping-Andersen, 2015; Esping-Andersen & Cimentada, 2018) and equality in education has been a fundamental goal for Swedish education policy over the past century; inequalities resurface each new generation, and disparities are now growing (Vaezghasemi, 2020; Swedish National Agency for Education, 2018). School and ethnic segregation have increased in Sweden since the 1990s (Delegationen för migrationsstudier [Delmi], 2021). Furthermore, the Swedish school has been criticized for contributing to the exclusion of young people with a migratory background. To create an inclusive and equal school

¹ A "newly arrived" student signify a young person who has been a resident abroad and has attended school in Sweden for less than four years (Skollag, 2010, 3 kap. 12 a §). Using official terms such as "newly arrived," which may appear natural and thus contribute to a categorization, can be problematic. I use this terminology to illustrate the young people's position and simultaneously problematize the meanings of the term for the young participants (cf. Wernesjö, 2014, p. 12).

where young people's well-being is considered, it is crucial to study everyday conditions for health and well-being and issues influencing young people's living conditions in the recipient country.

This dissertation has young recently migrated people's everyday experiences and conditions for health and well-being within the school context as a point of departure. The studies are situated in a school in the rural north. In recent years, municipalities outside the metropolitan areas have received an increased proportion of newly arrived youth, making this context essential to study. The municipality² where the upper secondary school is located has a lower proportion of foreign-born people than the metropolitan regions and the country, excluding the urban areas: and other comparable cities by size (Statistics Sweden [SCB], 2022).³ In Sweden, it is more common for foreign-born to live in the metropolitan areas of Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Malmö (i.e., a more significant proportion of foreign-born live in the urban regions than in the rest of the country) (SCB, 2022). It should also be mentioned that for many of the young people in the dissertation, this was not a place they chose but a place migration regulation directed to them.

The specific study context was at a Swedish Language introduction program offered to young people recently arriving in Sweden. Language introduction is part of the introductory program in Sweden intended for students who are not qualified for the national program in upper secondary school (The Swedish National Agency for Education, 2016). To reflect the heterogeneous group studying Language introduction, the dissertation includes young people with different backgrounds regarding gender and nationality, school experiences, whether they are unaccompanied minors⁴ or living with family, and their residence status. Studying such a diverse group has entailed challenges, not least how their varied living conditions can be reflected. For example, the situation for young people who have not received a residence permit differs from

² For the participants in this study not to be identified, I have chosen not to name the municipality in Sweden where the studies took place. However, the place and its sociopolitical landscape is an important context. Statistics are used to describe the area in terms of for example migration patterns and compare it with other Swedish cities to create a picture of the place. The statistics regarding the municipal are stated in a range or more general terms as greater than/less than, again so that it is not possible to identify the city and thereby the young people. I am aware that "rural north" includes a large area, at the same time it has certain characteristics that may be worth, and therefore are, highlighted.

³ This is thus not a municipality that can be described as "immigrant-dense", as in, for example, Sharif's (2018) study in Södertälje where more than half of the inhabitants are foreign-born.

⁴ "According to Swedish law, the term unaccompanied child includes asylum-seeking children under the age of 18 who, upon arrival in the recipient country, are separated from both their parents and another adult who can be considered to have taken the place of their parents, or children who, after arrival, are left without such a substitute" (Swedish Agency for Health Technology Assessment and Assessment of Social Services [SBU], 2018, p. 7).

those who have been granted residence in Sweden (e.g., Wahlström Smith, 2020). Still, newly arrived young people are often treated as a category by schools and society (e.g., Nilsson Folke, 2017). Against the background of the criticism directed at how the school is organized for newly arrived youths (e.g., Bunar & Juvonen, 2021), there is value in highlighting individual and collective experiences of health and well-being. Not least to understand young people's conditions and prerequisites for health and well-being in a post-migration period. Although the focus is not on the school or the teachers, the dissertation, through the young people's perspectives, gives an insight into how the school handles newly arrived young people's well-being in this unique situation.

The dissertation is based on four empirical studies. A qualitative approach was chosen to get close to young people's daily life. In addition, the dissertation has been characterized by an exploratory approach. Theories and research fields have been added that I have considered necessary to understand the complex relationship between young people's health, everyday life, school, and migration. The findings are discussed on a comprehensive level, while the young people's perspectives and voices are highlighted in the various studies. Their conditions for health and well-being are analyzed through an overall social and cultural framework emphasizing everyday life and micro-processes. At the same time, everyday experiences, social positionings, and material conditions, explored in the various studies, are linked to power processes. The individual's room for agency in daily life depends on historical, structural, and relational conditions. This dissertation's contribution lies at the intersection of migratory processes, institutional conditions, and everyday life in studying young people's health and well-being conditions. Specifically, it is the hope that the dissertation should contribute to a critical discussion about how young people recently arriving in Sweden navigate and experiences their well-being and possibilities for well-being in everyday life, not at least at school. Since the dissertation deals with a current topic of great relevance to today's educational contexts and migration debate, the hope is that it will be used by researchers, policymakers, teachers in schools, and others interested in societal issues.

Background

This section provides background information and introduces the research contexts in which the dissertation is located. Previous research is reviewed, and central concepts are explained. The review starts with broader perspectives on migration and health and places the study within a Swedish migration context. The Swedish migration context can be described both as unique through the political changes that have taken place in recent decades and simultaneously as part of global patterns. Describing this context is central to understanding the situational framework of the studies. Furthermore, the school (as a prominent research and study context in this dissertation and a significant part of the so-called newly arrived young people's everyday life) as a place that shapes young people's health is introduced. The overview narrows towards the most central context for the dissertation – everyday life and conditions for young people's health and well-being. In the final summarizing section, the dissertation's contribution is highlighted, and the dissertation is positioned.

Perspectives on migration and health

Migrations movements, regulations, and constructions of “the migrant”

Migration can be described by people's actual movements across national borders and how these movements are regulated and interpreted. Concerning migration movements, Sweden has historically changed from being a country of emigration to immigration (Hammarén, 2010). From the middle of the 20th century and 20 years onwards, Sweden had been characterized by labor immigration. Since 1970, immigration has primarily consisted of refugees, asylum seekers, and family reunification (Hammarén, 2010). Many refugees have come to Sweden because of wars and conflicts around the world. In recent years, in connection with the so-called “refugee wave” in 2015, Sweden has received one of the highest proportions of asylum seekers in Europe in terms of population (Fejes & Dahlstedt, 2020).

Regarding the situation for children and young people, according to United Nations Children's Fund, in 2016, there were around 11 million child refugees and asylum seekers globally. More than 30 million children did not live in their country of birth

(UNICEF, 2016). Over the past two decades, approximately 170,000 children and young refugees have settled in Nordic countries (Børsch et al., 2019). In Sweden, incoming children and young migrants have risen over several years, with more than 160,000 people seeking asylum in Sweden in 2015. Of these, 22% were refugee children unaccompanied by parents or other relatives (Swedish Migration Agency, 2016).⁵ However, since 2015, Sweden has adopted an increasingly restrictive migration policy that limits the opportunities for protection and residence for asylum seekers, which not least affects young people (e.g., Dahlgren, 2016; Öberg et al., 2017; Wernesjö, 2020). In connection with the refugee wave in 2015, several participants in this study came to Sweden, but some also came before this. Political decisions and economic incentives are of great importance for young people's real opportunities to migrate and establish themselves in another country and for how their presence will be interpreted.

How migration is regulated and how “the migrant” (historically has been and currently) is being constructed is central to understanding young people's health and negotiations about well-being in today's Sweden. It is also a main context for this dissertation. Thus, understanding the constructions of the migrant and how it influences the health and well-being of young people who recently migrated are central to this dissertation. Regarding the semantic context and discourses of migrants, researchers highlight how the image of “the migrant” in Sweden has historically been constructed through notions of difference and stereotypes (Hammarén, 2010, p. 205 ff.). Migration is often associated with the “third world” and with in-migration rather than out-migration (Lundström, 2014). Prevalent images of Muslims as violent and oppressive of women, among others, are set against a progressively equal Sweden. Several researchers point to how gender equality, not least in the public debate, has created a collective image of the Swedish identity, contrasting with immigration and immigrants (Townes, 2002; Alm et al., 2021). For example, Martinsson (2021, p. 105) writes how gender equality in Sweden is understood as a “national quality, an important trait in the hegemonic, imagined national community.” While Town (2002, p. 157) highlights how this equality discourse, paradoxically, has created a new inequality, “namely the hierarchical categorization of the population of Sweden into ‘Swedes’ and ‘immigrants.’ “

Previous research has tried to dissolve the simple picture of immigration and emigration “in- or out” with theses about, e.g., circular migration, mobility, diaspora, transnationalism, and translocalism (e.g., Farahani, 2007; Lundström, 2014; Anthias,

⁵ Of those seeking asylum as “unaccompanied” children in Sweden before 2018, the most common countries they have migrated from are Afghanistan, Eritrea, Iraq, Morocco, Somalia, and Syria (Djampour, 2018).

2021). By adopting a translocal perspective in this dissertation, I relate to Anthias' (2008, 2011, 2012, 2020) and Lundström's research. For example, I use Lundström's research on white migration to discuss perspectives on privileged/non-privileged positions and temporal and spatial aspects of migration. Furthermore, research on race/racialization, everyday racism, and critical welfare research has formed an essential framework for my studies. The concepts: "'ethnicization' (Ålund and Schierup, 1991) and 'racialization' (Miles, 1989) refer to the processes that make physical appearance and culture key factors in the separation, prioritization, and allocation of symbolic as well as material resources in society Miles and Brown, 2003)" (Dahlstedt & Neergaard, 2019, p. 3). International studies highlight the connection between racism and discrimination, and ill-health (Spaas et al., 2022; Borsch et al., 2019; Came & Griffith, 2018). In Sweden, questions about race and racism are under discussion (which I will return to in presenting the dissertation theoretical framework). Thus, fewer empirical studies in a Swedish (especially rural) context shed light on how racism occurs in everyday life. Two studies, by Wernesjö (2015) and Goicolea et al. (2022), are noteworthy since they deal with rurality and young racialized youth. Everyday racism has also been studied in a Swedish context by, for example, Schmauch (2006), Sixtensson (2018), Hagström (2017), Mulinari (2007), and Selberg (2012). These studies, which take place in different geographical locations and with varying participants, have been important to gain insight into racialization processes and how inequality is linked to time and space.

Finally, "young migrant," a problematic but recurring concept in this dissertation, is used as an umbrella term. It signifies a young person 16-20 years "who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, ... across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons" (International Organization for Migration [IOM], 2019). This term reflects the common lay understanding and is not defined under international law (IOM, 2019). However, the term includes legally defined categories of people, such as "refugee," as well as those whose status or means of movement are not explicitly defined under international law, such as young people moving with their parents who moved to another country to work (economic migrants) (cf. IOM, 2019). In the dissertation, I have chosen to use the term young people, or youths, instead of young migrant, and the term includes young people who have migrated for various reasons. I have chosen to use young people to put in the foreground that they are first and foremost people of a certain age (16–20), and secondarily who have migrated and thereby problematize and show different meanings of the broad concept of young migrants.

Migration as a social determinant of young people's health

Migration is related to ill-health (e.g., Helgesson et al., 2019; Rechel et al., 2013) and has come to be viewed as one of the social determinants affecting young people's

health (Castañeda et al., 2015; IOM, 2006). The contribution of migration is recognized in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Still, from an international perspective, the health of young migrants has received relatively little attention in research (Fouche et al., 2021). This is especially true when it comes to acknowledging children and young people's experiences and perspectives on migration and health. Internationally, children and young people's perspectives have been illuminated through, for example, the parents or social workers (Spencer, 2019). As stated by Spencer et al. (2019), in addition to the absence of young migrants' voices in research, youth, health, and migration studies have unilaterally focused on health problems without accounting for young people's perspectives on what creates health.

There are different perspectives on health and ways of working with health, which by a generalizing typology can be described as treatment, prevention, and promotion (Green et al., 2015; Hansson, 2004). This dissertation has a promotional direction, whereas a large part of previous research focused on treatment, or medical and behavioral science research (focusing on individual behavioral approaches), where health is often understood as the absence of disease. Traditionally, knowledge about young people's health, especially mental health, has come from the psychological field, focusing on ill-health from a biomedical perspective (Gotfredsen, 2021; Landstedt & Coffey, 2017) rather than health from a holistic⁶ or humanistic viewpoint. However, within a Swedish context, there is growing interest in public health research that considers young people's social and cultural contexts in the study of youth health and well-being (e.g., Gotfredsen, 2021; Gotfredsen et al., 2021; Jonsson et al., 2020; Wiklund et al., 2018; Landstedt & Coffey, 2017; Randell, 2016; Wiklund, 2010). Some of these studies highlight the rural context and young people's place-making of importance to young people's health (e.g., Gotfredsen et al., 2021; Jonsson et al., 2020), which is relevant to this dissertation.

As mentioned, focusing on adults and biomedical perspectives also applies to the field of migration and health (Smith et al., 2021; Spencer, 2019). In medical and behavioral science research, studies have largely focused on psychiatric symptoms, trauma, and emotional problems linked to the time before migration and the recipient country and were conducted mainly through self-report questionnaires and similar quantitative methods (Wernesjö, 2012; Andersson et al., 2010; Chatty et al., 2005). This individual-focused research has contributed valuable knowledge about young migrants' ill-health in terms of post-traumatic stress symptoms, sleeping disorders, depression, suicidal thoughts, lack of appetite, and similar ill-health-related problems (Wernesjö, 2012). However, one should be aware that this research has zoomed in on the individual and their concerns. By this, Wernesjö (2012) means that this research

⁶ In a holistic view of health, health is more than the absence of disease (Korp, 2016).

has unilaterally shaped the image of young unaccompanied refugees as a particularly vulnerable category with the risk of pathologizing and othering these young people as a deviant category.

Finally, as research has established that there is a connection between ill-health and migration, Thomas et al. (2019) point out that it is still unclear what these connections look like, which motivates more studies that can shed light on everyday processes and study the question of how (ill-)health is connected to migration. Also, more research is needed that explores protective factors, takes a broader view that includes everyday life perspectives, and does not solely focus on individual internal resources, such as coping strategies (Wernesjö, 2012; Hodes et al., 2008).

Migration and health as lived experiences and daily practices

Although a particular type of migration has characterized specific historical periods, people move for various reasons and migrants' backgrounds in today's Sweden vary greatly regarding nationality, level of education, and religion (Aslan, 2019). Different backgrounds and reasons for migration also mean that experiences of migration and the time after the resettlement can differ significantly. As described above, migrant, immigrant, and refugee are not neutral definitions. These terms are ideologically and politically charged. How these concepts are regulated by law, framed through policy, and "act" through dominant discourses becomes essential for the young person in everyday life.

In recent years there has been increased interest within a Nordic context towards understanding and elucidating young people's migration experiences and health. Thus, a growing field of research within the Swedish context, and one within which this dissertation is placed, highlights an inside perspective in the studies of young migrants living conditions. This includes an increased focus on the youths' narratives and often on aspects of the post-migration period, including experiences of belonging and inclusion/exclusion (Korp & Stretmo, 2020).⁷ A large part of the Nordic research concerns asylum-seeking children and youth, often categorized as 'unaccompanied minors' (Goicolea et al., 2022). Research on unaccompanied minors has gone from a few studies to a growing field in the last couple of years, both in a Nordic and international context (e.g., Korp & Stretmo, 2020; SBU, 2018; Herz & Lalander, 2017;

⁷ Also internationally, there has been an increased focus on children and young people's experiences of migration, which, however, do not always include a health perspective. Focusing on children and young people's migration experiences can be considered a more recent area of research that has emerged at the intersection of youth and migration research, the so-called "childhood turn in migration research" (White et al., 2011).

Djampour, 2018; Wernesjö, 2014; Stretmo, 2014;). However, unlike the biomedical field mentioned above, this is still a young field where more studies are needed.

From this perspective, migration – being positioned as “a migrant” – can be described by how it is experienced and lived by the individual and how it influences young people’s daily lives and possibilities for well-being, which is an aspect addressed in this dissertation. As experienced and lived everyday life, I understand migration and being “a migrant” as a gendered and racialized process (Farahani, 2013). This process was constantly present, lingering for some of the young people in my studies. As mentioned above, an analysis of this process must consider a wider context of migration history, global and national politics, and historical circumstances, as well as national discourses and policies concerning migration and “the migrant.”

Researchers who take their starting point in the young people’s narratives highlight how framing the 2015 migration as a “crisis” has led to the dichotomized positionings of young people. For instance, Wernesjö (2020) describes how unaccompanied migrant youths in Sweden are positioned as threats or victims, depending on whether they are considered deserving of protection or not. Horning et al. (2020) and Herz’s (2019) studies show how young men are portrayed as potential threats. Similar findings are reported from other European countries (e.g., Walker & Gunaratnam, 2021). Considering this dichotomic positioning, researchers underscore the value of studies that challenge one-sided images of migrant youth (Lems, Oester & Strasser, 2020; Djampour, 2018). Hence, more research is needed that explores newly arrived youths’ positionality from their perspectives especially concerning their well-being where there seems to be a lack of knowledge. This dissertation intends to contribute knowledge about how young people who recently migrated to Sweden negotiate ascribed positions concerning their well-being in daily life. Below I describe studies focusing on newly arrived youths’ school situation.

