

Received 30 September 2021; Revised 17 January 2022; Accepted 2 February 2022

DOI: 10.33119/EEIM.2022.63.5

Posmykiewicz, A. (2022). Non-heteronormative Asylum Seekers in Sweden: An Analysis of the Swedish Migration Agency's Policies on Gender and Sexuality-related Asylum Cases. *Education of Economists and Managers*, 63(1), 71–82.

Retrieved from: <https://econjournals.sgh.waw.pl/EEiM/article/view/2905>

Non-heteronormative Asylum Seekers in Sweden: An Analysis of the Swedish Migration Agency's Policies on Gender and Sexuality-related Asylum Cases

ANNA POSMYKIEWICZ

Lund University

Abstract

The article discusses the asylum policies for LGBTQ+ individuals in Sweden and the Swedish Migration Agency's requirements towards the asylum seekers applying on sexual orientation, gender identity, and/or gender expression (SOGIE)-related grounds. The academic explorations of the intersection of forced displacement and non-heteronormativity in the Swedish context remain limited, therefore, the article aims to draw attention to the topic in order to present its comprehensive nature and illuminate on the possible changes in the system. The intervention is a theoretical discussion and a critical analysis of the use of gender and sexuality categories in the context of asylum case assessment informed by postcolonialism and the concepts of discourse and bureaucratic violence. The conclusions of the article outline the flaws of the asylum applications handling process and highlight the power imbalance of the LGBTQ+ asylum seeker vis-à-vis the dominant centre(s) of power.

Keywords: asylum seekers, Sweden, LGBTQ+, migration policies, bureaucratic violence

JEL Classification Code: Z18

Introduction

Gender and sexuality-related human rights violations are not a new phenomenon. According to UNHCR (2021, p. 3), there are over 70 United Nations member states which criminalise, including the death penalty, consensual same-sex sexual acts. Many individuals are forced to leave their places of habitual residence and seek refuge elsewhere due to persecution and violence from both state and non-state actors caused by their real or perceived sexual orientation, gender identity, and/or gender expression (SOGIE). The countries recognising gender- and sexuality-related asylum claims usually do so by considering the LGBTQ+ individuals to be the “members of a particular social group”, which may apply for protection as determined in the 1951 Refugee Convention (UNHCR, 2021, p. 15). Seeking asylum on SOGIE-related grounds has been possible in Sweden since 2006, when the terms gender and sexuality got included in the Swedish Aliens Act (Wikström, 2014). However, it is proven to be difficult to receive a refugee status on the aforementioned grounds. The analysis of over 2,000 individual decisions issued by the Swedish Migration Agency and the Swedish courts (Migrationsdomstolarna and Migrationsöverdomstolen) between 2012 and 2020 reveals that only 6.8% of the LGBTQ+ applicants were granted protection (Gröndahl, 2020). In comparison, 23% of all asylum applicants received a positive decision in 2020 (Migrationsverket, 2021b).

Due to the COVID-19 outbreak and related movement restrictions as well as border closers, there has been a significant decrease in the number of asylum applications filed in the European Union member states in 2020, with the number of cases the lowest since 2014 (Eurostat, 2021). However, the topic of forced displacement and refugees in the Global North continues to be as relevant as ever in light of the current sociopolitical dynamics, such as the consequences of the global pandemic and ongoing armed conflicts in Yemen, Syria, Afghanistan, and Ukraine. Despite the almost 43% decrease in the number of first-time applicants as compared to 2019, Sweden remains the seventh most popular destination country in the EU for individuals seeking protection (Eurostat, 2021). The individuals with the following nationalities filed 51% of the total number of asylum applications in Sweden between 2000 and 2021: Syria (17%), Iraq (12%), Afghanistan (10%), Somalia (7%), and Eritrea (5%) (Migrationsverket, 2022). Even though the Swedish Migration Agency does not publish statistics on the asylum cases differentiating between the application grounds, it is

crucial to emphasise that the top five origin countries which asylum seekers flee are characterised by a high level of hostility towards LGBTQ+ individuals. Consensual same-sex conduct may be punished with the death penalty in Afghanistan and Somalia or prison sentence in Eritrea (5 to 7 years) and Syria (up to 3 years) (ILGA World, 2020, pp. 25, 116, 137). Same-sex relations are not explicitly prohibited in Iraq, however, there is *de facto* criminalisation for same-sex sexual intimacy and reported acts of kidnapping, threatening, and killing LGBTQ+ individuals by the police and militias (ILGA World, 2020, p. 131). Additionally, sexual and gender minorities face the risk of physical and psychological harassment due to the low acceptance of homosexuality among the members of society. Even though there is no specific emphasis on LGBTQ+ asylum seekers in the published migration statistics, therefore, making it impossible to determine how many such cases are processed in Sweden, the abovementioned national contexts should serve as a central argument for the importance of the discussed issues and people facing them.

