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How Does a Minority Become a Pebble in a Country's Shoe?

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To You, the best and sweet Dad, Mum, Brother, Sister and Friend ever!
You are my All in all!
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Abstract

In a statistical report of the year 2005, Brå informs that the Middle East and North African immigrants are overrepresented in crime in Sweden. Also, in a previous study in Cameroon, I realized that the Bamileke folk (originating from the West Cameroon) is mostly represented in the minor district of the Central Prison of Douala - Cameroon. In an attempt to understand crime perpetrated by migrants, scholars have suggested the unpleasant context of migration, the strain encountered by the migrants as a result of social exclusion, the fact that migrants live in disorganized area where it is more likely to find criminals and the clash of culture between migrants and the natives of the society where they settle. The aim of my research is to find out, on the basis of these four parameters, if it could be possible to understand how the process of criminalization of migrants, in the society where they settle, occurs. In this research, I focus on juvenile delinquency. In order to perform the research and attempt to answer the question, I made of use documentary analysis backed up with data gathered from experience, unstructured observation and interviews I performed among the minority groups. The results of my research do not support that the unpleasant context of exit might be a factor leading to criminalization in the particular case of minority’s youth. It also suggests that it is not the minority’s culture that makes them to be labelled as criminals; it is rather the essentialized perception of the minority group’s culture as being a threat to the dominant group’s values and interests, which contributes in labelling a minority group as criminals. In return, labelling people of the minority group as criminals contributes to their discrimination in the society, thus making them to develop criminal attitudes in order to escape the strain they encounter through discrimination; as this occurs, the young migrant may internalize the idea that he is criminal as a result of a self-fulfilling prophecy. Discrimination contributes also in making the minority group to settle in disorganized areas where criminal activities are more likely to occur among youths. These findings are important because it might help to understand the risk of criminalizing some actions as belonging to a minority group’s culture. Indeed, doing so seems to reinforce the labelling of people of the minority group as criminal without proper analysis that may explain why they chose to act the way they act. It furthers their discrimination in the society which in turn may force them to use illegal ways to respond to the strain they encounter through discrimination.

Keywords: Juvenile Delinquency, Social Exclusion, Strain, Social Disorganization, Conflict, Feymania, Arabs, Middle East, North Africa, Bamileke, Malmö, Douala


1. Introduction

During my stay in Cameroon between 2009 and 2010, I visited the minor district of the Central Prison of Douala in order to perform research to understand parents’ gender role and its relationship with juvenile delinquency in the patriarchal society that Cameroon is. In my research, I was interested to know the region of origin of my respondents. I realized that the majority of youths in the minor district were from the Grassfields (the Grassfields represents people from the region of West and North West Cameroon), especially from the Bamileke folk – that is part of the Grassfields regions. As I came to Sweden in August 2010, I was informed by some of my Swedish friends of the disastrous riots and attitudes of young Arab immigrant men in Malmö. I was told that they filled the prison of Malmö because of their crimes and that they would not want to integrate in the Swedish society because of the nature of their Muslim religion that promotes invasion, destruction and submission of the country they invade through jihad as they make their women to be submitted to their men. I was invited to watch some videos on YouTube that tended to prove such facts. There was a spread idea that could be resumed in: “Those Arabs, those terrorists are destroying our Sweden.” Two months later, I chose to do a volunteer job in an association where I was supposed to tend to Arab children. These experiences helped me to learn to know them from their own perspective and not from the perspective of outsiders. They did not appear as the “threat to national security” I used to perceive through media representation. From there, I started to make the link between the Grassfields / Bamileke in Douala-Cameroon and the Arabs in Malmö-Sweden as it appeared to me that they both go through a form of discrimination in their host society as my work will suggest in the following lines.