School as a place that shapes “newly arrived” young people’s health

Just as the field of migration is broad, there are different approaches and perspectives to apply to the school as a research field. I place myself within research investigating the school as an institution from critical perspectives to explore how conditions are created that can influence health and equality. Also, my entrance to the school is inspired by a health-promoting approach where the social context is considered. Thus, I consider the school a potential health-promoting arena and an arena that risks contributing to unequal health.

Newly arrived youths and their school situation

School is a central arena for newly arrived⁸ young people's everyday lives. Formally, all children and young people in Sweden have the right to schooling regardless of legal status (Nilsson Folke, 2017; Andersson et al., 2015). The school has been described as a critical arena for newly arrived young people, as it is the first encounter with society and thus a crucial venue for them to negotiate future opportunities for integration (Public Health Agency of Sweden, 2019; Block et al., 2014; Taylor and Sidhu, 2012). International and national research show that school is integral to newly arrived youths' everyday life and is a crucial context in their first post-migration period (e.g., McMullen et al., 2020; Hagström, 2018; Skovdal, & Campbell, 2015). Further, as mentioned above, education is essential for future social position and thus future good health (Marmot, 2005). School is not least a necessary arena for newly arrived young people's sense of hope for the future, a sense of belonging, and at the same time, security and structure in everyday life (Barnes et al., 2021; Svensson & Eastmond, 2013; Wernesjö, 2014). In addition to the school's forward function, it also has a social role. It has been highlighted as an essential social arena where teachers and friends are highlighted as especially important (e.g., Sharif, 2017).

There has previously been a lack of knowledge regarding the school situation of newly arrived young people in Sweden (e.g., Bunar, 2010). However, in recent years, an increased focus has been directed on newcomers' conditions in the school, resulting in several dissertations (e.g., Hagström, 2018; Nilsson Folke, 2017; Sharif, 2017; Wigg, 2008) and studies that shed light on newly arrived students' education and social situation (Fejes & Dahlstedt, 2020). Most of these studies are found in the field of education, focusing on their learning experiences and aspects of inclusion and exclusion. According to a policy brief from Delmi (2020), studies on newly arrived students have so far focused on reception, organization, inclusion, and teaching at the primary school level. In contrast, research concerning newly arrived students in upper secondary school is still limited. It has also been more common to investigate the situation of newly arrived young people in urban rather than rural areas (Nilsson Folke, 2017), for example, in the outskirts of Stockholm (e.g., Hagström, 2018; Sharif, 2017).

Previous research on the Language introduction in Sweden shows how this educational environment can contribute to newly arrived youths' sense of orientation and security during the first post-migration period (Hagström, 2018). However, Language

⁸ Here, the newly arrived terminology is used to discuss research that studies conditions for young people who are officially classified as newly arrived students in the sense: a young person who has been a resident abroad and has attended school in Sweden for less than four years (Skollag, 2010, 3 kap. 12 a §).

introduction has also been criticized for creating exclusion through the physical design and organizational structure. Nilsson Folke's (2019) research shows how the organizational principles that form the basis for Language introduction and education for newly arrived youths are characterized by separation from the ordinary. Newly arrived students are often placed in classes, rooms, and sometimes buildings separated from so-called mainstream classes (Fejes & Dahlstedt, 2020). This division has led to experiences of exclusion and parallel school life among newly arrived youths (Fejes & Dahlstedt, 2020; Hagström, 2018; Sharif, 2017; Nilsson Folke, 2017). Studies also show how this division creates perceived boundaries and distinctions based on normative Swedishness and, at the same time, exclusive power position in a society oriented around Swedishness (Mattsson, 2005; Hagström, 2018). Also, Nilsson Folke (2018, p. 1) shows how the students in her study feel "temporally out of line," stressing the importance of the temporal dimensions of migration experiences. Nilsson Folke (2018) points out a lack of research on the temporal dimensions of migratory experiences.

The school as an arena for health and inequality

Besides studies focusing specifically on Language introduction and newly arrived youths' social and educational conditions within the school, my research relates to what can be described as critical school research or critical pedagogy. That is studies examining young people's agency highlight school and education as an arena where power is exercised, thus making school an issue for social justice and democracy (see Nygren, 2021, p.20) and the opposite of that. An important person for the development of critical pedagogy is Freire (1972), whose ideas are the basis for the development of the photovoice method used in Study II. According to Freire (1972) and his view on critical pedagogy, an individual's awareness of an oppressive situation can be created through dialogue, and dialogue can arise through photography. Freire defined critical consciousness as a higher level of consciousness in which the individual is aware of how social structures can suppress an individual and how an individual's assumptions and behaviors can contribute to the maintenance or change in these oppressive systems. To achieve critical consciousness, collaboration within the collective or community is required (Liebenberg, 2018). Freire's work aimed at challenging power imbalance and positioning people as equals. He referred especially to the relationship between a teacher and a student, which provided a stimulus for photovoice development. The collaborative and inclusive approach underlining the photovoice method originated from feminist theory (Liebenberg, 2018). Hence, the individuals who are the most suitable to understand the needs and conditions of a group are the individuals within that group based on a joint approach (Strack et al., 2004). This approach also aligns with the foundations of health promotion by stressing the importance of participation and empowerment to reach change.

Some more recent studies with a critical approach to the school context show how young people with a foreign background and youths perceived as “non-Swedish” have experienced being positioned as “problematic,” “deviant,” or as “the other” within the Swedish school system (e.g., Bayati, 2014; Léon Rosales, 2010; Runfors, 2003), and thus highlight the Swedish school as a difference-making arena (Gruber, 2007). These studies also emphasize race as a central and, at the same time, a neglected category within the Swedish and Nordic context (cf. Guðjónsdóttir & Loftsdóttir, 2017). Most of the studies mentioned do not have a particular focus on health and well-being. The Swedish school is however responsible for young people’s health and health-promoting efforts (National Board of Health and Welfare, 2016). It is therefore vital to study how the school manages and contributes to young people’s health. Internationally, studies have investigated the connection between mental health outcomes and migrant students’ educational and schooling experiences (e.g., McMullen et al., 2020; Ziaian et al., 2018). For example, McMullen et al. (2020) findings suggest that although many newly arrived students have adapted well and show normal levels of emotional well-being, many have experienced various hardships that may negatively impact their mental health. Ziaian et al. (2018) findings show a discrepancy between how teachers, parents, and students self-assessed the students’ health. The teachers identified a higher proportion of refugee students with mental health problems than adolescents or parents. This result can be interpreted differently: teachers identify students’ ill health or overestimate it. Regardless, it shows that teachers play an essential role in the well-being of newly arrived students at school.

With the settings approach within health promotion, there was a shift from individual behavioral approaches to including the contexts people find themselves in (Green et al., 2015). In a Swedish context, for example, Warne (2013) used a settings approach to study the school as a supportive environment for health and used photovoice. The participants were students at risk of vulnerability related to health and learning and included students from the children’s and leisure program and the individual program. From a Nordic perspective, for example, Børsch et al. (2021) have investigated refugee and immigrant adolescents’ caring practices and well-being in Danish schools and how these are shaped by time and space. Børsch et al. (2021) also note an increased research interest in investigating how the school can be a supported environment for young newcomers.

Despite this direction toward health understood within a social context, a review study (Mukamana & Johri, 2016) shows that it is still more common for the school to be used as an arena for health interventions rather than an arena where conditions for health are created. In addition, interventions often depart from an adult perspective on the school rather than the young people themselves (Børsch et al., 2021).

Research also shows that health and learning are often treated as separate tracks within the school and that the development of health-promoting schools is slow (Warne, 2013). Therefore, more studies are needed that explore and problematize the school as a place that creates conditions that enable or hinder young people's everyday well-being, thereby broadening the view of health beyond nutrition, physical activity, sexual/reproductive, and mental health, where most research is still to be found (Mukamana & Johri, 2016). Furthermore, researchers point to the need to develop both theories and methods in health promotion, especially concerning the group of young people with migration experiences (Spencer, 2019).

To summarize, the studies mentioned in the review above have contributed to my contextualizing and critically reflecting on the participating young people's experiences and conditions for health and well-being in everyday life, with a particular focus on school. However, besides the described studies, there is a lack of research that contributes to an understanding of how newly arrived youths' conditions for health and well-being are created in micro-contexts and processes, such as interactions with teachers and other significant adults in and outside school, and peers, especially through classrooms interactions. This also includes an interest in how newly arrived youths contribute to each other's health-promoting or not, and in how the physical design and the school's material resources, but also the "acceptable" movements of bodies in the room, influence newly arrived youths' sense of mattering in relation to others in school, and hence their well-being.

Positioning and the contribution of the dissertation

This dissertation is positioned within the academic discipline of health and lifestyle. The dissertation takes its point of departure in the everyday life of young people while considering daily life as enveloped in migratory processes and institutional conditions that extend beyond the individual. The review of previous research shows that the health and well-being of young people with a migratory background traditionally have been researched through a biomedical approach, adult-centered perspectives, and with a focus on individual lifestyle-related behaviors. Within school, studies also tend to focus on interventions rather than considering the social and cultural environment that shapes young people's health. An individual-focused and dominant biomedical perspective has created a one-sided image of how young people's health can be understood and not least promoted.

At the same time, an increasing research interest can be noted within a Swedish context, where this dissertation is placed, considering newly arrived young people's experiences. It is this research that the dissertation builds further on. The dissertation's

contribution can be found at the intersection of migratory processes, institutional conditions, and everyday life in studying young people's health and well-being. The dissertation brings together and builds on knowledge from fields often studied separately and by combining methods and theories from these fields. In this way, the dissertation contributes to a broadened understanding of how the health and well-being of young people with a migration background are created and conditioned in everyday life.

The dissertation contributes with knowledge of previously under-researched aspects such as how conditions for newly arrived young people's health and well-being are created and understood; through their visual representations and perceptions, in micro-contexts focusing on classroom interactions and social positionings, and through the material environments' significance for well-being. The dissertation is also a methodological contribution to the health and lifestyle research field. It is based, among other things, on photovoice and observations in newcomers' classrooms and analyzes how conditions for well-being are created in everyday life.

Aim and research questions

With the school as a point of departure, the dissertation's overarching aim is to explore the everyday experiences of and conditions for health and well-being among young people who recently migrated to Sweden. Further, the aim is to illuminate and problematize the conditions and circumstances within which health is created and negotiated for this group of youths.

The following research questions have guided the study:

1. How do young people visualize and experience challenges and health-promoting factors in achieving well-being in a post-migratory context, and how can these visualizations and experiences be understood from a social and cultural framework? (Study I and II)
2. How do young people relate to and negotiate ascribed migrant positions and how can negotiations of ascribed positions be understood as managing well-being in everyday life? (Study III and IV)
3. How do spatiality, temporality, and materiality influence young people's well-being in a post-migratory context? (Study I, II III and IV)

Theoretical framework

Youths' prerequisites for health and well-being in a post-migration context are explored through an overall social and cultural framework. As mentioned above, the focus is on how everyday social and cultural processes are essential for the well-being of young people with migration experience in their post-migration period in Sweden. As described below, the dissertation has an exploratory design, and the theoretical framework has developed in relation to the empirical material. This section is a theoretical clarification of the previous chapter. It describes the dissertation's central perspectives, how these have been used in the various studies, and how they form an overall framework.

Health and well-being within a social and cultural framework

The dissertation is based on an overall constructivist perspective on health and well-being, focusing on the social, cultural, material, and structural dimensions. From this perspective, health and well-being are created, made possible, and negotiated in daily immaterial and material practices, interpersonal relationships, and the interplay between individual and structure (cf. Cockerham, 2005). Health, in this dissertation, is not understood as an inner capacity or a purely biological state.⁹ Instead, it can be influenced positively and negatively (cf. Antonovsky, 1987), meaning health inequalities are created by societal circumstances and thus changeable (Marmot, 2005; Whitehead, 1990). Well-being is about how young people thrive in their everyday

⁹ Health is often described by two main areas, the biomedical and the humanistic. Generally speaking, health is emphasized as the opposite of disease in the biomedical field. Whereas in the humanities, health and illness are stressed as a continuum (Medin & Alexanderson, 2000). The World Health Organization defined health as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" (WHO, 1946, p. 100). This definition of health has been important for viewing health as something more than a biological condition. It is an essential point of reference for the emergence of the health-promoting perspective and discussing a holistic view of health in general. Still, it has also been criticized over the past 60 years for being static and for its utopian description because it describes a state of complete health and unintentionally contributes to society's medicalization (Huber et al., 2011).

lives and how they are able or not to achieve their potential (cf. Ross et al., 2020). By that, I do not mean an inherent potential, in how I interpret the definition of well-being by Ross et al. (2020), but the possibilities that the individual experience to develop and realize hopes, dreams, and ambitions. In line with a capability perspective on well-being, I explore the opportunities, or the freedoms, that the newly arrived young people *perceive* they have to live the lives they value the most (Nussbaum, 2002; Chase, 2019, p. 439 ff.). Here I understand well-being as the subjective experience of health created in a social and cultural context. Thus, health becomes an overriding concept that can be understood as a determinant and an outcome (cf. WHO, 2012). In the dissertation, I talk about negotiating well-being. By using negotiations, I want to emphasize health and well-being as not just a state of being but as a process, as changeable and dynamic (cf., e.g., Leonardi, 2018). Furthermore, these negotiations take place relationally instead of purely psychologically. The body is a central starting point for health. However, health is also created in the space between bodies, places, and things and concerning structural conditions. It is in this space that my analytical focus, in particular study IV, lies.

The notion that health is related to power in various ways forms an extensive part of the studies and dissertation's analytical focus. Power (cf. Anthias, 2020; Foucault, 2008) refers to processes in everyday life that hinder, enable, or affect individuals' room for maneuver and well-being. I am referring to both processes of power from above/power exercised against the individual and resistance. It is about the discursive or symbolic power, that is, how normative ideas are constructed through social positions/positionings, such as race and gender, which, for example, creates notions of who belongs and who has the right to a place. Power acting through social positions affects how resources are distributed in a society, or this case, in a school institution. It is also about material power, such as the school's physical design which enables certain actions and excludes others. To influence health positively is central to health promotion and one of the directions of the dissertation. Health promotion is commonly defined as "the process of enabling people to increase control over, and to improve, their health" (World Health Organization [WHO], 1986, p. 1). A more recent definition also includes the determinants of health (WHO, 2005). Empowerment and health promotion are closely related, where empowerment is seen as a necessary strategy for the health promotion (WHO, 1986). To become empowered, individuals need access to networks, knowledge, and resources (Wang & Burris, 1994). Access to networks, knowledge, and resources is crucial to migrants arriving in new social and cultural contexts (Plüss, 2013). In this dissertation, the school as a societal arena and the field of study is understood as an actor that controls resources and can thus be a promotional and obstructive environment. Newly arrived youths' encounters with the Swedish school, what they *arrive at* (Ahmed, 2006), and how it influences

their perceived and lived experiences of health and well-being in a positive or negative direction are explored in the various studies (I-IV).

A translocal perspective

Through a social and cultural lens, this dissertation emphasizes the micro-perspectives and the individual's translocal everyday life. Agency, in the realm of everyday life, is considered here as "a process in which individuals, influenced by their past but also oriented toward the future (as a capacity to imagine alternative possibilities) and the present (as a capacity to consider both past habits and future situations within the contingencies of the moment), critically evaluate and choose their course of action" (Cockerham, 2005, p. 54 ff.). The individual's room for agency in daily life depends on historical, structural, and relational conditions (Anthias, 2012). So, when I talk about everyday life, I refer to everyday life where the individual's actions meet structural conditions (cf. method section).

The perspective of translocality is based on the critical and postcolonial theory where I, in line with Lykke (2009), among others, mean that the gaze needs to be turned from studying "the other," the subordinate, to studying processes that subordinate, that construct the other in an institutional, socio(geo)political context. As I see it, this perspective has value in analyses of young people's health and well-being to make visible the conditions and the social and cultural contexts in which young people's health, and inequality, are created. Translocality (e.g., Anthias 2021) here refers to interconnecting social positions with the sociopolitical and historical processes that shape conditions – in this case, for health – anchored in a local place. It is a way of bringing together quantities, such as individual and structure, based on the understanding that the individual's "choice" depends on structural conditions. Lifestyle choices, how an individual "chooses" to live their lives, and how these "choices" effect opportunities for health depend on local and global prerequisites. Thus, examining the contexts that shape young people's health and change them is crucial, rather than focusing on individual lifestyle choices (cf. Cockerham, 2005). Hence, my way of understanding lifestyle in this dissertation is embedded in my understanding of everyday life, i.e., the individual's possible lifestyles occur in the relation between the individual's room for action and external circumstances.

A translocational perspective allows a contextual analysis, emphasizing the local micro context such as the school in relation to everyday life being largely shaped by local economic, political, cultural, and structural phenomena (cf. Anthias, 2008). For example, political decisions, the school curriculum, perceptions of migrants, and ideals around gender equality. Simultaneously, these phenomena depend on images of

other places (e.g., a specific place in another country) and on, as examples, political and social occurrences in other places. To understand the newly arrived youth's everyday navigation through social positioning,¹⁰ attributed, and self-ascribed, I turned to the concept of translocational positionality (Anthias, 2008). That is, how the young people are positioned in everyday life at a specific school and time. At the same time, positionings extend over time, space, and geographical locations. Furthermore, I study an "everyday reality" at school; still, this reality is unique as the young people find themselves in non-ordinary situations.