The assessment of asylum applications in Sweden consists of several steps and different procedures which aim to determine the credibility of the applicant's claims. According to the RFSL, a Swedish organisation working for LGBTQ+ rights, the Swedish Migration Agency responsible for administrating asylum applications has a set of preconceptions and expectations about the non-heteronormative applicants that are of great importance when assessing the credibility of their SOGIE asylum grounds (Gröndahl, 2020, p. 9).

This article discusses the practices of handling SOGIE-related asylum applications by the Swedish Migration Agency with a focus on discourse and bureaucratic violence from a postcolonial perspective. The aim is to take a closer look at how the asylum cases are assessed in Sweden in order to understand how the heteronormative foundation of the state and its policies comply with expectations put on the LGBTQ+ individuals seeking protection. It also contains a critical analysis of the usage of Western categories of sexual orientation, gender expression, and gender identity in processing asylum cases. It is important to state here that the category of LGBTQ+ asylum seekers is invented, and therefore, this group should not be portrayed as heterogenic. The non-heteronormative asylum seekers are, in fact, a diverse group, and an attempt to essentialise them would result in silencing some of the individuals (Wimark, 2021, p. 718). The overall goal of this article is to provide a foundation for a further discussion on the issues of forced displacement among particularly vulnerable groups, such as LGBTQ+ individuals. The limited number of studies on the topic and availability of the data paired with the arguable issues in migration management in Sweden indicate that more research is needed.

The Swedish asylum system

The current policies for LGBTQ+ asylum seekers in Sweden are governed by a set of rules and expectations towards the applicants, which are rooted in heteronormative assumptions about queer identities. As pointed out by Khosravi, an individual life story presented by an asylum seeker needs to be translatable to Eurocentric juridical language and correlated with a performance of a refugee role expected by the migration authorities (2010, p. 33). The navigation of the system is where the clear challenge lies, considering that one is forced to live up to the racialised and gendered image of whom the object in need of *saving* is. It has already been concluded in previous research that the Western human rights regulations are designed to condemn ‘barbaric’ or ‘primitive’ practices outside of the Western world but not to provide protection and asylum to the victims (Wikström, 2014). Such a perspective is well reflected in handling the asylum cases of LGBTQ+ individuals in Sweden, which links directly to the postcolonial concept of Othering of racialised and gendered individuals by Western administrative systems. The construction of displaced persons’ identities vis-à-vis the dominant group(s) is a diverse and multi-layered experience embedded in systems of power and oppression.

According to the RFSL’s (Gröndahl, 2020, pp. 9–10) assessment, there are four explicit requirements to be met by an asylum seeker in order to have their SOGIE asylum grounds deemed credible:

- One has to *always* go through an emotional and deep self-realisation process about their sexual orientation, gender identity, and/or gender expression.
- An applicant has to be able to describe the expected inner reflective process in a coherent and detailed way during an oral asylum interview.
- Every asylum seeker has to account for the feelings of trauma, stigma, shame, etc. In case one does not have first-hand experiences of such, they have to be at least able to relate to and reflect on them.
- The more stigmatised and prohibited to be an LGBTQ+ person in the country of origin, the more it is expected of the asylum seeker to have reflected on their own sexual orientation, gender identity, and/or gender expression, and the more detailed their account should be.