One could be interested to know the relationship between crimes and the title of this paper. The reason is simply that this title was inspired from Lamberton’s statement on the Bamileke – a folk that represents the majority of the Grassfields population in Cameroon and that mostly comes from the West region. He said, “Cameroon becomes independent with a pebble in her shoe. This pebble is an ethnic minority: the Bamileke, in turmoil for no clear reasons” (Doho, 2006, p. 177). What particularly stroke me was to realize that four decades later, the Bamilekes are still perceived in some discourses in Cameroon as a pebble in the country’s shoe. When my supervisor asked me what I meant by a pebble in a country's shoe, the simplest answer I could find was “a criminal” because this is the way the Bamileke was treated by Lamberton and the French colonizers as I am going to discuss in this paper and this is the way the young Arabs are perceived by some Swedes I have talked to in Malmö.
From this perspective, I was interested to discover what could be related to the perception in a country of a particular group of people as the most criminals in the country. To perform this research, I focused my attention on the young Bamileke men living in Douala-Cameroon and young immigrant men from the Middle East and North Africa living in Malmö-Sweden. Although this paper may give the impression of a generalization of the Arabs and the Bamileke, I would like to say that I do not want to have the pretension that individuals in those groups are all alike, have the same culture, mentality or religion. However, I intend to compare the information collected from some individuals of these groups.

- **Focus of the Paper**

I do not intend to focus on all the crimes committed there; but as I have said, I am focusing on the one committed by young men such as juvenile delinquency – especially thefts, vandalism and drug offences, and “feymania” – that is also generally perceived in Cameroon as a crime most committed by the men from the Bamileke folk. Although I am focusing on those crimes, I am opened to any discovery I may find during my research that might be worth analyzing to answer the research question. The reasons of my choice are both affective and strategic. Indeed, Cameroon is the country where I was born, Douala - the city where I grew up, the Bamileke is the folk where I come from, Sweden is the country where I have had the privilege to do my university studies and I found myself in love with. People from the Middle East and North Africa are the large minority groups in Malmö as the Bamileke folk are the large minority group in Douala. In addition to this, in a report of 2005, Brå (2005, p. 21) presents statistical facts proving that Middle Eastern and North African immigrants are overrepresented in crime. Also, as mentioned earlier, in a research conducted at the Central Prison of Douala, from 2009-2010, I discovered that in the minor district of the prison, the Grassfields were largely represented in crime in Douala compared to minors coming from other regions of the country (Lonmene, 2010, p. 21).

This paper is therefore important for me because as a student in Migration and Ethnic Relations it might help me to understand what could be the relationship between being immigrant and being labelled as criminal it could help me to find out what could be the possible corroboration in these different cases of criminalization of migrants occurring in different countries having different socio-economic and political status such as Sweden and Cameroon. As my work will suggest, the reasons of their migrations are diverse, but mostly generated by the

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1 Feymania is characterized by actions such as economy of fraud, swindle, and deception.
2 Brottsförebyggande rådet (Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention)
The aim of this paper is to find out if an unpleasant context of exits (according to Hällsten et al (2011)), a strain (according to Martinez and Lee (2000) and Mears (2002)) – as a result of social exclusion, living in disorganized areas and cultural conflicts – (according to Martinez and Lee (2000)) characterized by a difference in the perceptions of cultural values of the minority group and the laws or values of the dominant group where they settle, could be factors to explore that may contribute in making a minority group to be perceived as largely represented in crime in both cases of Arabs in Malmö and Bamileke in Douala. Therefore, the aim of my paper would be to focus on four points that may explain the criminalization process of immigrants’ minorities (Arabs and Bamileke) in their place of settlement: The context of exit – of the migrants, the social exclusion – that may lead to strain, the area of settlement of the migrants in the receiving country or region – that might be a disorganized area – and the cultural conflict. It will also aim at finding the corroboration that may exist in the analysis of the two minorities cases in their different place of settlements.

Hence, my research question is:
How does a minority become a pebble in a country's shoe? In other words, how the process of criminalization of a minority can be explained in its host society?

In an attempt to answer this research question, I have elaborated the three questions below, showing the directions I would like to take.

1. Is the context of exit unpleasant for the minority group? In other words, is it associated with social unrest, war, catastrophe in the country / region of origin?

2. Does the minority group encounter social exclusion that leads it to encounter strain and to live in disorganized areas?

3. Is there a cultural difference between the minority group and the dominant group of the society that gives room to a conflict of values and interests between the two groups, later leading to a criminalization of the minority group?