To understand and interpret how the local context intersects with historical and structural processes and other places and thereby forms certain positions and conditions, it is important to explain the Swedish context and notions of "Swedishness." Swedishness is understood as a specific form of whiteness and, thereby, a position of power in a society oriented around Swedishness (cf. Ahmed, 2006; Mattsson, 2005; Lundström, 2007; Hagström, 2018). In this dissertation, social positions/categories – gender, "race"/ethnicity, age – are understood as socially, symbolically, and politically constructed (Lundström, 2007). Creating and re-creating positions is important for young people's well-being, and possibilities for well-being. At the same time, social positions have material effects on people's lives (see de los Reyes & Kamali, 2005). In the Swedish setting, where this study takes place, the question of "race" is complex, politically charged, debated, and invisible in many contexts (Hübinette, 2017; Mattsson, 2005). Hence, race as a concept needs further development because it is controversial in Swedish, as "ethnicity" has been the more commonly used term (Hübinette, 2017). Still, researchers note that ethnicity and ethnocentric views on culture can contribute to neglecting everyday racism and ignoring the connection to a postcolonial history that is still relevant and impacts people's lives (e.g., Guðjónsdóttir & Loftsdóttir, 2017; de los Reyes & Kamali, 2005; Lundström, 2007). I chose race over ethnicity because race is one crucial category in understanding young migrants' position within the school. In my material, race is a more relevant analytical category than ethnicity, as the young people are positioned in everyday school life based on notions about the nation/country of origin and non-Swedishness/whiteness.

The above problematized in terms of Swedishness, race, and ethnicity are also created concerning gender, age, and class. Nilsson (1999, p. 15) explains that "the meanings of masculinity vary over time and between different cultures." So do the meanings of femininity. Negotiations about masculinity and femininity occupy a significant focus in the school's everyday life and the young people's narratives, which is why gender is a central part of the positions the young people see as possible. In line with research

¹⁰ For explanation of positioning theory see for instance, Harré & van Langenhove (1999).

that emphasizes masculinities, in the plural (e.g., León Rosales, 2010; Nilsson, 1999; Connell, 1995), in study III, I examine notions of gender (i.e., how masculinities and femininities are formed to each other), race, and age, and how these influence which positions the participants consider possible and impossible, and how that subsequently influences their perceived well-being.

Besides social positionings, place, space/spatiality, and time/temporality are central concepts for understanding the translocal perspective used in this dissertation. Place is theoretically often understood relationally, hierarchically, and to the broader concept of space (Agnew, 2011). A place is a framed or limited surface in relation to the broader space; e.g., a specific city or rural area is understood with regard to the wider space it inhabits. A place is also a relation to other places and in the sense of how human relationships make places. When places are related, there is often a hierarchical relation through which value places are attributed. For example, rural places are often understood in relation to urban ones and often in a more stereotypical and negative presentation (e.g., Goicolea et al., 2022). In this dissertation, the place is also sometimes used synonymously with (social) position, for example, to describe an individual's "place" in the social order characterizing a specific physical place and its context (cf. Sixtensson, 2018). This reflects my theoretical approach to the concepts of space and place, but I will also develop my understanding of the concepts in relation to the empirical material.

The concept of time is analyzed as a cultural tool people use to understand and make sense of change and continuity in their lives (Ehn & Löfgren, 2001). People constantly move between past, present, and future (Ehn & Löfgren, 2001) in understanding themselves. How people make sense of time and how past experiences and constructions of the future are interlinked are crucial to people's health (cf. Antonovsky, 1987, 1996). Antonovsky emphasizes the importance of understanding one's history and finding meaning in the future to handle everyday life. He emphasizes meaningfulness for the future as the most central dimension of health. Brekke (2010) presents similar ideas regarding identity;¹¹ to negotiate belonging and identity in the present, a sense of the future is required. Time has become an essential perspective to understand how the participants engage in questions about the future and how they negotiate and renegotiate the past.

As another central concept in this dissertation, culture is understood as an emic and etic. As an emic concept, I have explored how perceptions of culture(s) influence the

¹¹ I do not use the concept of identity without position, but I describe it in relation to how other researchers use it.

participants' conditions for well-being. As an etic concept, hence a theoretical concept, culture is understood in terms of a process as a way to create order in life and to navigate everyday life (e.g., Hastrup 2010; Öhlander, 2019). Culture is also understood as situated in daily life, reproduced through social practices and "involving the materiality of the things we use and the spaces we inhabit" (Gunnarson, 2016, p. 64; see also Hansson 2007; Alftberg 2012). Well-being relates to cultural perceptions and norms about, for example, what constitutes a good and desirable life.

Material conditions for mattering

In Study IV, the analytical focus turn towards materiality and, through the concept of mattering (Flett, 2018; Rosenberg & McCullough, 1981), its relations to well-being. Thus, another central theoretical starting point is that young people's health is created in relation to the physical environment and material conditions. The theoretical idea I have worked from and empirically explored is how young people are confirmed and represented in a concrete physical environment and how it matters to their well-being.

Article IV discusses newly arrived young peoples' ways of mattering – as this took place in the everyday context of a Language introduction at an upper secondary school – with an outset in the assumption that mattering is dependent on positions of power. To explore how positions of power constitute different ways of mattering, the article uses Ahmed's (2006; 2010) combination of phenomenology and theories of power. From this perspective, mattering depends on a person's possibilities to act on and find a place and a sense belonging in everyday life contexts, such as a school, in other words, a person's ways, and opportunities, of orientation in everyday life. A person's orientation is vital for the sense of mattering and, hence well-being. Orientation is about how the individual experiences the world based on the body and how the body is received in and shapes everyday life's material and social world. It is about starting points, what the individual turns toward, and thereby has access to opportunities, habits, and things (Ahmed, 2006). An oriented individual, thus *in line*, does not notice the surroundings and feels comfortable; the body extends the room (Ahmed, 2006).

In line with Ahmed's critical development of the phenomenological concept of orientation, orientation is not understood as a neutral, general concept. An individual experiences the world based on the body; however, the individual *arrives* at already given orders and historical contexts. In this way, Ahmed criticizes the previous use of the concept orientation as starting from a normalized body with things within its reach, which, she explains, is not the case for all. Ahmed (2006, 2010) illustrates this in her research and with examples from Fanon's (1997) work of how colonial stories

shape bodies and, thereby, what bodies can do. While some bodies can pass unnoticed, read white heterosexual men who constitute the norm, others can be marked and can thus feel *out of line*. The newly arrived youths arrive at already given arrangements within the Swedish school, a school that is oriented around and towards Swedishness (cf. Hagström, 2018; Nilsson Folke, 2017). I analyze how this orientation around Swedishness is expressed through the material and what it does with the young people's sense of mattering. Based on this understanding of mattering, including a power perspective, the school is analyzed as a place and an institutional context where newly arrived youth orient and re-orient themselves (i.e., how the school as an actor directs attention to the young newcomers and thus shapes their possibilities to matter). Contrary to previous theoretical uses of the concepts of mattering (e.g., Rayle et al., 2007; Elliot et al., 2004), the material is included. I assume that attention can be directed between people and the material. Mattering can thus be created through how the room is organized, directed at certain bodies, and how things are within reach for some but not others.

Methodology and methods

This dissertation emphasizes the experiences and conditions of everyday life as essential in studying health and well-being. The focus is on how experiences and conditions for newly arrived young people's health and well-being are created through social – material and immaterial – practices and positionings. Therefore, I have used a qualitative, health-promoting, and explorative framework that emphasizes processes and enables analyses of the multifaceted and fragmentary in young people's experiences and positionings. The studies are thus a contribution to the growing but still understudied field within the Nordic context that focuses on the health and well-being of young people with migratory experiences based on their own narrating and their conditioned everyday life.

Methodological considerations

As introduced in the theory chapter, the ontological position in this dissertation is in line with a social constructionist¹² view. "Reality" is to be regarded as a human creation in interaction with a material environment, real in its consequences, but thus also possible to change through human actions. When it comes to the study of health, this ontological position can be translated into an understanding that the unequal living conditions that create health differences taking place globally as well as locally are created by people through political systems and structural conditions that are (re)produced through human actions in everyday life. My ontological position (as a white, middle-class, ethnic Swedish female scholar) impacted my access to the field, the questions I asked, the answers I received, and the knowledge I produced. Therefore, my epistemological product and claims are gendered and raced situated (Aledia

¹² Social constructionism, as the dissertation overall theoretical and methodological framework, is a broad orientation. However, according to Burr it can be described through some common philosophical assumptions such as: "a critical attitude towards obvious knowledge; historical and cultural specificity; a relation between knowledge and social processes and relation between knowledge and social action" (see Winther Jorgensen & Phillips, 1999, p.11-12). Following this, I believe that we can only reach "reality" through our ideas and agreements about it, through our perspectives. In other words, my research interest focuses on meaning making and cultural presuppositions that underlie certain constructions of reality (Börjesson, 2003).

2015; Farahani 2011; Farahani & Thapar- Björkert, 2018). In doing so, I attempt to think outside the duality of objectivity-relativism that is both ineffective, false, and harmful (Haraway, 1988). My epistemological position is to create knowledge on improving young people's opportunities for health and well-being. This is influenced by my interdisciplinary background, which provides me with the environment to explore ideas through the lens of various disciplines, approaches, and how to produce data. Standing with one leg in the health sciences and one in the cultural sciences (ethnology), I have been influenced by and negotiated different ways of looking at and producing knowledge. Methodologically, I have taken inspiration from the cultural and ethnological field, where the micro-context, everyday life, and the individual's experiences are essential while acknowledging that each story is rooted in and thus says something about society and societal conditions (Atkinson et al., 2001; Gray, 2003; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). An overall goal of knowledge is to question the habitual, the taken for granted to make visible the processes that lie behind, shape, and hinder young people's opportunities for well-being in everyday life. Overall, a critical approach inspires this work. In line with feminist and health-promoting methodologies that emphasize a bottom-up perspective (e.g., Liebenberg, 2018; Lykke, 2009; Dooris, 2009), I have chosen to turn to those the research concerns and with an anchorage in young people's everyday contexts. Thus, the entrances I have chosen, and the perspectives I thereby want to emphasize is to start in young people's everyday life, and to problematize everyday life as a material and symbolic place that forms conditions for young people's health and well-being.

How the researcher chooses her entrance to the research field reflects, in many ways, the perspectives the researcher wants to emphasize (Mulinari, 2007, p. 88). This investigation begins in the everyday lives of young people who are not qualified for upper secondary school and have a migratory background. As highlighted above, this is a group of young people whose experiences are mainly lacking in health research. Using qualitative methods enables an empirical understanding of young people's everyday lives. It gives insights into how they experience their situations while at the same time contributing knowledge about how living conditions, health, and inequality are created. Also, it offers the opportunity to study the "center" from a marginalized position.¹³ The specific knowledge goal is to explore and shed light on conditions that shape health and inequality and thereby contribute to improving the health and well-being of young people. To get close to young people's daily life, illuminate their

¹³ Against a background of previous research (highlighting both young people's experiences of exclusion and the organization of the school), the position "not qualified for upper secondary school" can be understood as a marginalized position (both based on young people's experiences of exclusion on these programs but also based on how they are placed separately at school). However, this does not mean that everyone who is not qualified for upper secondary school is marginalized.

perspectives, and problematize the conditions shaping these experiences and positionings, I have chosen to combine different qualitative methods and material categories that make this possible. Methods used are task-based interviews (Study I), photovoice (Study II), and ethnography (Study III and IV), including participating observation and interviews (Table I). Through these methods combined with the theoretical framework, I explore health and well-being as a “doing¹⁴” and as something that is experienced and lived.

My initial thought was to reflect on daily life as it unfolded and thus include a wide selection of young people and portray the varied group in the Language introduction program. This starting point has been important for contributing knowledge about the health-promoting aspects in relation to the many challenges and barriers that newly arrived youths face in everyday school life. In this way, I have been able to capture how the school can be a health-promoting environment within the classroom, as well as the many divisions and boundaries that are created between the group studying Language introduction and the group of young people who are described as regular students and “Swedish” youths. Also, divisions within the group in Language introduction based on nationality and ethnic origin were evident. At the same time, this broad selection group has entailed many challenges, not least in how I can portray the young people and their varying life situations fairly without, as a researcher, creating them as a homogenous group and thereby contributing to the stereotyping of “migrant” youth.

To recount the variations within the group and portray the diversity, I have combined methods and theories that make it possible to listen to the young people and take their voices as a point of departure as a central part of health promotion-work and empowerment (Spencer 2014). I, therefore, started with their experiences (Study I and II). Further, I have combined individual experiences with positioning and collective strategies because I believe it is a good way to highlight conditions and processes and critically examine how young people with a migratory background are treated as a group by school and society at large.

¹⁴ Cf., Saltonstall (1993) and West and Zimmerman (1987) theories about “doing gender.” See also, Wiklund (2010).

Table 1. Overview of studies and design.

Study	Aim	Participants	Methods	Analysis
I	To explore how young people in Sweden who neither work nor study perceive life experiences in relation to health and well-being	16 young people aged 16–20 who were unemployed at the time of interview were not eligible for upper secondary school or who had dropped out of school	Task-based interviews	Qualitative content analysis
II	To explore the ways by which young migrants visualize and voice health-related experiences and conditions	28 newly arrived young people aged 16–20	Photovoice	Thematic analysis
III	To examine how migrant positions are constituted, negotiated, and related to young people's well-being	Ten newly arrived young people aged 16–20	Ethnography: observation and interviews	Thematic analysis
IV	To explore social, spatial, and material conditions for maturing in newly arrived young migrants' everyday school lives	Ten newly arrived young people aged 16–20	Ethnography: observation and interviews	Thematic analysis

To study experience through dialogue

I have used dialogue, hence interviews, in all four studies to reach the participants' experiences. I have used multiple interview types: individual (Study I, III, and IV) and group (II). Study I used a task-based interview technique with a health promotion starting point. In Study II, photographs taken by the participants were used as the

primary tool through the photovoice methodology to create dialogue aiming to contribute to social change (Wang & Burris, 1997). During the ethnographic fieldwork (Study III and IV), semi-structured interviews and informal conversations were important for understanding young people's reasoning and negotiations. Experience explored through dialogue is thus a central entrance to knowledge in this dissertation but also a complex one. The main issue here is, what is experience and what kind of knowledge do we gain when we study experience? I will begin by saying something about my perspective on knowledge production to answer this question. In interviews, there is always a distance between what is experienced and what is told.¹⁵ Researchers have pointed to the "sources of error" that can occur at this distance. On the one hand, in the processing from event to experience concerning, for example, memory, on the other hand, in the specific situation surrounding the interview, the social, relational, and cultural circumstances (cf., Nilsson, 1999). Based on a constructivist approach, I see the knowledge created through the interview as socially and culturally acquired (Nilsson, 1999). Also, from a constructivist research claim, I am not looking to account for actual events (Lundgren, 2000, p. 19).¹⁶ I am interested in reality as understood by the participants, an understanding from which the participants act. The participants' ways of experiencing and making sense of their everyday reality are the basis for their understanding of health and ways of doing health. However, I have approached experiences from different horizons of understanding, and my way of exploring this has changed over time. I have moved towards a more critical research tradition and questions concerning how the migrant (position) is constituted, thus, to study the historical, cultural, and political contexts that shape the individual (c.f., Mulinari, 2007; Smith, 1987; Anthias, 2021).

Combining interviews with observation and photography

I have combined interviews with observation to study how positions are constituted and negotiated in relation to well-being (Study III) and how experience is created in encountering the material aspects of everyday life (Study IV). Observation enables, for example, the study of the movement of bodies in space (e.g., Lundgren, 2000) and the study of practices and moods where the researcher can use senses other than listening. This is information that the interview usually does not provide. Further, some researchers point out that interviews should be combined with other methods because of their possible unreliability (e.g., Kvale, 2007), as I described above. Without valuing the methods, I consider that they individually provide good opportunities

¹⁵ For example Nylund Skog (2002, p. 15) distinguishes between the Swedish words "upplevelse" and "erfarenhet" and believes that experiences are processed events. "Erfarenheter är således reflekterade och kommunicerade tolkningar av upplevelser."

¹⁶ Although Study I and II are closer to a description of the "content" of the experiences, analyzed through content analysis and thematic analysis, while I approach experience from a more critical and theoretical approach in Study III and IV.

to study young people's reasoning and negotiations (interview) and practices/actions (observation) (cf., Lundgren, 2000). However, observation and photography have provided a complementary understanding of the interview material and, thereby, an opportunity to strengthen the study's credibility through method triangulation (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

In my case, the combination of material categories has given a richer and more complex picture than relying on only one of them would have done. Had I not combined interviews with observations, I believe the school would have emerged as a more health-promoting and conflict-free arena. I acknowledge that there are reasons why young people who may find themselves in vulnerable situations, for example, refugee youths, might not reveal negative aspects about their life in Sweden, for instance, everyday racism. But perhaps, on the contrary, choose to emphasize a positive and grateful position (cf., e.g., Wernesjö, 2020). Hence, combining interviews with other methods such as observation can be valuable to capture the complexity of everyday life in more ways. For example, to grasp conflict-filled situations and letting young people reflect on their current situation. As Sharif (2017) points out, more studies have allowed newly arrived youths to reflect on their time rather than observe their present situation. Thus, through observations, I have captured situations and events that I have been able to follow up on in interviews, which we most likely would not have touched on in the interview otherwise. An example of such a situation was when a student upset left a teaching situation where the students watched a film showing the execution of women in Afghanistan. I have observed this type of complex, emotionally charged situations and interactions in everyday school life, and followed up in conversations with the students. These situations have given me an insight into the processes of inclusion and exclusion and the material and emotional dimensions of health. Through ethnographic fieldwork, I also had the opportunity to create relationships with the participants through prolonged engagement, making it easier to ask questions about their everyday reality (Christensen, 2004).