The official statistics on asylum seekers published by the Swedish Migration Agency do not provide information on the grounds of the asylum application. However, all applicants are classified as either ‘men’ or ‘women’, which excludes some of the LGBTQ+ asylum seekers who identify outside of the gender binary. It suggests that those who are neither men nor women get falsely assigned gender in the Swedish Migration Agency’s system or are not included in the statistics. There

is a significant discrepancy between the gender-normativity of the presented data and the Swedish Migration Agency's claims to address the LGBTQ+ asylum seekers by names and/or pronouns chosen by the applicants, even if not matching those in the legal documentation (Migrationsverket, 2021a). Furthermore, according to the Swedish Migration Agency, an applicant may choose the gender of the interpreter and officers working on the case (Migrationsverket, 2021a). Nonetheless, the Asylum Information Database's report (2021) informs about the unavailability to select an interpreter who shares the same religious belief, which, in turn, can lead to the fear of disclosing sensitive information in case of especially vulnerable individuals representing religious, sexual, or gender minorities.

Gender and sexuality

As concluded by the report, the migration authorities expect all non-heteronormative asylum seekers to share the same experiences and characteristics and be able to express them in a way that is coherent and consistent with the Western understanding of gender and sexuality (Gröndahl, 2020, p. 10). It is also crucial for the migration authorities that LGBTQ+ people internalise the environment's LGBTQ+ phobia (Gröndahl, 2020, p. 10). The asylum case assessment is mainly based on the credibility of the applicant's narrative regarding what they have experienced in relation to their gender and/or sexuality. In other words, a disproportionate weight is put on the actions of the asylum seeker in the country of origin which they fled (Gröndahl, 2020, p. 10).

Poststructuralism assumes that the concepts of *truth* and *knowledge* produce dominance and power. Michel Foucault (2020) states that power and knowledge are interrelated since knowledge is rooted in power structures, and power is always a function of knowledge. Power is, moreover, diffused and reproduced by those involved in knowledge production. The ontological and epistemological understanding of *gender* has differed and changed over time. Feminist theorist Judith Butler argues that it is impossible to separate 'gender' from the political and cultural intersections in which it is invariably produced and maintained (1990, p. 5). They state that "gender is culturally constructed: hence, gender is neither the causal result of sex nor as seemingly fixed as sex" (Butler, 1990, p. 8). It essentially means that gender becomes a category informed discursively and politically. This perspective can be observed when analysing the requirements put on the LGBTQ+ asylum seekers where the self-realisation of gender and sexuality has to be a reflective process evoking negative feelings or even trauma. It can be argued that such an approach is rooted in a Eurocentric understanding of LGBTQ+ identities and a reductionist view on the

issues of non-heteronormative individuals. The unification and homogenisation of the asylum experience is a sign of the nation's engagement in the domestication of gendered and sexual practices to align with the heteronormativity of the state (Wimark, 2021, p. 704).

Wikström (2014, p. 211) points out that in international legal practices, there is a disposition to treat the category of gender as equivalent to women resulting in placing certain ideological expectations on women who often fail to be perceived as rational subjects, and their credibility is viewed through the 'narratives of exotic practices' (Oxford, 2005, p. 30 as cited in Wikström, 2014, p. 211). Research (Noll, 2006, p. 495 as cited in Wikström, 2014, p. 211) suggests that occurrences of female genital mutilation are more often recognised as grounds for protection due to the fact that such practices are not found in Western countries as opposed to the instances of domestic violence which are assessed less favourable. It means that the asylum applicant must be able to navigate the system in a way that allows them to highlight the experiences that the Swedish authorities view as necessitating a higher (or more urgent) level of protection.

Discourse

Discourse on asylum seekers and refugees in Europe represented by state and non-state actors is rooted in the idea of the Orient as silently indifferent and femininely penetrable, requiring Western attention (Said, 2018, p. 68), constructing the power dynamics and establishing the dominance over the Other. The role of a non-heteronormative asylum seeker is to live up to the expectation of *them* constructed and imposed by the host society. In that sense, one's role is not only to perform as the subaltern orientalised Other but also to navigate the legal system skilfully to *perform* their gender and sexual identity in a way deemed credible by the West. This means that one has to be both Oriental enough to be in need of saving and Western enough to be able to share the same understanding of gender and sexuality.