The first question is related to Hällsten, Sarnecki and Szulkin's (2011) hypothesis that the context of exit has an effect on immigrants who develop anti-social behaviour. The second question may help to understand, Mears (2002), Martinez and Lee (2000) perceptions of the contribution of strain in immigrants' crime; especially juvenile delinquency that are reported in Sweden to be “thefts, vandalism, … , drug offences including offences that only involve personal consumption....” (Brå, 2005, p. 73). Finally, the third question aims at exploring Martinez and Lee's (2000) assumptions that cultural conflict or difference in cultural values in the host society might explain immigrants’ crime.

- **Structure of the Paper**

In order to answer these questions, I first of all write a chapter where my theoretical framework for this paper will be discussed and analysed. This theoretical framework is mostly based on theories in the criminology field, especially in immigrant crime. The ones that I chose to discuss on are: strain / anomie and social disorganization (as a result of social exclusion) and conflict theory. Some theories in use in the field of International Migration and Ethnic Relations will also be discussed such as the stranger and assimilation. In order to answer the questions above, I use different methods of research, namely documentary analysis, unstructured observation and interviews. In the method's chapter, I describe the methods in use in this research and I critically analyse the reason behind my choice of these methods with consideration to their limitations. Afterwards, I present the results of my research while analyzing them in a discussion that I hope will lead to an answer to my question: How does a minority group become a pebble in a
country’s shoe? However, as mentioned above, I miss to analyze the data received on the Bamileke in Douala on the basis of social disorganization because I did not have the opportunity to accurately study a disorganized area in Douala. I intend to analyze the case of the Middle Eastern and Arabs in Malmö-Sweden, later do the same with the case of the Bamileke; afterwards, elaborate the corroborations of the two cases before concluding the paper.

- **Elements of Comparison**

Therefore, I intend to compare the minorities groups: Arabs in Malmö and Bamileke in Douala under the same frame of reference – that is research question and theories. This implies that I will analyze the two cases on the basis of the same research question and theories with the exception of the Social Disorganization theory that will only be used to analyze the case of the Middle Eastern and North African immigrants in Malmö. This is due to the fact that I did not have the opportunity to accurately study a disorganized area in Douala where Bamileke people might settle. On the other hand, the ground of comparison will be different because they are groups practicing different forms of migration: the Bamileke is practicing rural exodus – that is a national migration from a rural area to an urban area – and the Middle Eastern and North African Immigrants are practicing international migration. One might say that it would be better to tackle the two issues differently because of the difference of the cases. Yet, I believe that this is what makes this research interesting: Two different countries with different social, cultural, economic and political conditions that may corroborate with each other. Indeed, despite their differences, they have a commonality – two different settings or countries, two different minorities performing different sorts of migration end up being criminalized in the locality that hosts them – which might also indicate a possibility of corroboration. Before making evident the corroboration(s), I might have found during my research in a particular section reserved for it, I intend to make first of all analysis of the Middle Eastern and North African immigrants in Malmö and next of the Bamileke in Douala.
2. Theoretical Framework

Although a criminal might be perceived in the society as someone dangerous who breaks the laws of a particular country that respectable citizens, who want to be in line with the authority, should avoid, Marx perceives the criminal as somebody who serves or has a function in the society. This gives me the impression that the criminal contributes in a certain way to the equilibrium in the society. As a matter of fact, some functions in the society would not exist without the criminals. According to Marx,

“The criminal produces not only crimes but also criminal law, and with this also the professor who gives lectures on criminal law and in addition to this the inevitable compendium in which this same professor throws his lectures onto the general market as "commodities." This brings with it the augmentation of national wealth [...]. The criminal moreover produces the whole of the police and of criminal justice, constables, judges, hangmen, juries, etc.; and all of these different lines of business, which form equally many categories of the social division of labour develop different capacities of the human spirit, create new needs and new ways of satisfying them” (Marx, qtd by Terdiman, 1979, p. 7).