Furthermore, the photographs taken by the participants, and the dialogues about the pictures over time (the photovoice process), added another dimension. This type of material, the visual and emotional insights, has been central to understanding young people's space to negotiate their well-being in daily life. Further, it brought the analysis to places in the young people's everyday lives and exposed processes that I would not have had access to otherwise and had not come to ask about. For example, pictures of their living rooms and places they visit to grieve and recover, such as nature. This enabled a transfer from me as a researcher and the questions I thought were relevant to the participants as active actors. The combination of materials thus has been valuable in creating a more complex, varied, and sometimes contradictory

image. Finally, the entrances to the research field are both methodological and practical. After this description of the methodological entrances and considerations underlying the choice of methods, I will move on to the practical entries to the study field(s).

Accessing the study field and participants

The qualitative methods used in this dissertation are social, and relationship building is a significant part of the practical implementation. Besides the methodological entrances to the field, as elaborated above, accessing the study field includes meetings with participants and “gate openers” (Nilsson Folke, 2017) involving matters of ethics and trust. This part accounts for the practical access to the field and recruitment of participants. However, before describing my entry into the field, I will briefly describe the field of study.

As mentioned, the studies (I–IV) are situated at an upper secondary school in a municipality in the north of Sweden. The physical location of the data collection is a large (relative to other Swedish schools) upper secondary school. Divided into different buildings, a total of almost 2500 students attend. Of these, about 70 were newly arrived students in 2017, when the ethnographic fieldwork took place. In the academic year 2017, when the ethnographic fieldwork was carried out, around 15% of the students at the school had a foreign background (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2022). Then the newly arrived students are included. The geographical location for the studies has been the same throughout this dissertation. However, the school as a place that shapes young people’s health has changed. So have also the composition of students. The first two studies conducted in 2014 and 2016 showed an even gender distribution among young students in language introduction. In 2017, significantly more were unaccompanied minors without residence permits. More were males from war-torn areas.

The study (I–IV) participants attended a Language introduction in different cohorts. In total, they were 46 newly arrived students, 16–20 years old, males and females from Afghanistan, Syria, Somalia, Ethiopia, Burundi, Thailand, Turkmenistan, Palestine, Kosovo, and Greece. Some were unaccompanied refugees, and others had come with their families. Some had already received residence permits, were living with family and had a temporary work permit, while others were in the process of seeking asylum. They come from different socioeconomic backgrounds and with varying school experiences. A purposeful selection strategy (Patton, 2015) was used to capture a variation in perspectives reflecting the young people’s different life situations regarding gender and nationality, whether they were unaccompanied minors or

living with family and residence status. The recruitment of participants has taken place in close collaboration with the school, which I describe in more detail below.

Before Study I, I contacted the municipality where the study took place. I was directed to three national or community-based initiatives responsible for unemployed young people who were not eligible for upper secondary school or who had dropped out of school,¹⁷ which was the inclusion criterion for participating in the study (I). One of the initiatives was a Language introduction. The research project was anchored within the municipality, with the principal at the school and later with the teachers, and I experienced support and interest in the project. I established relationships with the teachers in this program, especially one person whom I will henceforth refer to as my contact person. In addition to his role as a teacher, he was responsible for the teaching team and had a close relationship with the principal. The teachers, and especially my contact person, became “gate openers” (Nilsson Folke, 2017) for me, and over time, I gained increased physical and social access to the school’s premises.

In the first study where I conducted interviews, I was given a room at the school to conduct the interviews, and I came to the school at the time of the interviews. For the second data collection, the photovoice project, I spent time at the school throughout the project, which lasted for three months. Also, before the project started, I spent time at the school getting to know the students, the school, and the teachers, which is an integral part of the photovoice method in the preparation phase (Study II). Therefore, when it was time for the third data collection, the ethnographic fieldwork, I was well acquainted with the school and the staff. There were also students from the previous data collections who recognized me and knew students in the classes I now came to visit. These students whom I knew from before also became a form of gate opener for my access to the participants in studies III and IV. During the last data collection, I occupied a position where I could move freely at school and had access to spaces that were both “coded” as teachers’ spaces, such as staff offices and coffee rooms, as well as student areas such as certain rest areas, lunch restaurants, and the student café.

In Study I, the teachers selected and asked the students if they wanted to participate in the interview study. Participants in Study I consisted of 16 young people aged 16–

¹⁷ In Sweden, the municipalities have an activity responsibility for young people under 20 years of age (Kommunala Aktivitetsansvaret: KAA). This means that “the municipalities are obliged to pay attention to and offer interventions to young people under the age of 20 who are not studying in upper secondary school or completing any equivalent education” (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2022).

20. Eight were born in Sweden, and eight had immigrated to Sweden in the past couple of years, of which five were males, and three were females.¹⁸ They came from Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, Somalia, Greece, Thailand, and Burundi. As explained in Study I, the youths came to Sweden for different reasons such as fleeing from war alone or with parts of or the whole family, moving with one or two parents who either started to work in Sweden or had a partner in Sweden. They had different backgrounds: some had never been in school, while others had been in school for 16 years in their countries of origin. Furthermore, as explained in Study I, the social backgrounds of the participants differed. The socioeconomic status of young people is often defined by their parent's position in the labor market, education status, or income (Currie, 2012). However, the participant's descriptions of the socioeconomic background of their parents varied (e.g., unemployed, low-income jobs, and high-income jobs). Several participants did not live with their parents and had no contact with them. An important aspect to consider here is the role of the school in recruiting participants. There is a risk that the teachers in Study I chose participants who would give a positive image of the school and that they chose participants who were less vulnerable and would thereby experience the interview as less stressful (cf., e.g., Hagström, 2018). From an ethical point of view, this may be positive simultaneously as it may leave out individuals and a critical perspective. By carrying out studies with three different study groups and combining interviews with other methods, I believe that I have nevertheless received a variation in the material that can compensate for this selection.

Before the photovoice project (Study II), I communicated with my contact person at the Language introduction in the community. After the principal and teachers at Language introduction agreed to collaborate on the study, the students in one introductory language course were invited to participate. All 28 enrolled young people agreed to participate in the study. Participants in Study II included 28 newly arrived young people aged 16 to 20 years, 14 were males, and 14 were females. Some youths came together with their families; some were unaccompanied refugee youths from Afghanistan, Syria, Somalia, Thailand, and Palestine. A limitation of the studies concerning participants and selection is that information and background facts about the participants vary within and between the studies. The information I collected about the participants, in terms of residence status, socioeconomic background, home conditions, etcetera, was what they chose to tell me during individual interviews. Since I only conducted group interviews in Study II, I only have information about these participants at the group level.

¹⁸ The comprehensive summary (kappan) mainly focuses on the newly arrived youths' perspectives. The eight participants born in Sweden are not counted as participants in the comprehensive summary. However, all participants' perspectives are included in the published article (Study I).

Finally, before the ethnographic fieldwork (Study III and IV), I attended a staff meeting and introduced myself to the teachers' college. During my first week at school, I was also introduced to the other staff I encountered as school nurses, school cures, library staff, and mother tongue teachers. Furthermore, I introduced myself to all four classes that were on Language introduction so that everyone would be aware of my presence. At the time of the study, 73 newly arrived students were enrolled in the Language introduction. After that, I came to follow a group that had progressed further in Swedish. In communication with the teachers, the students were asked if they wanted to participate in the study. All ten enrolled young people agreed to participate in the study. Study III and IV's participants were 16–20 years old, seven males and three females from Afghanistan, Syria, Kosovo, Somalia, and Ethiopia. Seven were unaccompanied refugees, and three had come with their families. Four stated they had already received residence permits, one living with family had a temporary work permit, and two indicated that they were in the process of seeking asylum. They come from different socioeconomic backgrounds and with varying school experiences. The ten young people are counted as the main participants, and I had the opportunity to interview them and follow up on their informal conversations regularly. I will now go on to describe the production of data.

Data production

The empirical material¹⁹ was created through three independent data collections with three different student groups, as introduced above. The data collection took place in the spring of 2014 (Study I), between February and April 2016 (Study II), and between April and June 2017 (studies III & IV).

Task-based interviews (Study I)

A qualitative and health-promoting design was used in Study I comprising qualitative task-based interviews focusing on the health and well-being of young people. The advantages of health-promoting or a strength-based approach – in addition to a pathogenic perspective that focuses on risk and ill health – are that they emphasize health

¹⁹ In total, the material consists of 18 individual interviews (Study I, III & IV), task-based materials including the timelines (Study I), four recorded focus group discussions, 86 pictures with accompanying descriptions made by the participants individually, four PowerPoint presentations representing what the four groups in the photovoice study considered to best represent the “What is important for me/us to feel well?” question, and the authors' notes from the final presentation (Study II), and over a 100 A4 pages of field notes from observations and informal conversations (Study III & IV). The 18 interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. Informal conversations were recorded as field notes (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

and well-being *opportunities* (Eriksson & Lindström 2008). As mentioned above, since there is a lack of studies where young people, and especially young people who are not eligible for upper secondary school (including newly arrived young people), have been given opportunities to reflect on their lives and means of action based on a constructive platform, these studies can contribute to further development of health promotion practice and theory.

Using a task-based interview technique (cf. Conolly, 2008), the participants were invited to describe their life broadly and reflect on their health and well-being situations. The interview questions focused on their everyday experiences. Participants were encouraged to narrate their upbringing and describe their daily lives today. I followed up on their stories and asked them to describe significant life events and reflect on these events about health and well-being. All participants were invited to perform task-based activities, which included completing a timeline with two questions: “Events in life that have made me feel well” (past) and “future events that would make me feel well” (future). To enrich the data, the participants’ written and oral reflections were followed up with questions like “How did this make you feel?” and “Can you tell me more about?” All participants chose to interact with the timeline exercise in different ways. Fourteen youths drew a timeline and highlighted events, one drew a picture, and one decided to only respond to the questions. Finally, all participants were asked to finish the following sentences (cf., Conolly (2008): When I’m with my friends we spend our time. . . When I’m at home, I feel . . . When I finish this program. . . When I think of the future . . . I feel important when . . . It is meaningful to me. . . (see Study I). Each participant was interviewed individually, and the interviews lasted between 22 and 77 min. The average interview time was 47 min.

Photovoice (Study II)

Photovoice, a participatory research method well-suited for youth participation (Wang, 2006), was used in Study II²⁰. According to Wang and Burris (1997, p. 370) the primary intention of photovoice is “to enable people to record and reflect their community’s strengths and concerns, to promote critical dialogue and knowledge about important community issues through large and small group discussion of photographs, and to reach policymakers.” Photovoice has its theoretical roots in critical pedagogy, feminist theory, and community photography (Wang & Burris, 1997). The method was developed to advocate social change and has been used to improve youth participation in issues concerning their health (Mmari et al., 2014; Vélez-Grau, 2018;

²⁰ The method and the photovoice procedure are extensively described and discussed in the published article (Study II). I will therefore give a shorter description of the method and the implementation of the method here.

Warne, 2013). Through photovoice, young people are allowed to document and discuss their lives via photography (Wang & Burris, 1997). According to Green and Kloos (2009, p. 462), photovoice is a method that enables a group “to gain ‘access to and control over’ the creation of their individual and collective narratives.” Using an arts-informed research method can also offer alternative forms of communication for participants facing communication barriers (Guruge et al., 2015). In this study, I combined health promotion as a framework with the photovoice methodology. According to Guruge et al. (2015), using a strength-based approach focusing on ways to promote health may add new perspectives to previous studies focusing on poor health among immigrant youths.

The Photovoice Procedure

The young people were invited to participate in several processes (Wang & Burris, 1997): (a) document and portray their everyday lives through picture taking, (b) discuss the pictures, and (c) present their views on health for the adults present in their everyday life, which are essential for improving young migrants’ health conditions. The photovoice process started with an introduction followed by a photography session, three workshops, and a final presentation of the participants’ work with the pictures (cf., Warne 2012, 2013). In total, the project consisted of five meetings that occurred over a month. As mentioned, before the project started, I spent time in the classroom getting to know the students. This gave me information allowing me to adapt the method to this group—for example, awareness of their language skills and the group dynamics. Based on the interactions and discussions with the students and the school staff, we decided to use Swedish during the project as Swedish was the common language among the participants. The time spent at the school at the beginning of the project enabled me to form relationships with the students and the school staff, which is a prerequisite for accomplishing a photovoice project (Liebenberg, 2018). During the introductory session, the participants were introduced to the research question. To capture their well-being in everyday life, the participants were invited to use their cell phones to take pictures at home, in their spare time, and in school for over one week. I asked the young people to answer the following question by taking pictures: “What is important for me to feel well (cf., Warne et al., 2012)?” The research question was open without a predefinition of health to allow the participants to visualize and voice their health-related experiences and conditions (Spencer, 2014).

Based on Freire’s work, the SHOWeD technique (Shaffer, 1983) was used as a framework to promote critical conversations with the participants (Catalani & Minkler, 2010). The SHOWeD questions were modified for clarity to fit the group. Therefore, I posed the following questions to the young people in the group discussions: (a) What does the picture show? (b) What does the picture signify to me/us? (c) What do

these pictures have to do with our lives? and (d) Can we identify similarities or group pictures together? During the first workshop, “My Five Pictures,” the participants were asked to select five pictures and write a text corresponding to at least two of them, guided by two questions: (a) What does the picture show? and (b) What does the picture signify to me? They were asked to upload their photographs into an IT-learning system used by the school. The teacher led this workshop in collaboration with an IT developer working in the municipality. During the second workshop, the young people discussed each of their five selected photos within their peer groups one week after the first workshop. First, the participants continued in their peer groups, with the first author as a facilitator leading the discussion. The focus group sessions were digitally recorded. This workshop was mainly guided by the following questions: (a) What does the picture show? (b) What does the picture signify to me/to us? (c) What do these pictures have to do with our lives? and (d) Can we identify similarities or group pictures together? During the third workshop, the participants continued the discussions in their peer groups. They were asked to prepare a presentation by picking three pictures that best represented the question (Mitchell, 2011): What is important for me/us to feel well? Altogether, the interpretations and discussions concerning the pictures were both written and oral, and the participants were allowed to reflect individually and collectively, which enabled all voices to be heard and reduced the risk of one participant dominating the group discussion.

The final presentation was held for the vice headmaster of the school, two of the school nurses, a couple of the students’ teachers from the school, me as a Ph.D. student, and a professor from the Department of Health Sciences at the local university. During the final presentations, the participants were allowed to present their thoughts collectively in groups and individually (if they wanted to). The presentations’ discussions centered on ways to promote health and how to make a positive change within the thematic areas chosen by the participants. Moreover, the presentation aimed to deepen the understanding of health conditions among young people. This understanding was obtained by the researchers asking questions relating to the students’ presented content, for example, “what can you do to feel this way more often?” or “what makes you able to do things that make you feel good?” The conversations were recorded as field notes.

Ethnography (Study III and IV)

I used an ethnographic approach in Study III and IV, including participant observations, qualitative semi-structured interviews, and more informal conversations (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). As described by Hammersley and Atkinson (1995, p. 1), “the ethnographer participating ... in people’s daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions – in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus

of the research. “Hence, the characteristic of ethnographic research is the close relationship to the participants and the creation of data in symbiosis with the theory that goes throughout the research process with a reflexive view from the researcher. Ethnographers construct their data and the descriptions of the social world rather than “simply mirroring reality” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995, p. 239).

I spent 20 entire school days on-site, generating rich material between April and June 2017. The investigation started with the broader purpose of understanding what well-being signifies for young people, what they do to achieve well-being in daily life, and how they manage ill-being. The observations were mainly done during lessons. In addition to the classroom context, I spent time with the students on breaks and lunches. At one time, I visited a home for unaccompanied refugee youth, where some participants lived. Also, I participated in excursions with the students, including an outdoor day, a visit to (as the teachers and students described) a Swedish lower secondary school class, and a visit to the local cinema where the film “Prison Sisters” was shown. These occasions allowed me to observe the students’ place in and outside the school in relation to other students in the school and the municipality.

The first week I spent orienting myself at school, understanding how the activities were organized, and getting to know the students. The degree of participation in the observations varied. I became more and more involved in the daily work of the school. The teachers often asked if I could help the students with their schoolwork. In relation to the students, I was assigned various positions; adult support, teacher, and a “Swedish person” were among the usual. Initially, the students thought I was there to study to be a teacher. Therefore, I was careful to repeat my role as a researcher, especially before interviews and individual conversations, and that I would not return after the fieldwork ended.

The field notes from the observations were handwritten and recorded with the following designations (cf. Merriam, 2009): (P) the physical setting and participants. (A) activities, interactions, and conversations: descriptions of “what happens;” (R) reflections: notes about how I reacted to and reflected on events and what emotions they evoked in me. In the field notes, a distinction was made between the “concrete” and the “emotional” record (cf. Mauthner, 2002). The concrete record refers to the physical environment and descriptions of what is happening. I described situations where the “mood in the room” changed in the emotional record and tried to capture the students’ emotional expressions. This record has been used to reflect on ethical aspects and my role as a researcher concerning the participants.