The Foucauldian understanding of discourse suggests that modern sexual repression is upheld due to the protection by historical and political circumstances (Foucault, 1990, p. 5). It is, therefore, essential to take notice of the law disciplining the Western categories of gender identity and sexual orientation and the way they are created. Foucault argues that the state constructs regulations on sex through discourse in order to make use of the assets of its citizen in a way that serves the welfare (1990, p. 25). The issue of sex becomes politicised in the individual-state context and is controlled by multiple discourses (Foucault, 1990, p. 26). Such discourses are embedded in power that is fragmented and localised. Policies regarding sexuality

are instrumentalised to exert pressure and affect people's identity. Discourse wields power through a process of definition and exclusion. The use of biopower explains how the state controls people's bodies in order to foster the life of the population, keep track of it, and control reproduction (Foucault, 1990). The biological features of human bodies are used for political strategies of power by nation-states. The regulatory controls are constructed based on biopolitics, where the state construction of gender and sexuality is crucial. According to Foucault (1990), sexuality is produced through discourse and regulated by power.

The discourse on gendered violence and persecution in the host country and the country of origin is increasingly divided and defined as civilised (host) and uncivilised (origin) (Noll, 2006, p. 493 as cited in Wikström, 2014, p. 211). The essentialist nature of non-Western subjects in Eurocentric legal and social systems is based on binary oppositions of *us* and *them*. The modes of exclusion embedded in the narrative patterns around the socio-cultural context of the asylum seekers can be explored through postcolonial theory and the concept of Orientalism. They allow challenging the notion of fetishised and orientalised Other in the essential binary opposition to 'the West' presented as religious (meaning not progressive), family-oriented (meaning traditional), ignorant, backward, etc. (Mohanty, 2003, p. 40), permitting to understand and analyse the racialised and gendered experiences of asylum. The postcolonial perspective defines culture as situated at the intersection of gender, class, sexuality, etc., as opposed to being fixed and linked to a place of birth as viewed in a colonial lens (Wikström, 2014, pp. 211–212). Furthermore, the Otherness is also a hybrid category and can change depending on a context (country, community, place) and predispositions (speaking a different accent, religion) (Yuval-Davis, 2008, p. 60). It means that one can be both included and excluded at once, such as an LGBTQ+ asylum seeker can be accepted in a refugee community due to their ethnocultural background, language skills, and life situation but might also be marginalised due to their gender identity, sexual orientation, or gender expression.

Bureaucratic violence

In the classic understanding of bureaucracy, Max Weber (2008) emphasised the convenience of rational-legal administrative systems in which agencies are apolitical, hierarchical, and governed by procedures. Even though he argued for the efficiency of such a structure, he also feared that bureaucratisation of social order, especially in Western societies, could become a threat to individual freedom, comparing it to 'an iron cage' (*stahlhartes Gehäuse*). Hannah Arendt (1969) described the relationship between violence and bureaucracy, stating that "... bureaucracy

is a form of a government in which everybody is deprived of political freedom, of the power to act; for the rule by Nobody is not no-rule, and where all are equally powerless we have a tyranny without a tyrant". The intersection of bureaucracy and violence can take different forms, for example, the seemingly insignificant act of making one wait, considering that waiting is an essential element of migratory practices (Elliot, 2016; Janeja & Bandak, 2018; Barber & Lem, 2018 as cited in Weiss, 2020, p. 198). Bourdieu (2000) identified the ability to leave people in anticipation and uncertainty with no prediction capacity as 'absolute power'. He stated that "... waiting is one of the privileged ways of experiencing the effect of power, and the link between time and power" (Bourdieu 2000, p. 228). The concept of bureaucratic violence, as discussed in this article, is linked to postcolonial studies, which illuminated the use of bureaucratic violence to discipline or erase colonised communities (Abdelhady, Gren, & Joormann, 2020, p. 14). Comparatively, it can be argued that disciplining, as practised by the Western bureaucracies, creates the subaltern orientalised Other by positioning them vis-à-vis the dominant centres of racialised and gendered power.