A present example of what the criminal produces is this same paper I am writing and the research behind it. There is indeed no doubt that criminals play a role in our society and contribute in a certain way to its equilibrium. In order to answer to the multiple questions behind what could be the reasons that may push somebody to become criminals, scholars have developed theories. These theories are all interesting and in a certain way tend to suggest the responsibility of the society in the production of criminals. As a sociologist who believes in constructionism, I also believe that there is a social construction behind the idea of crime that contributes to produce who will be labelled “criminal”. This implies that I believe that one is not born criminal, but one becomes criminal as a result of a combination of factors as my research will indicate. However, it should be well noticed that this paper is not meant to discuss about all crimes; it rather focuses on the migrant's crime especially the young ones. One of the theories that tend to explain the migrant's crime is the strain that may be caused by the social exclusion sometimes encountered by migrants.

2.1 Social Inclusion / Exclusion

Even though they acknowledge that social inclusion (sometimes referred as social cohesion as Young (2000, p. 13) remarks) is a concept that is difficult to define, Bevelander and Pendakur
(2010, p. 6) literature review on social inclusion suggests that it is a concept that can be considered as an outcome, a process, a framework or an ideal that aims to ensure that every individual of a society fully participate to every aspects of their communities’ life (economic, political and cultural) as any other members. Young (2000, p. 13) refers to this concept as being “a set of policies, social services and civic education” aiming for the support of people like immigrants who in Europe are considered as those who “misfit” because of their racial, cultural difference and youth unemployment to fit into “dominants norms and institutions”. The concept of social inclusion is directly linked to the concept of social exclusion because the process and outcome of social inclusion aims at preventing the process of social exclusion which is, according to the Council European Union (2003, p. 8), “a process whereby certain individuals are pushed to the edge of society and prevented from participating fully by virtue of their poverty, or lack of basic competencies and lifelong learning opportunities, or as a result of discrimination.” In addition to this definition, Armartya Sen sees it as being “constitutively a part of capability deprivation as well as instrumentally a cause of diverse capability failures” (Armartya, 2005, p. 5). In other words, it is the act of preventing someone or a group of people to have access to what is necessary for them; it is also the fact of not being able to have access to what is necessary for oneself. Furthermore, Wilson reports Jock Young’s understanding of social exclusion that is a cultural phenomenon which origin comes from “the relationship between identity and social acceptance and the fact that social success that seems to be attributed to merit is actually prevented (although encouraged) of access by those who are poor because of their lack of material means (2006, p. 343). Social exclusion might also be perceived as related to the concept of ingroup – that is group of which one is member – and outgroup – that is a group of which we are not member (Hinton, 2000, p. 24). According to Bernstein, Sacco, Young, Hugenberg and Cook, “essentialized ingroup-outgroup distinctions enhance the sting of social exclusion and the positivity of social inclusion” (2010, abstract). Such an essentialized distinction and perception of an outgroup is reported by Hinton to have the possibility to lead to discrimination (2000, p. 125).

In Europe, social exclusion has been mostly related to poverty (Room, 1995, p. 1), the lowest in the socio-economic status. I define here socio-economic status as the status an individual has in the hierarchy structure of a society. It is mostly measured with an individual employment that generates income, wealth and the type of housing; it can influence his/her education and/or has been influenced by his/her education. In many European countries, there is a social security system that tends to minimize the effect of unemployment on socio-economic status because this social security system allows individual to receive an income. In Sweden, this social welfare system is also extended to immigrants, even those who chose not to naturalize. In addition to this,
there is a system of equality in Sweden that allows immigrants and the rest of the population to live under the same condition. As Soininen reports, “immigration had to be regulated by the 'ability of society to give immigrants work, housing, social care and education on the same terms as the rest of the population'” (1999, p. 688), which in fact may contribute to social inclusion. According to Amartya Sen (2000, p. 22), minorities, especially immigrants, are the most affected by unemployment when there is a scarcity of employment; Bevelander (1999) confirms this information in Sweden. Seeing on this angle, it may appear that unemployment is no longer a hindrance to social inclusion; idea that might be erroneous if we consider Amartya Sen who notes that even if an individual who is unemployed is materially supported by the welfare system of the country, he “does not get to exercise much freedom of decision, and attitudinal studies have brought out the extent to which this loss of freedom is seen by many unemployed people as a central deprivation” (Armatya, 2002, p. 19-20). He continues his arguments by saying that unemployment affects negatively one’s participation to his community’s life. Also, Zeev Rosenhek accuses “diverse informal exclusionary practices” to be responsible to the restriction of the “de facto access” of immigrants to their social rights (Rosenhek, 2006, p. 496). Implying that a country may implement a system allowing immigrants to have equal living conditions than the rest of the population, but it does not guarantee immigrants to have access to the resources allowing them to have the same living conditions. This information implies that immigrants may encounter some disadvantages in their host society despite official or formal measures taken to prevent it to happen.