At first, the observations were more explorative, but they became more attentive as I got to know the field and the participants. I focused on how the young people moved

in school, “in the room,” how they interacted with others, and the physical environment. I observed how social, material, and spatial boundaries arose in everyday life. For example, I observed how symbolic “boundaries” were drawn between “Swedes” and young people from “other countries” and how the material affected and reinforced these. I also observed how the room was designed, what was on the walls, what resources were available, such as literature, and for whom. During fieldwork on-site, the recurring difference-creating processes and migrant positions became more and more pronounced as processes that formed a large part of the young people’s navigation in everyday school life. Thus, the focus narrowed to how the young people negotiated their well-being in relation to how they were positioned as migrants and on how “boundaries” were drawn between “Swedes” and young people from “other countries.” I studied how “Sweden” and other countries were presented and how the young people reacted to these representations. I also observed how (ill) health was handled, addressed, and linked to migrant positions.

In addition to the observations, all participants partook in one semi-structured interview that lasted, on average, 40 min. The interviews were held in Swedish and took place individually within the school. Several more informal conversations followed the interviews in daily school life. The informal conversations were recorded as field notes (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), whereas the interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. The interviews included questions about how the young people experienced life in and out of school and how they experienced their well-being. They also served as a follow-up on situations and social practices; participants’ reasoning about different situations also deepened the observational material. The interviews and the informal conversations provided an opportunity to follow up on conditions during the day and capture the participants’ reflections. It also allowed me to follow up if I had interpreted situations the way the participants experienced them. Overall, the interviews aimed to understand how young people viewed and negotiated their well-being and space for health in an everyday context. Questions were asked to all participants about how they experienced their life at school and outside and how they experienced their well-being today. I was sensitive to whether they wanted to talk about their past because this varied among the young people. For example, some were very secretive about the relationship with the family that they may have left and broken contact with. However, questions also involved how they grew up and looked at their future. Overall, this contributed to understanding how the participants experienced and negotiated the newcomer position concerning their well-being. In the next section, I will discuss how the material from all data collections has been analyzed.

Analysis and trustworthiness

In this part, besides describing how the data has been analyzed, I will also explain how I have worked to establish trustworthiness during the research process, focusing on the analysis procedure.

I used multiple methods to analyze and interpret the data. In study I, I used a qualitative content analysis with an inductive approach²¹ (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). In contrast, the subsequent studies (II, III, and IV) are characterized by an abductive approach, hence a theory-empire-driven method (Kennedy, 2018). In the studies II, III, and IV, I used thematic analysis for the practical work of the analysis while using different theoretical frameworks in the various studies to interpret the data. Overall, the studies have been characterized by an exploratory approach. In the later studies, I used knowledge and experience from the previous studies to build on and adopt a different approach based on what I saw as shortcomings or inadequacies with the first studies. Below I describe how the practical work with the analyzes has been done in each study. I conclude the section with a description of how I have worked on an overall level, throughout the dissertation to strive to meet the principles of trustworthiness.

Analysis Study I

Study I was analyzed with a qualitative content analysis with an inductive approach following Graneheim and Lundman (2004). The analyzing process started with me listening to the recorded interviews and transcribing them verbatim. All authors in Study I read the transcribed interview texts to obtain an initial sense of the data, followed by a discussion between us based on questions, such as: What are the young people describing? What feelings are the young people expressing to let us know what the experiences are like for them? What are the young people telling us about their lives? How can we understand their described feelings and experiences concerning health and well-being (Kostenius, 2008)? After the initial reading and discussion, I coded each interview with the support of the NVivo program. At first, the analysis was close to the text and dealt with the more “visible, obvious components,” referred to as manifest content (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004, p. 106). The three authors discussed the codes and preliminary themes on several occasions. The next step of the analysis was characterized by a more latent analysis and dealt with the “relationship aspect and ... interpretation of the underlying meaning of the text” (Graneheim &

²¹Although I believe that “all interpretations are products of a theorizing view” (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 62).

Lundman, 2004, p. 106). Representative and illustrative quotations from the data material were chosen to exemplify the themes and enhance the study's credibility (Polit & Beck, 2004).

Analysis Study II

The data generated through the photovoice procedure were analyzed using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) with an abductive approach. In this study, the analysis fluctuated between induction and deduction and in relation to the participants' work with the pictures over time. The theoretical framework underpinning photovoice, its roots in critical pedagogy, feminist theory, and community photography (Wang & Burris, 1997) constituted a more comprehensive framework through which I entered the study. Furthermore, this framework, combined with a health-promoting approach, formed the focus of my starting points. Also, during the work with the analysis, I turned to the migration research field to understand participants' migration experiences and how these experiences influenced their way of conceptualizing health and well-being experiences. Drawing on the photovoice method, the participants were a part of the analysis as they were involved in selecting pictures and contextualizing the data (Wang & Burris, 1997). Leaving the study field, the practical work of the analysis continued between the three authors in Study II with the six phases of a thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, (2006, p. 87). Phase 1 consisted of familiarizing yourself with your data. I initiated the process of analysis by transcribing the focus group sessions and gathering all the empirical data in a document. I read the data document several times and noted initial ideas. All the authors read the data document to obtain an initial sense of the data, followed by a discussion. Phase 2 consisted of generating initial codes. In this phase, I condensed and labeled the text. Codes, for example, "Having someone to talk to" and "Feeling important to others," formed an understanding of the importance of relationships that the participating young people needed to feel well and thus formed the theme: "Building on health-inducing relationships." Phases 3 to 5, "forming themes," consist of searching for themes, reviewing themes, and defining and naming themes, respectively. The themes were created, understood, and expanded upon by all authors in relation to previous findings. In the sixth and last phase, producing the report, I returned to the research question, reading literature and re-reading the data. Hence, the analysis was not linear, and reading previous findings and theories regarding examples of migration and time initiated a new reading of the findings and new pattern development. The three authors discussed the codes and preliminary themes several times before obtaining the findings. To ensure the analysis's quality and the study's credibility, the discussions continued until a consensus was reached (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992). To further enhance the study's credibility, I revisited the young people participating in the study to discuss the preliminary findings, described by Lincoln and Guba

(1985) as a “member checking” (Nowell et al., 2017, p. 3). The participants confirmed the preliminary findings, and no data were added. In addition, the article was “peer debriefed” in discussions with senior researchers and Ph.D. candidates in an open seminar that “provided an external check on the research process” (Nowell et al., 2017, p. 3). This discussion took place within the Department of Health Sciences.

Analysis Study III

The analysis was characterized by an abductive approach (Kennedy, 2018); hence, an ongoing analysis process accompanied the data collection and involved a movement between theory and data (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). In Study III, a translocational framework was used, and the concept of translocational positionality (Anthias, 2008) was an important analytical input.

In line with an ethnographic approach, the analysis started in the initial stage (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), even before the fieldwork began. Questions developed through the previous studies and patterns that were interesting to study formed a first analytical starting point. Hence, knowledge of earlier studies and my familiarity with the school was used as a starting point and directed my focus/analysis at an early stage. However, during the fieldwork, other issues and patterns developed. For example, questions about how materiality influences health (Study IV), became more important than what I had initially intended to study. This way, the analysis has been part of the whole process through an ongoing interplay between empirical material and theory. Overall, the analysis method can be described as abductive (Alvesson, & Sköldböck, 2008; Kennedy, 2018).

The practical work with the thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87) was done as follows. Phase 1, familiarizing yourself with your data, started already on site. Almost daily, the field notes were rewritten, compiled into a weekly field report, and shared with the third author in Study III. We discussed the material regularly during the fieldwork. This communication allowed me to see the material from other angles, further enabling a fluctuation between closeness and distance to the data and creating an analytical sharpness. This way, the data was processed, leading to more focused analyses of certain aspects, and the field narrowed (cf. Merriam, 2009, p. 171). The analysis intensified further after leaving the site. I transcribed the interviews and read them vertically and horizontally. The field notes were read in parallel to contextualize the interviews. In phase 2, I generated initial codes and compared patterns and individual nuances, i.e., focusing on one participant at a time and patterns across participants. The textual coding showed categories such as “wanting to fit in,” “feeling misunderstood,” and “feeling divided.” As much consideration was given to consistent statements and practices as to discrepancies in the various material categories (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 184). Through the Phases 3 to 5,

searching for themes, reviewing themes, and defining and naming themes, positionings were done. The themes were discussed, critically examined, and expanded upon by all authors in relation to previous findings. In this communication among the three authors, possible interpretations were tested and, thus, empirically validated (Merriam, 2009). In the last (sixth) phase, *producing the report*, I revisited the research questions, read the literature, and re-read the data. The description of the analytic procedure may look like a linear process. Still, it involved back-and-forth analysis between different parts and the whole proceeding using a cyclical movement between the categorized empirical data and analytical concepts derived from the theoretical perspective informing the article. The discussion of the analysis was ongoing between the three authors until a consensus was reached to ensure the quality of the analysis (Patton, 2015). In addition, initial thoughts and analyses were discussed with participants and school staff. However, the final results were not discussed with participants, which can be considered a shortcoming. Another limitation is that even though I talked to many students who reflected on their life situations, I did not have the opportunity to interview individuals from all nations represented in the Language introduction. An advantage of the material is that it comprised information on different lessons with different teachers and locations, enabling the study of varied positionings.

Analysis Study IV

The analysis in Study IV followed the same steps in a thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87) as described above for Study III. Hence, the analysis procedure for Study IV is similar to the procedure for Study III since the data was created simultaneously. However, the analysis in Study IV focuses on other parts of the empirical material and has an additional theoretical input. In this study, the concept of mattering and orientation (see above) formed the study's theoretical framework. I mainly conducted the analysis but discussed it with the three other authors in Study IV throughout the analytic phases. Also, I used the emotional record to a greater extent in Study IV. The emotional record provided material to analyze situations where the young people expressed, or when I observed, that they felt comfortable and uncomfortable, *in or out of line*. Furthermore, it has been beneficial to make visible and reflect on how my positioning may have affected the participants. Thus, the young people's narratives are understood as constructed concerning my presence and influence through my different (attributed and self-ascribed) positions such as "Swedish," "woman," and "a representative of a university" (cf. Wernesjö, 2020).

Establishing trustworthiness

Several strategies can be used during the process, and how this is described to increase the credibility of a qualitative research project. During this part of the method chapter, I will explain how I have worked on an overall level, that is, in all studies

throughout the research process, to strive to reach the trustworthiness criteria (Nowell et al., 2017; Braun & Clarke, 2006; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). To strive for trustworthiness, the following strategies have been used (Nowell et al., 2017, p. 4 ff.). The first phase of analysis is about getting to know your data or “familiarizing yourself with your data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In the methods I have worked with, such as ethnographic fieldwork, this phase starts early and lasts throughout the research process. Hence, in qualitative ethnographic studies, data production/fieldwork and analysis often take place in symbiosis. This phase has included *prolonged engagement with data* and *participants*, and I have *triangulated different data collection methods*. This, as described above, has allowed me to illuminate the study object from multiple angles. Also, it has made it possible to identify similarities and discrepancies in the material. Further, during this phase, I have *documented theoretical and reflective thoughts* and *thoughts about potential codes/themes*. I have *store(d) raw data in well-organized archives* and *keep(t) records of all data field notes, transcripts, and reflexive journals*.” This structure has enabled me to go back to the material easily, thereby fluctuating between parts of the material and the whole.

In the analysis phases, including generating codes and themes *researcher triangulation* and *peer debriefing* have been used. I want to emphasize the importance of the research environments I have been in and the research team I have worked within. My interdisciplinary background has provided me with the environment to explore ideas through the lens of various disciplines, approaches, and how to produce data. Standing with one leg in the field of health sciences and one in the cultural sciences, I have been influenced by and negotiated different ways of looking at and producing knowledge.²² I have used my experience of conducting fieldwork with my background as an ethnologist, and my experience in school where I, for example, have worked with supporting young people as a special education teacher and I have conducted a project on mother tongue teaching. Also, I have used my experience as a teacher in health sciences at the university. Apart from the benefits, this has also been a challenge. Furthermore, in all articles, I have collaborated with experienced researchers with a solid knowledge of qualitative methods, conducting ethnographic fieldwork and doing multiple variants of qualitative analysis. Peer debriefing has taken place within the different disciplines of Health sciences and Ethnology, which has enabled dialogue and critical scrutiny from different scientific disciplines. In work with the analysis, I have *documented our meetings* and *keep(t) detailed notes*

²² In the first half of my doctoral studies, I was employed within the field of Health Sciences at the Luleå University of Technology. The other half was in the field of Health and lifestyle at Halmstad University. Also, I have been a visiting doctoral student at the Department of Ethnology, History of Religions and Gender Studies at Stockholm University.

about (the) development and hierarchies of concepts and themes. Themes and sub-themes (have been) vetted by team members and test(ed) for referential adequacy by returning to raw data, and we have reached a team consensus on themes.

Finally, when *producing the report*, my ambition has been to describe the various stages of the research, from start to final report, as clearly and transparently as possible to enable the reader to assess its quality and transferability to other contexts (cf. Merriam). This phase has also included *member checking, peer debriefing, thick descriptions of context, and report(s) on reasons for theoretical, methodological, and analytical choices throughout the entire study.*

Ethical considerations

Studies I–IV were conducted with the approval of the Research Ethics Committee in Umeå, Sweden (Dnr. 2013–462-31Ö; Dnr. 2021-01389). When planning and conducting the studies, I used the Swedish Research Council’s research ethics principles and guidelines in humanities and social science research. Also, I have considered the main requirements and other guidelines in the publication “Good research practice” (Swedish Research Council, 2011). Guided by these principles, I have considered the following aspects and procedures. Before agreeing to participate in the studies, all participants received written and oral information about the study’s aim in Swedish. Written consent was obtained from participants before the study began. They had the opportunity to ask questions to clarify potential uncertainties about the research and their participation. They were also notified that their participation was voluntary, that they could cancel without explanation at any time, and that they would not be identified in the written and published text. In studies III and IV, the young people were told that field notes from the observations would be recorded so that individuals could not be identified, and pseudonyms would be used.

Interviews can be emotional experiences; thus, the participants were offered contact information to a social worker if they wanted to talk further about anything that surfaced during the interview. As reflected on and described in Study I, when interviewing children and young people, it is essential to provide real opportunities for them to say no, especially if parents or another significant adult has already agreed to the young person’s participation (Coyne, 2010). In this case, the staff at the school where the young people were recruited was part of saying yes to the study. Therefore, I was extra sensitive to (dis)interest signals in continuing their participation (cf., Mahon et al., 1996). For that reason, by consensus, we ended an interview earlier when one of the participants expressed that he was tired. That interview lasted only 22 min. To

feel safe, the interviews were conducted in the young peoples' everyday environments, such as the school and the living room of the accommodation for unaccompanied refugee youths (Morrow & Richards, 1996). The participants were asked what language they would like to communicate in. All of them were comfortable speaking Swedish, so all interviews were in Swedish. Many participants expressed that they preferred to speak Swedish as they saw it as a learning opportunity. However, language differences required me to pay more attention to the fact that the students understood their participation in the research study. Student understanding was achieved by repeating the purpose of the research and the conditions for their participation. To allow the participants to reflect on their participation and ensure that the data captured the young people's perspective, the interviews ended with questions probing if they wanted to add, withdraw, or highlight any issue (Sand et al., 2015).

Regarding the photovoice project (Study II), as it took place during the school day at the upper secondary school, the participants were informed that they could participate in the project but not in the research if they wished. Hence, the participants decided whether or not their pictures could be used in the study, whether they wanted to participate in recorded discussions, and whether they wanted to participate in the final presentation. I observed the participants' interests and was careful to ensure that the students would not feel compelled to participate. During the ethnographic fieldwork (Study III and IV), I tried to be sensitive to how the youths perceived my participation in the school and how it influenced the creation of the material, which I will return to during the reflexive discussion below.

Finally, in addition to accessing the field and participants as an essential part of the qualitative methods used, not least ethnography, leaving the field is an ethical aspect to consider. Throughout the implementation of the studies and concerning the participants, I have been careful to be transparent and clear with my role as a researcher, what my role entails, and when I will leave the field. Some participants asked to be my friend on various social media, but I was clear that I would meet them for a while and then end my attendance at school. I retain their contact details as long as the research is in progress, and then this information is destroyed. However, they received my contact information and were encouraged to contact me with questions and thoughts about their participation in the research. I have tried to handle what the participants have told me confidently, reflecting on how I reproduce their stories and what to do with some sensitive information I have received. People linked to the project are competent in addressing personal issues, and I have referred the participants to these people. Thus, when sensitive information has come to me, I have assured the young people have other people to turn to. Furthermore, I have experienced expectations from participants that I should promote their well-being, "help them feel better." Some have given feedback that talking to me has helped them sort out their

thoughts to understand things in a better way. Some expressed that they were not used to being asked how they feel, but reflecting on their well-being and how to enhance it is valuable. Others, I have left with a sense of unincorporated expectations to help them feel better. I believe these are ethical issues to consider further regarding these types of social methods and health issues. Where does the researcher's responsibility end, and how can we work with methods that give the participants something back? Not only in the long term but also for those who choose to participate in the studies.