Gröndahl (2020, p. 12) states that regardless of the Swedish and international regulations on the matter, there is severe ignorance regarding sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression among the employees of the Swedish Migration Agency. Gender identity is often confused with sexual orientation, and gender expression is seen as a part of sexual orientation and viewed as 'personality traits' (Gröndahl, 2020, p. 12). Furthermore, if the applicant does not disclose their gender identity, gender expression, or sexual orientation at the initial part of the asylum process, it is often deemed as not credible, even though the European Court of Justice clarified that this should not be a reason for rejection of one's application (Gröndahl, 2020, p. 12). Moreover, previous research proves that transgender people's asylum grounds are not tried correctly or even not tried at all (Gröndahl, 2020, p. 10). The incapability of the migration authorities to assess the cases of LGBTQ+ asylum seekers due to insufficient training on the issues of gender expression, gender identity, and sexual orientation leads to further marginalisation of non-heteronormative applicants. Bureaucratic practices essentialise queer identities applying a reductionist view on the complexities of one's experiences of gender, sexuality, and displacement. People's experiences of bordering practices, determined by oppression and inclusion, consist of various dimensions. Critical race theory scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw states that the "... dominant conceptions of discrimination condition us to think about subordination as disadvantage occurring along a single categorical axis" (1989, p. 140). Negotiations of power within society and between its actors, in this case, LGBTQ+ asylum seekers and the state represented by the Migration Agency, occur on different axes of power, the main ones being race, sexuality, and gender.

The expectations towards the asylum seekers are also that they should be knowledgeable on the Swedish laws on LGBTQ+ persons and have an understanding of the Western LGBTQ+ terminology but can at the same time relate to cis-straight people, and if they are religious, have a deep understanding of the religion's view of non-heteronormativity (Gröndahl, 2020, p. 10). It creates a situation in which the asylum seeker is forced to live up to the imaginary idea of the orientalised LGBTQ+ person and perform the role assigned to them by the Swedish authorities. Khosravi (2010) argues that border crossing, or in this case, the asylum application process, is a performative act, whereas “borders are zones of cultural production, spaces of meaning-making and meaning-breaking” (Donnan & Wilson, 1999, p. 64 as cited in Khosravi, 2010, p. 62). It needs to be noted that the Western concept of sexual orientation defines it as an identity that may not be the case in other contexts and areas of the world, which further complicates the domination-subordination dynamics. Moreover, the Swedish migration authorities' inability to differentiate between gender identity, gender expression, and sexual orientation often leads to the conclusion that the asylum seeker is not credible, and their application is rejected (Gröndahl, 2020, p. 12). According to the RFSL's report (2020), the listed requirements put on the LGBTQ+ asylum seekers lack support in the Swedish Aliens Act and contradict the guidelines of the Migration Agency, UNHCR, EU Directives, and the European Court of Justice's case law.

The issue has been partially addressed by the Swedish Migration Agency, which arranged seminars for interpreters to standardise the terminology in the area of LGBTQ+ applications (Asylum Information Database, 2021). However, it does not exhaust the ways in which the system should be improved considering that standardised terminology is still a reflection of a normative Western understanding of gender and sexuality, so supplementary training, especially on issues of gender identity and gender expression, outside of the European context is suggested.

Conclusion

The bureaucratic violence of the migration practices performed by the Swedish authorities while handling gender and sexuality-related asylum cases is highly complex. The evaluation of SOGIE-related asylum applications is defined by an essentialist approach, where the assessment is influenced or even based on the stereotypes and speculations about gender and sexuality (Gröndahl, 2020, p. 12). This not only puts the non-heteronormative applicants in a vulnerable position but also presents them as a monolithic group ignoring the nuances of individual experiences. The credibility assessment of the applicant's claims is informed by a Eurocentric

understanding of gender expression, gender identity, and sexual orientation, which strengthens the Orient/Occident binary reflected in the construction of a racialised and gendered object in need of saving. Asylum seekers are forced to perform a refugee role assigned to them by the migration authorities and navigate the Eurocentric juridical system requiring them to adhere to heteronormative expectations, which can lead to marginalisation and further trauma. The subordinate positionality of LGBTQ+ asylum seekers vis-à-vis the dominant centre(s) of power represented by the Migration Agency enforces the dichotomy of *us* and *them*. This article's overall conclusion points to the revaluation of the expectations towards LGBTQ+ asylum seekers in order to decolonise and diversify the asylum application process. This discussion does not exhaust the topic but leads to further questions about the rights of LGBTQ+ persons in administrative procedures in Sweden and the agency of asylum seekers in general, so Sweden's equal treatment of non-heteronormative individuals can extend further than to their citizens.