Kabeer (2000) identifies different forms of disadvantages underpinning social exclusion (p.1) among which are economic forms of disadvantages and cultural forms of disadvantages as developed by Fraser which distinctions are reported by Kabeer to be heuristic instead of real because they tend to be inter-related, or in some circumstances inseparable (2000, p.8). In case the disadvantage is largely economic, the disadvantage groups are reported by Kabeer to mobilize for their 'interest' asking for 'redistribution'. In case it is largely cultural based on the value of a disadvantage group, they mobilize for their 'identity' asking for 'recognition'. In this particular case, inclusion is seen to be problematic if it requires the group to deny its identity and difference. Finally, in case the disadvantage is hybrid, the disadvantage group's “mobilization will encompass material interest and social identity and demands for justice will straddle the politics of redistribution as well as recognition” (ibid, p. 8-9), which according to Fraser “leads to a potential tension” (ibid, p.9). If the needs expressed by the disadvantaged groups – that find themselves excluded – are ignored, Kabeer notes that it might generate “activities with negative implications for the security, safety and peace of mind of all sections of society” such as petty
crime, organized violence and civil war (ibid, p. 26). This can be better explained in the strain theory.

### 2.2 Strain Theory

In the presentation typology of the four modes of individual adaptation – that is mode of adaptation that people choose in the society in order “to resolve the strains generated from the inability to attain success”(Lilly, Cullen & Ball, 2011, p. 64) – Merton enumerates ‘innovation’ as a deviant mode of adaptation that is more likely to touch those who wish to attain the goal ascribed by the society but are prevented, through various means [like social exclusion] to attain it via legitimate means and, hence feel obliged to use illegitimate ways to attain this goal. In this case, Merton was writing about the American society and identified economic success as a cultural goal, the ‘American dream’ which poor people was under the incentive to attain through hard work – that was presented as being the legitimate mean to become rich. Merton's perception appears to be flawed by the fact that it considers only one variable of goal (cultural goal in the United States portrayed as being economic success). Hence, one form of strain (prevention to attain economic success), and it fails to include in the analysis an explanation or an understanding of delinquency among the middle and upper classes. This failure to explain and understand delinquency or deviance among the middle and upper classes is discussed by Agnew who reports revised versions of the strain theory in which it is believed that adolescents are inclined to deviate in order to attain immediate goals (1985, p. 153) – goals that are variable depending on the individual – rather than long-term goals such as economic success. According to Agnew, focusing on immediate goals can allow to explain and understand middle class delinquency because immediate goals are not related to social success (ibid).

In order to revolutionize Merton’s paradigm of strain theory, Agnew developed a general strain theory of crime, which presents three different types of strain, unlikely to Merton that presents only one type of strain (prevention to attain economic goal). According to Agnew, Brezina, Wright & Cullen (2002) strain can be:

1. To prevent somebody to attain any positively valued goal. Indeed, Merton’s strain can be included in this perception of strain, but any other type of goal like social status and autonomy can be included, depending on the individual (p. 44). This first type of strain appears to me to be related to the case of a group that encounters social exclusion and mobilize for the purpose of redistribution because they experience an economic disadvantage as Kabeer points out (2000, p.8). Indeed, in case their request of
redistribution is ignored, the group asking for redistribution that finds itself in a position where its members is prevented to attain an economic goal may use crime as a solution.