Discussion of findings and a critical “turning back”

In this chapter, the main findings are analyzed and discussed and form a comprehensive understanding of the studies’ joint contributions. The analysis is divided into three parts. The first part discusses the young peoples’ health experiences as relationally, spatially, and temporally situated, thus illuminating the social and cultural processes and conditions shaping these experiences. The second part discusses the young people’s everyday navigation, focusing on their positioned strategies for handling attributed migrant positions and striving for well-being. The third part discusses conditions for mattering in material reality. The first part is based mainly on Study I and II findings, and the second and third are based primarily on Study III and IV findings, respectively. However, overlapping findings from all studies are discussed in all parts and summarized in the concluding chapter. Finally, the last part critically discusses the findings through a reflexive “turning back” on the knowledge process.

Situated health experiences

In the young people’s narrated and visualized experiences and perceptions of health and well-being, an oscillation between past, present, and future experiences was current. To feel well in their everyday life, the participating young people struggled to obtain a balance between past experiences and future hopes and dreams. Based on their narrations and visual representations, this section analyzes how the participating young people experience and create meaning for health and well-being. Their experiences are understood as relationally, spatially, and temporally situated. The discussion emphasizes how these experiences are shaped by social and cultural processes focusing on temporal, spatial, relational, and existential dimensions of health.

Meanings of health-inducing relationships and health-promoting places for young people’s health and well-being

The overall findings from studies I and II show the importance of health-inducing relationships and caring connections, closeness to others, and opportunities for social support for how the young people described and understood their well-being and

ways to promote it. Based on the young people's narrated experiences, a health-inducing relationship can be understood as a relationship that contributes to young people's well-being and contains components of trust, appreciation, recognition, and care. The importance of social relationships for health is well established in research (e.g., Alegria et al., 2017; Umberson & Karas Montez, 2010; Diderichsen et al., 2001). In line with previous research, these findings point to the significance of the social dimensions of health, where relationship-building and social networks are highlighted as a central part of health and promoting health (e.g., Green et al., 2015). Meaningful relationships or connectedness, which also includes a feeling of being cared about by others, is an integral component of adolescent health and well-being (Sieving et al., 2017). Social networks have been highlighted as necessary for migrants, especially young migrants, to establish themselves in a new society (Eriksson et al., 2019; Plüss, 2013).

Unlike previous studies focusing on young migrants' lack of close relationships and separation from significant others (e.g., Montgomery, 2008), the findings from studies I and II highlight how the young people were active in their search for relationships and connectedness. In this way, studies I and II contribute to previous studies on the importance of social relations for well-being as they look at how young people actively create relationships and their experiences of them.²³ The young people highlighted relationships with teachers and other school staff, such as school nurses, counselors, and voluntary workers, and relationships with peers as particularly significant. This is in line with more recent research that emphasizes the importance of school as a positive environment for young newcomers' health through how the school can counteract difficult migration experiences and contribute to young people's settlement (McMullen et al., 2020).

The young people in studies I and II also highlighted the importance of transnational relationships, where they kept in touch with family, parents, and siblings in other countries in various ways. However, Study I and II findings also revealed the opposite: some unaccompanied young people described how they lost or broken contact with family, which they handled differently. Some explained how they isolated themselves and kept a diary to deal with their feelings and for fear of sharing their feelings and thoughts with others. This confirms previous research underscoring how separation from established networks such as family and friends may cause feelings of social isolation and can be harmful to young migrants' mental health (Pastoor, 2015; Vervliet et al., 2014; Montgomery, 2008). It also confirms the importance of close social relationships for young people's health and well-being. Others described how

²³ Something that, for example, Hombrados-Mendieta et al. (2019) believe that more studies need to address.

the lack of contact with family and old friends motivated them to seek new connections. Børsch et al. (2021, p. 9) studied how newly arrived refugee and immigrant adolescents provided care for each other within the school contexts in Denmark. Their findings show how “troubling life situations spark emotional caring practices among adolescents.” This is consistent with the findings from Study I and II, illuminating how the young people engaged with each other and described the importance of treating others fairly. The young people emphasized treating others fairly as a prerequisite for receiving care (Study II). Findings from Study II also show how the youth took each other’s precarious situations into account. Hence, the significant differences in life situations influenced the daily interactions between the students. For example, in the focus group (Study II), it emerged how those young people avoided the subject of residence permits. They did not tell classmates whether they had received a residence permit, knowing that not everyone might receive a positive message. Also, the meanings of home and family were charged topics. How the young people navigated social relationships and dialogues about what appeared through their accounts as loaded issues such as home, family, and residence permit can be understood as caring practices (Børsch et al., 2021; Bowlby, 2012). At the same time, it shows the vulnerable situations that many of the young people found themselves in and how their relationships were also conditional and fragile in many ways.

The young people also highlighted what I would describe as mundane relationships, which took place outside the home and school contexts. For example, they explained that people talking to them on the bus or a construction worker regularly saying hello in the morning on their way to school were meaningful. This was evident through their photographs, their visualizations of health and well-being (Study II), and illustrated everyday micro-practices that young people highlight as relevant to their well-being. The mundane relationships, being confirmed by others outside the school context, contributed to the young people’s sense of place and mattering (cf. Zeeb & Joffe, 2021). Hence, being noticed and treated positively daily was essential for their well-being. The meaning of these mundane relationships can also be understood against the background of how several young people described an isolated situation. They did not meet many others, especially what they described as Swedish people, outside the school’s context and beyond the school’s teachers. For many, the Swedish-born teachers were the only Swedish contacts they had (Study I, II, and IV). The school, therefore, had a significant meaning. The young people in Study I and II described the school as a place in which to develop, learn, and meet friends. They expressed gratitude for being able to attend school, as being educated was seen as an asset. Finishing school was explained as a way to move forward, and it was expressed as something they had to work hard to obtain, which, in line with previous studies, can be understood as the school contributing a sense of orientation and forward-looking (Hagström, 2018; Nilsson Folke 2017).

Thus, above all, it was in school the young people met, what they described as, Swedish people and thereby had the opportunity to speak Swedish and understand Swedish rules and norms. They described this as fundamental to becoming part of Swedish society and thus an essential prerequisite for their well-being.

Previous studies show similar findings as described above, how a marginalized position in a school in combination with a housing situation where newcomers are referred to socio-economically vulnerable and stigmatized housing areas can contribute to create an isolated position (Hagström, 2018; Sharif, 2017; Cederberg, 2006). However, unlike previous studies describing how young people are anxious to leave municipalities in urban environments because of the segregated and vulnerable situation (e.g., Sharif, 2017), many participants in my studies described the municipality in favorable terms. The community appears in the young people's narratives as a safe, calm, accepting, and peaceful place. Against a background of some coming from war and conflict, they described this as something they valued and contributed to their well-being. Several expressed that they wanted to settle, stay where they were, and not be forced to move anymore.

In addition to the school, the young people highlighted certain places in the municipality that they believed were accessible to everyone, such as the library, gym, and nature. While these places contributed to the young people's sense of place. In their way of describing accessible places, it also emerged that they felt that not all places were accessible. Their stories also revealed challenges with finding a place of safety, something they described as fundamental to their well-being. The young people's way of understanding their local society was, among others, how they contrasted it with how they imagined the bigger cities of Sweden. Some of the young people's statements expose that they did not want to live in the larger cities because of conflicts between ethnic groups and xenophobia, and thus fear of being subjected to violence. Therefore, their desire to stay in the municipality can also be interpreted as a fear of living where they could be exposed to racism and violence, which could be further discussed in terms of how ideas about who belongs where influencing young people's mobility (cf. Sixtensson, 2018).

The narratives and visualized experiences also illustrate challenges in finding meaningful relationships. Young people in Study I and II expressed feelings and fears of being perceived as different and not daring to trust others, which is consistent with findings also shown in Study III and IV. Some also described relationships where they had been let down, which instead of contributing to their well-being, created the

opposite experiences, a feeling of unease and not fitting into expected norms and templates. Overall, these findings highlight the significance of being noticed and accepted as a central part of youths' well-being – the meanings of health-inducing relationships and health-promoting places for young people's health.

Past and migratory experiences in conceptualizations of health and well-being

Furthermore, the findings of the studies I and II show how the young people's past experiences, life before the migration, and migratory experiences played a prominent role in their conceptualizations of health and well-being. The research questions administered to Study I and II participants were open. They did not contain a predefinition of health to allow the participants to visualize and voice their health-related experiences and conditions (Spencer, 2014). Cwerner (2001, p. 15) explained migration as “a set of particular experiences, however central to the life course of the individuals concerned, not as a totalizing social condition that crucially determines every aspect of social and cultural life.” This statement aligns with the findings of studies I and II in which migration was an essential but not complete prerequisite for health. Migration was narrated through experiences of war, loss, and displacement (Study I). For some participants, migratory experiences signify being forced to leave home and be separated from family. They described situations where they waited and worried about whether family members would return from war. They also expressed the fear of losing these family members. Narratives of displacement reflected the uncertainty they felt about their life situation at that moment. The uncertainty encompassed the well-being of their families and loved ones and their life circumstances. Their life circumstances included, for example, fleeing their home country and not knowing where they would end up and how the future looked for them. They also described experiences of leaving family behind and losing significant others (Study I). This reflects the growing recognition of migration as a determinant of health (Chung et al., 2018; Castañeda et al., 2015; Davies et al., 2010).

However, the participants' migratory experiences varied and thus reflected the heterogeneous group of students in the Language introduction and their varied life situations, not least their different migration status and preconditions for health. Migration was also narrated as an exciting experience and an opportunity to learn something new and develop as a person. In the discussions about the young people's photographs in Study II, their different starting points and situated experiences became prominent. For example, one participant brought a picture of an airplane. While some participants associated this with holidays and mobility, others interpreted it as concerning refugee flows. Hence, their route to Sweden looked different; while some came with their families under safe conditions, others left their families and made it to Sweden alone during week or month-long journeys. These findings show, as explained by Wickramage et al. (2018, p. 5): “being a migrant is not in itself a risk to

health: it is the conditions associated with migration that may increase vulnerability to poor health.” Migration trajectories can influence health positively or negatively which research should better reflect (Wickramage, 2018).

Findings from Study I acknowledge that young people from war-torn environments who come to live in Sweden also experience hardships and positive health experiences, similar to those born and raised in Sweden. Study I (which also included young people born in Sweden with Swedish-born parents who had not migrated), showed that young people growing up in Sweden (without a migratory background) experienced homelessness and rootlessness, which was found in the experiences of youth leaving their home countries for an uncertain future. Thus, although the young people in Study I were a diverse group of individuals from different backgrounds (i.e., social class, nationality ethnicity, and gender), they nevertheless shared some common experiences related to feelings of inclusion and exclusion. Not least, they shared anxiety about the future based on their current uncertain situation. In other words, it is crucial to consider both individual and collective aspects of youths’ health. By such an approach, it is possible to counteract stereotypical views on youths’ health and avoid explaining hardships and positive experiences of health solely regarding ethnical and/or national backgrounds (cf., Runfors, 2016).

Besides migration, the youths’ past experiences, childhood, and life before coming to Sweden were presented in their photographs and narrations and understood as necessary for their health. Recognizing their past experiences, including a positive childhood and positive memories, was essential for the youths’ well-being (Study II). Thus, their past experiences could also be understood as a health resource (Study II). As explained by Wernesjö (2012), previous studies have tended to describe what children, especially unaccompanied minors, “carry with them” from their migration processes and countries of origin in terms of negative experiences and trauma. There is a risk of pathologizing and othering young people through one-sided images of young people’s migration experiences (Djampour, 2018; Wernesjö, 2012). To challenge one-sided images of young people who have migrated, it is also central to highlight health experiences and positive childhood experiences and memories and to show variations in youths’ migratory experiences. Based on these findings, highlighting positive growing-up conditions and childhood memories for young people’s current well-being, I argue in line with researchers (e.g., Spencer 2019; Djampour, 2018; Wernesjö, 2012) for the importance of both starting from the perspective and experiences of young people and highlight health experiences to counteract one-sided images of young people, migration, and ill-health.

In addition to contributing through research to counteract stereotypical perceptions of migrant youth, I would also argue that it is important to examine young people’s

health experiences to provide more targeted support. The studies (I–IV) show young people’s diverse life experiences and their varied experiences of social support. Study I and II findings are important to health promotion because they provide insights into young people’s health practices. The studies also give insight into the situations in which the young people felt that they simply did not know what to do to feel better and thus needed the support of others. More targeted support can be provided by exploring and listening to what young people do to promote their health in vulnerable situations (based on their unique life situations), and when that is not enough.

Positioned strategies

Findings from Study III showed that how young people are positioned in everyday life is essential for how they experience their daily life and their possibilities for well-being. Overall, findings from Study III show how migrant positions are constituted, negotiated, and related to young people’s well-being, which I will discuss here.

First, I want to emphasize that Study III focused on social positionings and the young people’s collective strategies to achieve well-being in everyday life. Although the analysis also depicts individual nuances, I studied a certain aspect of the newly arrived young people’s everyday school life, namely their strategies for dealing with migrant positions in daily life. With that said, it was also an important finding that emerged in the study: managing migrant positions formed an essential, but not total, part of young people’s everyday navigation and well-being.

While this part focuses on the young people’s strategies to deal with how they were positioned, an important conclusion in Study III is that their strategies for managing well-being in everyday life depend on processes beyond the individual. Here understood in relation to images about young people who have migrated and where race, combined with gender and age, emerged as a central category. I will therefore begin with a discussion of how the position “newly arrived migrant youth” was constituted and attributed within the school and then discuss their strategies and how these can be interpreted.

The constitution of migrant positions in daily school life

Study III’s analysis shows how the position of “newly arrived migrant youth” was constituted and attributed within the school through understanding the young people at Language introduction as a collective, ascribing them a temporary status, and depicting them as culturally different. As previously explained, the group on Language introduction at the time of Study III was a varied group of young people in terms of

gender and nationality, whether they were unaccompanied minors or living with family and their residence status. Hence, in everyday school life, young people met with different social backgrounds and migratory experiences, and their paths to the place they now shared with others varied. This created negotiations where the youths took each other's experiences into account, supported each other, and could be each other's health-promoting environment. Still, it also created hierarchies and conflicts between the young people. Findings from Study III illustrate how boundaries based on notions of nationality and race could be reinforced by focusing on the young peoples' "cultural backgrounds." The teachers tried to avoid groupings by relating on a generalizing and overarching level and simultaneously creating a general collective position.

Further, the position "newly arrived migrant youth" was constituted in the school's everyday life through how the newly arrived young people were shaped collectively as a group and in contrast to "Swedish" young people and students. Hence, they were understood as culturally different. They were described as culturally different in positive and negative ways but increasingly contrarians towards other young people. This occurred through recurring difference-creating practices where notions of gender equality, modernity, and secularization linked to ideas about Swedishness were important. For example, through dominant notions about the youths coming from "another time" and "another place" and needing to be modernized and secularized to fit into Swedish society. Other studies reveal similar findings, i.e., show how difference-making practices in school are based on discourses about gender equality and a tolerant Sweden, and where young people with "foreign backgrounds" are created as "the others" (e.g., Hagström, 2018; Sharif, 2017). Furthermore, several studies that do not only concern Language introduction have shown over time how the Swedish school's well-intentioned practices and efforts aimed at integrating and including young people with "foreign background" risk having the opposite effect (Léon Rosales, 2010; Gruber, 2007; Runfors, 2003). In line with these researchers, I want to point out that instead of including and contributing to integration, it risks strengthening the Swedish position, which can make the inclusion of young people more difficult.

In daily school life, the students in Language introduction were described as migrants, refugees, victims of war, and as newly arrived. Furthermore, the position "newly arrived migrant youth" was constituted by how the youths were given a temporary status. The temporary position must be understood against a more restricted migration policy where deportation is a real threat, along with difficulties obtaining residence permits. This created a tense situation at the school and focused on the young people's emotional ill-health. The temporary position sheds light on how young people's conditions for health are created beyond the school's control and by

processes that take place at a broader migration political level. Some of the young people in the study were affected by displacement, and as mentioned, deportations were a reality. Some of the youths were forced to break up a functioning existence in one municipality, a presence where they had established a life within the school, with friends and work in their spare time, to move to another municipality.

In line with Wahlström Smith (2020), I would like to emphasize that it is difficult to talk about well-being when it comes to young people in such a precarious situation as not having been guaranteed asylum. First of all, for young people who are living under the pressure of risking deportation, it is primarily about creating tolerable living conditions. Wahlström Smith (2020) points to the extremely vulnerable situations that undocumented children and refugee youth live in. Wahlström Smith shows through her material how children do a lot to make it look like they are doing well, for example, at school, but that the uncertain migration status affects all aspects of children's health. Further, Wahlström Smith (2020, p. 8) points to the risks of health research focusing on "psychological resilience and coping as the reckoning of their suffering," at the same time that refugee children's "rights to asylum have been radically undermined in the past three decades." I agree with Wahlström Smith (2020), who points to the importance of placing the question of children's and young people's rights and the issue of deportability, first in understanding the health of children and young people in this type of precarious situation.

At the same time, it is vital to acknowledge the different conditions "migrant" children and young people live under. The school plays a crucial role in handling the students and their varied living conditions in everyday school life. Study III shows how even those who were officially beyond migration continue to be defined by the context of migration. Although I agree with Wahlström Smith (2020) about placing the importance of young people's rights and the issue of deportability first, young people still find themselves in school in everyday life. As shown in studies I and II, even if the young people's daily lives are bordered by anxiety, there are also aspects of meaningful relationships, friendship, and hope for the future that are important to highlight. Therefore, the question of understanding the making of health (ill-health and inequality) in everyday life and how it can be promoted becomes central, both for the young people themselves and the school and society in general. Below, I will further develop how young people handle being positioned as "newly arrived migrant youth" and "the other" in everyday life at school.