References

- Abdelhady, D, Gren, N, & Joormann, M. (2020). Introduction. In: D. Abdelhady, N. Gren, M. Joormann (Eds.), *Refugees and the violence of welfare bureaucracies in Northern Europe* (pp. 1–28). Manchester: Manchester University Press
- Arendt, H. (1969, Feb 27). Reflections on Violence. *The New York Times Review of Books*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nybooks.com/articles/1969/02/27/a-special-supplement-reflections-on-violence> (accessed: 30 December 2021).
- Asylum Information Database (2021). *Country Report: Regular procedure. Sweden*. Retrieved from: <https://asylumineurope.org/reports/country/sweden/asylum-procedure/procedures/regular-procedure/> (accessed: 10 March 2022).
- Bourdieu, P. (2000). *Pascalian Meditations*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 139–168.
- Eurostat (2021). *Asylum statistics*. Retrieved from: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Asylum_statistics#Main_countries_of_destination:_Germany,2C_Spain_and_France (accessed: 10 March 2022).
- Foucault, M. (1990). *The History of Sexuality. Vol 1 The will to knowledge*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Foucault, M. (2020). *Power. Essential Works 1954–84*. London: Penguin Books.

- Gröndahl, A (2020). Avslagsmotiveringar i Hbtqi-Asylärenden: En rättsutredning av Migrationsverkets, migrationsdomstolarnas och Migrationsöverdomstolens prövning av sexuell läggning, könsidentitet och könsuttryck. RFSL.
- ILGA World (2020). *State-Sponsored Homophobia 2020: Global Legislation Overview Update*. Geneva: ILGA.
- Khosravi, S. (2010). *'Illegal' Traveller: an auto-ethnography of borders*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Migrationsverket (2021a). *För dig som är hbtq-person och söker asyl*. Retrieved from: <https://www.migrationsverket.se/Privatpersoner/Skydd-och-asyl-i-Sverige/For-dig-som-ar-hbtq-person-och-soker-asyl.html> (accessed: 10 March 2022).
- Migrationsverket (2021b). *Avgjorda asylärenden beslutade av Migrationsverket, förstagångsansökningar, 2020*. Retrieved from: https://www.migrationsverket.se/download/18.2b2a286016dabb81a1860a0/1609770404002/Avgjorda_asyl%C3%A4renden_2020_-_Asylum_decisions_2020.pdf (accessed: 30 December 2021).
- Migrationsverket (2022). *Asylsökande till Sverige 2000–2021*. Retrieved from: <https://www.migrationsverket.se/download/18.4a5a58d51602d141cf41004/1643640357046/Asyls%C3%B6kande%20till%20Sverige%202000-2021.xlsx> (accessed: 10 March 2022).
- Mohanty, C. T. (2003). *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Said, E. (2018). Latent and Manifest Orientalism. In: T. Das Gupta, C. James, C. Andersen, G.-E. Galabuzi, R. Maaka (Eds.), *Race and Racialization* (pp. 64–84). Toronto: Canadian Scholars.
- UNHCR (2021). *2021 Global Roundtable LGBTIQ+ Persons in Forced Displacement and Statelessness: Protection and Solutions*. Discussion Paper. Retrieved from: <https://www.unhcr.org/611e33704> (accessed: 30 December 2021).
- Weber, M. (2008). *The protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism*. New York: BN Publishing.
- Weiss, N (2020). The trauma of waiting: understanding the violence of the benevolent welfare state in Norway. In: D. Abdelhady, N, Gren, M, Joormann (Eds.), *Refugees and the violence of welfare bureaucracies in Northern Europe* (pp. 195–209). Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Wikström, H. (2014). Gender, Culture and Epistemic Injustice. The Institutional Logic in Assessment of Asylum Applications in Sweden. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, 4(4), 210–218.
- Wimark, T. (2021). Housing policy with violent outcomes – the domestication of queer asylum seekers in a heteronormative society. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 47(3), 703–722.
- Yuval-Davis, N. (2008). *Gender & Nation*. London: Sage Publications.

Anna Posmykiewicz

Master's student in Middle Eastern Studies at Lund University. She holds a Bachelor's degree in Swedish Studies from SWPS University and a Master's degree in Religion in Peace and Conflict Studies from Uppsala University. Her research interests concern queer theory, gender studies, and migration practices with an intersectional feminist approach.

e-mail: an1856po-s@lu.se

ORCID: 0000-0002-5410-7538