2. To remove or to threaten removing something or somebody valued by the individual (Agnew et al., 2002, p. 44). In this case, the individual may use illegal means to replace what was removed from their life or they may revenge against those who originated the strain (Lily et al., 2011, p. 75). This second type of strain appears to me to be related to the case of a group that encounters social exclusion because they experience cultural disadvantage, demand recognition and whose inclusion may require denying its identity and difference (Kabeer, 2002, p.9). This requirement that is perceived as might be problematic by Kabeer, might also be perceived by the members of the group as a threat of their identity and value to be removed from them; which according to Agnew et al., is a strain that may lead an individual to commit a crime.

3. To be treated in a negative way (Agnew, et al., 2002, p. 44). In this case, an individual is more likely to commit crime in order to escape from the treatment imposed to him/her or like in the second type of strain; s/he is likely to revenge from the one originating the strain (Lily et al., 2011, p. 75-76). Because social exclusion might be due to discrimination, (Todman, 2004, P.2-3) which might imply a negative treatment, this third type of strain suggests that individual experiencing discrimination may commit crime as a response to their negative treatment.

As immigrants who are more likely to be affected by unemployment in case of economic crisis, who face social exclusion by the fact that they are not employed and do not fully participate to the life of their communities, who face discrimination at work, who face informal exclusionary practices in the society and do not enjoy the principle of equality for all, migrants are more likely to encounter the three types of strain as portrayed by Agnew.

2.3 Social Disorganization

Social disorganization - a theory first advanced by Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay - tends to show the effect of some neighbourhood ecological conditions on the increase of crime rates in certain communities (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003, p. 374). It “refers to the inability of a community to realize common goals and solve chronic problems” (ibid) such as poverty, residential mobility, ethnic heterogeneity, and weak social networks which, according to the theory, “decrease a neighborhood’s capacity to control the behaviour of people in public, and hence increase the likelihood of crime” (ibid). Kurbin and Weitzer (2003) develop an idea that suggests that social
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disorganization is in some ways related to the strain theory: “High crime rates exist ... because limited opportunities make it difficult for residents [of disorganized areas] to pursue conventional goals and because they lack the willingness or capacity to prevent deviance” (379). Indeed, as developed in the strain theory, limited opportunities (perhaps due to social exclusion sometimes encountered by migrants) make it difficult for people to pursue conventional goals and might result in making people to commit crime in order to reach their goals. In addition to this, Martinez and Lee (2000) add another factor that leads to social disorganization in the case of immigrants’ crime: the difference of values between the immigrants and their receiving countries (p. 494) and difference in generational values (p.493). This difference in generational values is based on the fact that the children of the immigrants adopt the values of the receiving countries that might be different from the values of their parents who might still cultivate the old values from their home countries; and the fact that their children adopt the new value from the receiving country might make it difficult for the [the families] to cope with the standards of the values and obligations required by the receiving country (ibid). This factor leading to social disorganization based on value can also be traced on another theory: conflict theory.

2.4 Conflict Theory

Before explaining conflict theory, I would like to explain two concepts upon which it is based: social construction of crime and labelling theory.

2.4.1 The Social Construction of Crime

The concept of crime is mostly a reified idea of breaking a rule that is portrayed and perceived as being dangerous for the society. It is so reified that people fail to realize that crime is a relative concept that “changes over time, across societies and even from one situation to the next” (Lily et al., 2011, p. 140). To illustrate this, I can simply take the fact that sexual harassment is considered as a crime in the Swedish text of laws, but it is not considered as a crime in the Cameroonian text of laws where it is said that a woman harassed always have the right to say ‘no’ even if the ‘no’ said will cost her to lose her job or to unjustly fail a course in school. Indeed, in the case of Sweden, a woman who is harassed may sue the one harassing her on the basis of the laws allowing her to do so. However in Cameroon, she has no ground from the texts of law to sue the one harassing her for harassment. This example shows that it is not because a man sexually harassed a lady that he automatically becomes a criminal, but he might become a criminal if and only if his community or state has laws labelling sexual harassment as a crime. Therefore, the understanding of who a criminal is may also be relative. As an example, I can illustrate the fact that in Sweden, only the man asking and paying the service of a prostitute is the criminal;
whereas in Cameroon, it is only the prostitute who is perceived as a criminal and the one requesting her service will never be charged for that. Understanding that crime is a social construction allows us to perceive that the term “criminal” is a label; the law-makers decide what may or may not be criminal and those in charge of the implementation of the law are the labelling agents. This implies that someone will not be perceived as a criminal if there is no law in a state or a community that determines and confirms that the individual is a criminal. It can thus be said that a criminal does not come from nowhere; in fact, what makes an individual a criminal are the label agents that make the laws and work for its application (ibid, p. 142).