Everyday resistance

The young people developed multiple strategies to handle ascribed migrant positions and strive for well-being by navigating between strategies enabling distance, adaptation, defense, and a contradictory stance in relation to being positioned as "newly

arrived migrant youth” and thereby a different and sometimes problematic kind of young person compared to “the Swedish students.”

The strategy to take distance highlights how the young people detached themselves from their national and cultural background in various ways in everyday life. The distancing strategy can be understood in relation to cultural markers (Anthias, 2011) representing the youths’ home countries and cultural backgrounds, explicitly concerning female and male roles, which in turn contrasted with how they experienced the accepted position in, as they described it, “modern” countries. Adapting is about the young people’s practices, stories, and actions, to belong to a community. A community that was articulated in terms of Swedishness. As illustrated through the youths’ accounts, adapting strategies, contained status aspects, such as how well you speak Swedish, how many Swedes you know, and how “secularized” you have become. These status aspects formed the basis of hierarchical orders. Adapting was also linked to notions of mobility, illustrating the young people’s striving for a better life, belonging to a community, and acceptance.

Defensive strategies captured the young people’s experiences of being subordinate, which forced them to adopt protective counterstrategies. At the same time, their actions show how they strived for well-being. They did not accept being subordinate but acted in various ways to change negative images of their home countries or their ethnic group and increase their agency. Finally, the positionality of the newly arrived youths is diverse and often contradictory, and it extends beyond the school grounds and over time and space through parallel processes. Their contradictory positioning showed how they negotiated their positionings in relation to events and belongings in multiple places in everyday life. What was happening in other countries, their home countries, affected them in their everyday life at school. Both through how they kept in touch with friends and family in other places, and thereby tried to understand their positions in relation to the school’s everyday life and in relation to their transnational belongings. But also, through events and how they affected them.

Their contradictory strategies capture how the young people negotiate their well-being across national borders and how they possess different belongings. Also, how positions differ over time and space are assigned different values in different places. Anthias (2021) highlights how an individual can be seen as superior in a specific context only to become subordinate in another. Through the young people’s transnational contacts, they also tried to understand their value – how they matter – and their position not only in the local contexts but also in the global, at distant localities.

The young people’s negotiations of positions in the school’s everyday life can be interpreted in different ways. Previous research describes young people who recently

arrived in Sweden, especially unaccompanied minors, with limited or conditional space to negotiate their positions and belongings (e.g., Wernesjö, 2014, 2020; Herz, 2019). The school can be understood as an institution that reflects societal beliefs and which, at the same time, tries to deal with this in the school's everyday life, based on the idea of contributing to the integration of young people into society (Högberg et al., 2020). In the school's daily life, there was a significant focus on in particular men's gender and culture, which can be understood against the backdrop of an ongoing societal debate about young migrant men as a potential threat and where their cultural backgrounds have been in focus (Herz, 2019). Herz (2019, p. 445) describes how the participants in his study turned negotiations of gender, sexuality, and culture into a learning situation."

Therefore, on the one hand, against a background of research emphasizing young migrants' limited space to negotiate their positions, the fact that the young people opposed the teachers and protested when for example, they experienced that their home countries were portrayed unfairly, may indicate that the teachers and the school succeeded in creating an open and permissive climate. Hence, the school created a social environment where the young people had a space to resist and negotiate migrant positions. On the other hand, a recurring focus in the school's everyday life was directed at the young people's home countries as problematic, contrasted with a progressive and egalitarian Sweden. To be repeatedly attributed a problematic place in everyday life, risk reducing the space the young people have to negotiate their well-being. From a well-being perspective, how the young handle being positioned as migrants is a part of a quest for well-being. In other words, study III emphasizes the importance of understanding strategies for handling migrant positions, in relation to the creation of health and inequality, as a way of managing one's well-being. It is regarding the sometimes limiting positions – where the young people were/are reduced to their ethnic/national/cultural background – that they negotiate their well-being. In other words, understanding the creation of migrant positions in everyday life is vital for understanding the creation of health, ill-health, and inequality.

Study III highlights how the young have a place in the local order and, simultaneously, in the global hierarchical social order. However, this location/s are not locked in but are under constant negotiation. While the teachers and the school try to understand and "fix" their positions (Anthias, 2021), the young people negotiate their positionings and thereby their well-being. Thus, the young people's positioned strategies can be understood as their way of managing various situations and striving for well-being. It includes moving beyond a static understanding of young people's health as a state of "complete well-being" to an interpretation of the concept as an ongoing process (c.f., Leonardi, 2018, see also Jonsson et al., 2020). That involves, on the one hand, opportunities and the ability to deal with different situations; on the

other hand, consideration of the power processes that limit individuals' agency in daily life. This includes understanding how race constructions are significant in everyday social order of the school. In line with Schmauch (2006), the findings show how racist power structures are recreated in daily life in the tension between Swedishness and being positioned as non-Swedish. Expressions and experiences of everyday racism are essential to work with in school to counteract unequal health. Everyday racism has been described as dynamic, changeable, and elusive (Essed, 1991, 2005). While the young people created close relationships with what they described as important adults at school, such as the teachers, it was at the same time with these important adults that they negotiated their space and their place through the above-described difference-making practices that took place in everyday life.

In sum, through a translocal perspective, the young people's positionings and belongings are understood as shaped in a relational local here-and-now context. At the same time, the local here-and-now context is connected to further transnational belongings, practices, and a global hierarchical and economic power system (cf., Anthias, 2011). From a translocal perspective, findings from Study III suggest that health and well-being, in relation to social positionings in the daily life in a school in the northern Sweden, cannot be understood solely as a local phenomenon without considering the fact that this place is translocal, that is, in various ways is connected to other places (cf. Anthias 2021).

Mattering through materiality

The young people's encounter with school is also an encounter with material reality, and findings from Study IV show that the school's material design has significance for young people's opportunities for well-being in everyday life. In this part, I will discuss how the importance of mattering to others, as a central aspect of young people's well-being, could be further elaborated by considering how mattering is related to everyday material conditions.

Above, I have approached the school from the young people's narrated experiences and a health promotion perspective and thus emphasized the school as an essential social arena that can contribute to the well-being of young people in various ways. I have also analyzed school as an institution that shapes young people's everyday navigation and social positioning. In this part, I discuss the school as a material arena that shapes young people's conditions for mattering. I will here use a field note as a point of departure to summarize and discuss some key findings in Study IV:

I am in the school library with the students. There is a teacher in the library, two librarians who work there, two women in their 50s, me, and the student group from Language introduction. The students will display the poems they have been working on for a few weeks for others to see. The teacher tells me that he has done this exercise with previous students in Language introduction but that there is a different theme to the poems this time; more are about loss, mother, and war. I follow Leah and Samir to the shelf section with “foreign books.” Above the bookshelf hangs a row of flags marking that this shelf section is different from the other books in the library, the Swedish-language books. Samir raises his middle finger to the flag representing Iran and says, “I hate that country.” Samir and Leah looked at me and each other and laughed, and then Leah proceeded to tell us what her poem was about, which was the task the three of us had been assigned by the teacher (Field notes, 2017-05-11).

The school as an institutional context can be understood as a space in which newly arrived youth orient and re-orient themselves in relation to how the room is organized and directed at certain bodies (cf. Hagström, 2018; Nilsson Folke, 2018). Mattering can thus be created through how the room is organized, directed at certain bodies, and how things are within reach for some but not others. The findings from Study IV show how the newly arrived young people spend their school days with each other in Language introduction but separate from other students in school. At the time in the library, illustrated in the field note above, the group of Language introduction students but no other students were in the library. This was a common pattern. The students from Language introduction were followed as a group in daily school life: they spent their days together in the classroom, ate together in the dining hall, and were together at breaks. However, they were separated from other students. That newly arrived students spend a separate everyday life within the school is in line with previous studies (e.g., Fejes & Dahlstedt, 2020; Hagström, 2018; Sharif, 2017; Nilsson Folke, 2017).

In addition to illustrating this spatial and social separate everyday life, which has consequences for the young people’s opportunities for mattering to others, findings from Study IV contribute to previous studies by illuminating how the materiality of the school also conditions young people’s opportunities for mattering. The exhibition of the students’ poems is an example of how the young people made a material impression on the school, how they got to represent themselves, and the opportunity to matter to other students at the school. As the teacher points out, the poems were mainly about the young people’s journey to Sweden, about experiences of war and loss. However, what the young people chose to write about in their poems, which later became a material imprint in the school for others to see, must also be understood against the background of how the poems came about and in a broader context.

When working on the school task (the poems), the newly arrived students were encouraged to write poetry with strong emotional content. As I showed in Study III, there was a significant focus on the young people's emotional ill-health for several reasons. Together with the focus that in the school's everyday life was directed towards the young people's cultural backgrounds (Study III), this created a certain image of the students (as migrants, as victims of war, as culturally different), which was conveyed to other students at the school, and therefore risks reinforcing imagined boundaries between students who are positioned as Swedish and non-Swedish.

Overall, the findings from study IV show that when the young people had the opportunity through organized meetings to meet other students at school or show themselves through material manifestations, such as through their exhibition of poems in the library, it was *as migrants*. When the young people met other students from the "regular" programs, it had a particular theme; for example, the young people had to talk about their trip to Sweden or about wearing a veil. Articulations of the young people's backgrounds in terms of war, and conflict, were also encouraged, for example, through the books they read, the films they saw, and what was on the walls of the students' classrooms. Overall, this illustrates how the material creates directions, which Study IV showed risks strengthening migrant positions.

Alftberg (2012, p. 153) explains, "all forms of materiality direct or orient us. The material has inherent properties through historical, social, and cultural contexts which affect how they emerge and how they incorporate us." Turning the gaze towards the material, and in this case, the materiality of the school, can show whom the place is aimed at and intended for. Another example from Study IV is how a student reflected on having only *a* dictionary that could translate from Swedish to the language he spoke. This became a clear reminder of not belonging. Although a complex situation for the school to deal with, the materiality of everyday life creates lines and feelings of inclusion and exclusion that are worth considering. Further, as illustrated in the field note above, the school was marked along cultural and national lines. By marking certain places, for example, with flags above a bookshelf with foreign books, the unmarked places also appear. However, the young people in Language introduction also reacted to the material conditions and manifestations, for example, by distancing themselves (pointing the finger as in the example above), which also shows that the material is not a neutral background to them.

Nilsson Folke (2017) describes how the school's attempt to include, starting from the school's perspective, can risk having the opposite effect. That, instead, creates a feeling of exclusion. Nilsson Folke (2017) referred to inclusion practices regarding teaching, learning, and social environment. I want to take this reasoning to the material and believe that it is also important to consider how the material, both what is on the

walls, how things are used to mark certain surfaces and places and what is used as resources in daily teaching affects young people's sense of mattering and inclusion/exclusion. The poems were, in this case, ambiguous. While the poetry exhibition can be seen as a way for the young to gain representation, this becomes one-way. It is based on the school's idea of how young people should be represented. In this case there was a representation but perhaps not recognized in a way that made the young people at Language introduction come to their full rights.

The study's findings point to the school's need to move beyond a stereotypical representation, where (some) young people are reduced to their national origin. In contrast, others are given the opportunity and encouraged to develop many different sides of themselves. A conclusion that can be drawn from Study IV is that the newly arrived youths lack recognition and representation in the school's material everyday life. What is needed is a representation that takes its starting point from the students' perspectives in Language introduction, rather than taking its starting point from how the school believes that young newcomers are best represented, i.e., solely from the school's perspective. Overall, Study IV, focusing on everyday micro-processes and the material dimensions of health, contributes to a broader understanding of how well-being is created in the school's everyday life. I believe these aspects need to be included in research and efforts to promote the health and well-being of "newly arrived" young people. To design a health-promoting and inclusive school, in addition to inclusion practices focusing on learning, one must examine its material representation and critically examine who is allowed to take place in the school and under what conditions. In considering the material aspects of a health-promoting and inclusive school, the young people's experiences and perspectives must be considered.

Reflexivity – a critical “turning back”

Reflexivity means “a turning back on oneself” (Davies, 2008, p. 4). It also concerns the “deconstructive exercise for locating the intersections of author, other, text, and world, and for penetrating the representational exercise itself” (Macbeth, 2001, p. 35). Thus, it is not just about turning back on “oneself,” but starting from the researcher as the primary tool in research, examining the research process and the creation of knowledge. Making the research process transparent is a way to help the reader assess its quality and transferability to other contexts and thereby also a way to increase the credibility of the study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This reflexivity section aligns with the “establishing trustworthiness” section in the method chapter. Both sections aim to enable the reader to judge the study's credibility. At the same time, they are written on the foundation of different traditions. I have chosen to place this part separately to reflect these different traditions as well as the actual structure

of the research process. I distinguish here between ethical considerations done in advance and the process of conducting research in a conscious ethical, methodological, and reflexive way. It is in the field ethical aspects planned in advance are tested, elaborated on, and lived in the relationship between the researcher and the participant.

Describing the “contextual intersecting relationship” between the participants and the researcher is part of a reflexive discussion and a way to increase the credibility of the findings (Dodgson, 2019, p. 1). Lundström (2014, p. 35), among others, describes the position of a “white, middle-class, heterosexual Swedish female researcher” as privileged: A position she “used” as a kind of “methodological capital” in her study about white migration, where she studied Swedish white women who migrated. I can relate to this position, but unlike how Lundström describes it in her research, my relationships with the participants differ. I believe that several of the youths saw me as a “representative of the majority society,” which was evident, for example, when one participant expressed that I was “a good Swedish contact.” This, in a way, “outsider” position may have enabled some stories and excluded others (cf. Farahani, 2011). The young people sometimes clarified aspects of their life where they assumed I did not share the same cultural frame of reference, which might not have emerged through an insider position. At the same time, knowledge may have been lost as an (at least imagined) shared cultural frame of reference could have provided.

My background as a “Swede” – and in the context implied whiteness – was emphasized in everyday school life by teachers and students. Also, my position as a woman was highlighted by the participants in the interview situations. How the young people chose to present themselves to me in interview situations may have been influenced by my attributed positions as a woman, and a representative of the majority society. For example, some male participants returned to and highlighted stories about how they saw themselves as “modern” men and how “men should behave here in Sweden.” Some female participants also raised questions about gender and equality, often from the perspective of expectations of changing male roles now that they were in Sweden. Articulating themselves as “modern” and talking about gender and equality could be interpreted as positioning oneself closer to what is understood as “Swedishness,” and thereby also as ways of connecting to me as a representative for “Swedishness” (Farahani, 2013). This focus, and the entry into these dialogues may therefore have been influenced by my attributed positions as a white woman representing the majority society. At the same time, gender was a recurring focus during the school lessons, thereby becoming a “natural” topic of conversation during the interview and informal talks. Thus, I cannot fully say how this position affected the interview material more than to highlight and reflect on the fact that it may have been affected by this.

This position (“white, middle-class, heterosexual Swedish female researcher”) can be interpreted from different angles. I would say that I was included in the school’s whiteness norm, which became increasingly visible to me along the way, with the risk that I also reproduced them. On the one hand, I believe it gave me access to move freely over the school premises, which was something that some participants felt they could not do (Study IV). That I could “blend in” at school (cf. Ahmed, 2006) and have access across the field, also shows the importance of the position as “white” and “Swedish” during fieldwork. As a researcher, this position made it possible to “freely” observe the school. Furthermore, this position allowed me as a researcher to understand whiteness, and its associated “Swedishness,” as the norm of the school. As shown in this study, this is the norm in which “otherness” was understood and organized in relation to. I identified how borders were drawn based on Swedishness and where I could pass as Swedish. I noticed how this position was constructed and regarded as desirable. At the same time, due to in a way, forming part of the norm that I am established in Swedish society and can pass in many contexts due to an ascribed normative Swedishness/whiteness can also mean that I have not had access to certain questions and knowledge. Also, it may have restricted my ability to see certain questions in my own material, for example, expressions of everyday racism and its many forms. In retrospect, I had chosen to place the photovoice study as the last study and engage in questions about whiteness norms and everyday racism. I believe that the photovoice method, which aims at social change, would be a good tool for working with these issues at both school- and municipal levels. My starting point does not reflect the position from which I regard the school as an institution today. Through my empirical material, the theoretical and methodological journey this dissertation has entailed, the school’s whiteness norm (within which I am socialized through my schooling) become increasingly apparent. My investigation is certainly limited to a municipality and a school. At the same time, the findings align with previous results that point to the school as reproducing whiteness and creating exclusion of the “other” (e.g., Hagström; 2018; Sharif, 2017; Nilsson Folke 2017; Runfors, 2003).

As a final comment, this comprehensive understanding should not be seen as me giving an unconditional voice to young people who recently migrated to Sweden because their voices cannot be heard unfiltered and only aspects of their everyday lives are portrayed and considered (cf., León Rosales 2010; Sharpe & Spivak, 2002). However, my research led to important findings in regard to young newly arrived people’s health in school environments and can be incentives for improving their conditions in school.

Understanding young people's health and well-being within a translocal everyday life: conclusions and implications

With the school as a point of departure, the dissertation's overarching aim was to explore everyday experiences of and conditions for health and well-being among young people who recently migrated to Sweden. Further, the aim was to illuminate and problematize the conditions and circumstances within which health is created and negotiated for this group of youths. The dissertation's overall findings illustrate how the health and well-being of young people who recently migrated to Sweden can be understood within a translocal everyday life. From a translocal perspective, the dissertation shows how the young people live and negotiate their daily lives and well-being in several places, external events, and belongings at the same time. The parallel happening in other countries, for example, a bombing in Afghanistan, affects the well-being of young people in everyday school life in Sweden's rural north. In this way, places and people's belongings are connected within the framework of an unequal and hierarchically ordered global space.

The dissertation's combined findings display how the young people's health and well-being are created and conditioned by a series of factors that extend beyond the individual and over time, space, and geographical locations. Besides the school context, life outside school, including transnational relations, housing, and processes that have to do with the status as refugees, which comprises asylum cases of various kinds, are essential for which positions the young people perceive as possible – and for how they are being positioned. The newly arrived youths' life outside of school becomes a vital part even within the school. It thereby makes the boundaries of everyday life perceived as fluid for many of the young people, which influences their well-being. The youth's everyday reality is unique as many find themselves in non-ordinary situations, and everyday life appears in both complex and contradictory ways.

Findings from all studies show how the young people struggled to create a meaningful existence. A meaningful existence includes the search for health-inducing relationships, the pursuit of belonging, community, and acceptance. It also includes the search for a safe place, as well as comprising an interplay between past experiences

and future hopes and dreams. Everyday life consisted of re-negotiations and re-positionings where past and future were re-negotiated towards a new present (cf. Nilsson Folke, 2017). Thinking of the future as meaningful and worth investing in has been emphasized as an essential health dimension (Antonovsky, 1987). However, being able to imagine a future was not something that all participants in this dissertation took for granted. Time also relates to opportunities, privileges, and conditions. Lundström (2014) argues that being entitled to a future is seen as a privileged position. “Members of privileged groups have a sense of entitlement that gives them the right to be respected, acknowledged or rewarded – and to plan a future” (Lundström, 2014, p. 154). In her study on white migration, Lundström (2014) describes how some of her participants could move freely across national borders and choose where they wanted to spend their future and old age with the security that there was a welfare system to fall back on.

A sense of the future appeared differently in my participants’ stories, reflecting the young people’s varied living conditions. Contrary to what Lundström describes, the future appeared for several young people in my studies as highly uncertain and insecure. For the young people without a residence permit, this was the most obvious. For them, belonging and the opportunity to create security as a central part of their health and well-being were not something to be taken for granted. As described in Study III, their current place was something that could change at any time as some of the young people received information about being forced to move to another municipality. This included being forced to break up with the security they built up through school, and friends, anchoring in everyday life and starting over in a new place. Thus, it is essential to consider young people’s different life situations in health promotion work in school and elsewhere. When it comes to young people without a safe place, the issue of deportation and young people’s rights needs to be brought to the fore in health work (Whalström Smith, 2020).

But even for those with a residence permit and a “legal” place in the country, the feeling of the “right” to the place was under constant negotiation. The migration context continued to define them in everyday school life. A consistent theme in all studies is how the young people struggled with a sense of place. Findings from Study III highlight the importance of understanding how young people are positioned in everyday life to understand how they experience their daily life and their possibilities for well-being. Elucidating migrant positions in relation to young people’s health is not least important in a time of increased polarization. As discussed in Study III, despite the school’s democratic ambitions, there is a risk that the assigned positions, such as the temporary and culturally different, will be strengthened as right-wing populist, racist and nationalist political currents gain more and more attention, as is the case in the Nordic countries (e.g., Dahlstedt & Neergaard, 2019).

Furthermore, findings from Study III show that an essential part of understanding the constitution of migrant positions in daily school life, and the young people's counterstrategies, was how place(s) were constructed. In the school's everyday life, what was happening in other places, including the young people's counties of origin, was a significant focus. These places and imagined communities (Anderson, 1991) were often described in negative and problematic ways, for example, through phenomena such as terrorist attacks, honor violence, and oppression of women. At the same time, these were places that the young people had their history of and an emotional connection to, a personal history that did not always reflect phenomena described in school. To be repeatedly attributed to a problematic place – which could conflict with the young people's lived and embodied place – in everyday life risks reducing the space in which young people negotiate their well-being. The young people's experiences of wellbeing in the present depend on how they create meanings of the past and future, and not least how they get recognition or not for their past experiences. Thus, perceptions of time have material consequences manifested as embodied health experiences. It is therefore crucial in everyday school life to listen to, consider and give space for young people's experiences and recognize their personal history, previous experiences, and knowledge. This also applies to the school's spatial and material design. Findings from Study IV show how migrant positions could be strengthened through the school's material and spatial organization. In other words, it is important to understand and work with the school's physical and spatial design and everyday materiality.

While the findings show how the young people's health is shaped and conditioned by a series of external social and cultural circumstances, the findings also expose acts of negotiations, everyday resistance, and social support. The young people were not passive but sought meaningful relationships and contexts, understood in Study I and II as health-inducing relationships and health-promoting places, contributing to promoting their well-being. The young people were actively seeking paths where they could be confirmed, acknowledged, and supported, and be a support for others. In this sense, the school, teachers, voluntary workers, and mundane relationships contributed to their well-being. The findings also show the contradictory nature of social relations. The school's everyday life consisted of a series of double-bottomed practices, making the issue of social relationships, social support, and care complex. The teachers provided social support and contributed to the young people's sense of security and trust. Simultaneously, in daily life, the young people were, in some situations, reduced to their ethnic/national and "cultural" background. In this way, inclusion and exclusion can be understood as coexisting processes (cf., Study I; Fejes & Dahlstedt, 2020).

The young people were repeatedly in the doings and conversations of everyday life compared to other young people – those who are described as ordinary Swedish students – and thereby singled out as different and sometimes problematic. A single doing or comment articulating stereotypes and/or difference could be considered somewhat harmless, but when different persons repeat them in various everyday situations, the total sum can be interpreted as practices of everyday racism (Essed, 1991, 2005). Also, the young people’s narrations bear witness to experiences of feeling different. In the material, everyday racism can also be understood through the young people’s movement patterns and their experiences of where they feel in line or at (un)ease (Ahmed, 2006), both inside and outside school. This shows the importance of studying micro-processes and mundane practices to empirically gain insight into everyday racism and grasp everyday life’s complexities. Research in Sweden on young people’s experiences of everyday racism in institutional contexts and in everyday social contacts and how it affects young people’s well-being in everyday life and long-term health is still limited. Especially in health research. Thus, more research is needed to deal with everyday racism in school and its significance for health and well-being, not least in connection with rural areas, which is still an understudied area in Sweden. Furthermore, this dissertation shows the need for the school to turn a critical gaze inward and critically examine how it reproduces whiteness norms. The gaze needs to be turned from studying “the other,” the subordinate, to studying processes that subordinate and construct the other in an institutional, socio(geo)political, context. From a health perspective, this also highlights the importance of shifting focus from the individual to the sociopolitical contexts that create the individual’s health opportunities and tolerable and equal living conditions while acknowledging situated experiences.

Finally, the insights this thesis provides can help strengthen policy responses to better support young people who recently migrated to Sweden and elsewhere. The dissertation underlines the importance of studying, understanding, and working with young people’s health holistically, procedurally, and by considering the power structures – political, historical, and relational – that shape young people’s health. The thesis emphasizes the importance of the social and cultural context in the study of young people’s health, the advantage of combining critical perspectives on school and migration with health-promoting perspectives, and both studying and working with health on an individual and collective level.

Svensk sammanfattning

Den här avhandlingen behandlar relationen mellan unga människors hälsa och välbefinnande, vardagsliv, skola och migration. Med fokus på det dagliga livet i skolan är avhandlingens övergripande syfte att utforska vardagliga erfarenheter av, förutsättningar för samt villkorande av hälsa och välbefinnande bland unga personer som nyligen migrerat till Sverige, samt att utforska hur detta kan förstås i termer av vardagens sociala och kulturella processer. Härigenom belyser och problematiserar avhandlingen de förutsättningar och omständigheter inom vilka hälsa skapas och förhandlas för denna grupp unga. De sociala och kulturella processerna, som utgör de nyanlända ungdomarnas förutsättningar för hälsa och välmående, analyseras så som de kommer till uttryck i vardagslivet och som mikroprocesser. Samtidigt är vardag, dess sociala interaktion, sociala positioneringar och materiella villkor för välmående, som utforskas i de olika studierna, kopplade till mer övergripande maktprocesser. Individens handlingsutrymme i det dagliga livet förstås som beroende av politiska, strukturella och relationella förhållanden. Hälsa är med andra ord relaterat till makt på olika sätt, vilket utgör en omfattande del av avhandlingens analytiska fokus.

Empiriskt baseras avhandlingen på tre oberoende datainsamlingar. Datainsamlingen liksom analysen bygger på ett kvalitativt, explorativt och hälsofrämjande förhållningssätt. Deltagarna i studierna är män och kvinnor, 16–20 år, från Afghanistan, Syrien, Somalia, Etiopien, Burundi, Grekland, Thailand, Turkmenistan, Palestina och Kosovo. Genom att utgå från ett övergripande socialt och kulturellt ramverk, med tonvikt på vardagen i utforskandet av villkoren för så kallade nyanlända ungas hälsa och välbefinnande, bidrar denna avhandling till det understuderade fält som äger rum i skärningspunkten mellan unga människors hälsa, vardagsliv, migration och skola. Avhandlingen består av fyra empiriska artiklar samt en kapp som relaterar artiklarna till varandra, summerar huvudresultaten och diskuterar dessa i relation till tidigare forskning och i ett vidare samhällsligt sammanhang.

Studie I startade mot en bakgrund av att en ökad andel unga i Sverige befinner sig i en situation där de är arbetslösa, inte behöriga till gymnasieskolan, eller har hoppat av skolan. Samtidigt visar rapporter och studier att hälsa hos unga i Sverige har blivit alltmer ojämlig (Folkhälsomyndigheten, 2013), och bland annat Povlsen med flera (2011) betonar behovet av ett starkare fokus på jämlikhet inom hälsopromotion i de

nordiska länderna. Detta är i linje med Världshälsoorganisationen (WHO, 1986) som listar jämlik hälsa som ett av målen för hälsofrämjande arbete. Syftet med studie I var att utforska hur unga i Sverige som befinner sig i ovan nämnda situation – det vill säga är arbetslösa, inte behöriga till gymnasieskolan, eller har hoppat av skolan – uppfattar livserfarenheter i relation till hälsa och välbefinnande. Studien hade en hälsopromotiv utgångspunkt och en uppgiftsbaserad intervjuteknik användes. Data analyserades med kvalitativ innehållsanalys. Intervjuer genomfördes med 16 deltagare, flickor och pojkar, i åldern 16–20 år som var arbetslösa och inte behöriga till gymnasieskolan eller som hoppat av skolan. Tre teman framkom ur analysen som illustrerar hur de unga upplever sina livserfarenheter i relation till hälsa och välbefinnande. Dessa teman är att brottas med svårigheter i avsaknad av omsorgsfulla relationer, att må bra i nära anknytning till andra och att tvingas ifrågasätta det för givet tagna. Varje tema består av 2–3 underteman. Utifrån de ungas berättade erfarenheter kan hälsa och välbefinnande förstås som något som skapas i relation till andra och i relation till det sociala och kulturella sammanhang de lever i; som något dynamiskt och föränderligt; som förmågan att anpassa sig och klara av utmaningar; och slutligen som något existerande på såväl kollektiv som individuell nivå. Implikationer för skola, socialtjänst och hälsofrämjande insatser diskuteras, med tonvikt på att ta beakta ungas perspektiv och erfarenheter för att på bästa sätt utforma hälsofrämjande arbetssätt.

I **studie II** användes en metod som på engelska kallas ”photovoice” och som syftar till att ge röst via fotografi. Det är en metod som syftar till social förändring. Metoden användes i studien för att undersöka hur unga som nyligen migrerat till Sverige visualiserar och ger uttryck för hälsa. Deltagare var unga som nyligen migrerat till Sverige från fem olika länder. Deltagarna ombads att skildra och diskutera vad som var viktigt för deras hälsa i tre steg: (a) dokumentera och skildra vardagen och frågeställningen ”vad är viktigt för dig för att må bra” genom att ta bilder, (b) diskutera dina upptäckter tillsammans med andra och (c) presentera upplevelser av hälsa för de vuxna som är närvarande i ungas vardag och som är viktiga för att förbättra unga migranternas hälsotillstånd. De övergripande resultaten indikerar att tidsmässiga, rumsliga och sociala förhållanden är viktiga för de ungas välbefinnande. För att de unga skulle må bra i ett nya kulturella och sociala sammanhang var således ett sökande efter mening och meningsfullhet i relation till tid, plats och andra människor viktigt. Dessa resultat diskuteras i ljuset av sociala, mentala och existentiella hälsodimensioner och i relation till den valda studiemetoden.

När det gäller den så kallade ”flyktingkrisen” 2015 och hur den påverkade unga migranternas ställning i samhället har forskare understrukit värdet av studier som utmanar ensidiga bilder av migrantungdomar. **Studie III**, som ägde 2017, undersöker hur mi-

grantpositioner konstitueras, förhandlas och relaterar till unga människors välmående. Studien genomfördes med ett etnografiskt tillvägagångssätt kombinerat med det teoretiska begreppet translokal positionalitet för att betona hur positioner skapas i den lokala vardagen i relation till övergripande historiska och politiska processer och samtidigt är kontextberoende över tid och rum och därmed innehåller inkongruenser. Resultat från studien visar hur de nyanlända unga använde flera sätt att navigera i skolans vardag och tillskrivna migrantpositioner för att uppnå välmående, vilket illustreras genom strategierna avståndstagande, anpassning, försvar och inkongruens. Baserat på analysen förstås de ungas utrymme att uppnå välmående i relation till hur de positioneras i vardagen som begränsat och deras handlingsutrymme i skolan som asymmetriskt. Samtidigt visade de ungas både mångfaldiga och ofta motsägelserfulla positionalitet på olika sätt strävan efter ökad handlingsfrihet och välmående.

Studie IV bygger vidare på de tidigare studiernas resultat som visar på betydelsen av sociala relationer för ungas hälsa i en post-migrationskontext. Människors behov av att vara viktiga för andra och att tillhöra är centralt för välbefinnande, särskilt under tonåren. En välbekant miljö och närhet till andra – grundläggande för känslan av att tillhöra och vara betydelsefull – kan utmanas genom migration. I Sverige har den organiserade skolgången för nyanlända unga, kallat Språkintröduktionsprogrammet, kritiserats för att skapa utanförskap genom sin fysiska utformning och organisationsstruktur. Nyanlända elever placeras ofta i klasser, rum och ibland byggnader, åtskilda från andra klasser på skolan. Denna uppdelning har lett till erfarenheter av utanförskap och parallellt skolliv bland de nyanlända ungdomarna. Att betyda något för andra är en central del av välbefinnandet men har inte studerats i samband med nyanlända unga i svenska skolor. Studie IV bygger på observations- och intervjudata som samlats in från ett etnografiskt fältarbete för att bidra till den här kunskapsluckan. I studien används Ahmeds (2006, 2010) feministiska och postkoloniala teori om orientering och kritiska syn på levd erfarenhet som sociala och kroppsliga orienteringsredskap och Rosenberg och McCulloughs (1981) begrepp om betydelse (mat-tering). Genom att kombinera dessa teoretiska ramar utforskas sociala, rumsliga och materiella förutsättningar för att betyda något för andra, i nyanlända unga migranters vardagliga skolliv.

Avhandlingens sammantagna resultat visar hur hälsa och välmående skapas genom de ungas relationellt, temporalt och rumsligt situerade erfarenheter, genom förhandlingar av migrantpositioner i vardagen och i relation till skolans vardagliga materialitet. Vidare visar avhandlingen hur hälsa och välbefinnande hos unga som nyligen migrerat till Sverige kan förstås inom en translokal vardag. Utifrån ett translokalt perspektiv betonas hur de unga lever och förhandlar sin vardag och sitt vardagliga välbefinnande i relation till flera platser, yttre händelser och tillhörigheter samtidigt.

Det parallella som händer i andra länder, till exempel ett bombdåd i Afghanistan, påverkar ungdomars välmående i skolvardagen i norra Sverige. På så sätt kopplas platser och människors tillhörigheter samman inom ramen för ett ojämlikt och hierarkiskt ordnat globalt rum. Vidare visar resultatet hur skolans vardag kan förstås som en hälsofrämjande arena där särskilt klassrumsmiljön med närhet till engagerade lärare och klasskamrater bidrar till de ungas vardagliga välmående. Samtidigt visar resultaten från studierna hur de ungas hälsa villkoras bland annat genom hur maktstrukturer återskapas i vardagen där ungdomarna tillskrivs kultur samt nationellt ursprung i relation till en föreställd normativ svenskhet. Ett återkommande tema i studierna är att de unga positioneras som icke-svenska och som "de andra" vilket är något de måste hantera som för att främja sitt eget välbefinnande. Avslutningsvis visar avhandlingen på vikten av att studera, förstå och arbeta med ungas hälsa holistiskt, processuellt och genom att beakta de maktstrukturer – politiska, historiska och relationella – som formar ungas hälsa. Avhandlingen betonar betydelsen av den sociala och kulturella kontexten i studiet av ungas hälsa, fördelen med att kombinera kritiska perspektiv på skola och migration med hälsofrämjande perspektiv samt att både studera och arbeta med hälsa på individuell och kollektiv nivå.

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