Despite the relevance of this concept, one may say that there are actions that are known as crime independently of the community or state the action occurred. However, Pfohl (1985, qtd by Lilly et al. 2007, p. 124-5) gives an illustration that tends to correct this perception. For example, killing somebody or taking what does not belong to you without permission are automatically taken for granted as crimes independently of the community or the state the action occurred. However, one must consider that in certain circumstances, killing a human being or taking what does not belong to you without permission are not labelled as crime such as homicide or theft or even if they are considered as such, they are not considered to the same extent. The law of a state or a community defines again in which circumstances those actions can be referred as crime, to which extent it can be punished, and in which circumstance the author of the actions can be labelled a criminal. This explains why Lilly et al notes, “it is the nature of the societal reaction and the reality it constructs – not the immutable nature of the act per se – that determines whether a crime has occurred” (2007, p. 124).

**2.4.2 Labelling as a Self-Fulfilling Prophecy**

This concept is based on the idea that “labelling and reacting to offenders as ‘criminals’ can have the unanticipated and ironic consequence of deepening the very behaviour it was meant to halt (ibid, p. 139).” It is, hence, meant to work as a self-fulfilling prophecy, which according to Merton is “a false definition of the situation evoking a new behaviour which makes the originally false conception comes true” (Merton, qtd by Lilly et al., 2011, p. 145). In other words, somebody who first was not a criminal, may become – after doing an act that is found to be reprehensible by the criminal law of his/her community or state – a criminal through the label imposed on him/her by the society who calls and reacts towards the person as a criminal and this can be done independently of who the person was (whether or not he was known as a good citizen or good person for his community) before committing the action that made him to be labelled as criminal. Lilly et al. explains it through the fact that by publicly calling an individual
criminal, s/he is also depicted or portrayed as a non-recommendable individual, somebody to avoid. It can also be said that by being publicly called a criminal, the individual ceased to be perceived by the society as an individual like others. S/he faces discrimination that can lead to social exclusion. By experiencing these sorts of treatment from the society, the person may start to internalize in him/herself that s/he is a criminal and may perpetuate criminal acts (ibid, p. 145-47).

2.4.3 Conflict Theory

From the discussion of the previous concepts (Social Construction of Crime and Labelling as a Self-Fulfilling Prophecy), it is possible to understand that the relationship between the labels and the labelling agents is a question of power. Indeed, the label agent has the power to decide who the label is and for how long s/he is going to remain a label. This is the core foundation of the conflict theory: it “focus[es] attention on struggles between individuals and/or groups in terms of power differentials”(ibid, p. 166). This definition of conflict theory inspires me to believe that in a society, there are groups of people who tend to decide who is to blame, for what s/he is going to be blamed, how s/he is going to be blamed and for how long s/he is going to be blamed. Schermerhorn (2009, p. 17) calls them “the dominant group” which “signifies that a collectivity within a society which has preeminent authority to function both as guardians and sustainers of the controlling value system, and as prime allocators of rewards in the society.” According to Schermerhorn, this dominant group might be an ethnic group or a majority group among others…. It thus appears to me that the group that is going to be chosen as the one to be blamed will be in conflict with the one deciding on who is to be blamed. In other words, the chosen label is the one in conflict with the labelling agent / the dominant group that imposes on him/her values to respect that are not his/hers, but are for the interest of the dominant group. Therefore, labelling what Schermerhorn (ibid) will call “a subordinate group who does not respect the values imposed by the dominant group” as a criminal will be a measure taken by the dominant group to ensure the respect of its prescribed values. This measure can also be perceived as assimilation; a theory developed by Boas and which assumes that culture is far more than biology heredity and is not static but mutable (Cornell & Hartmann, 2006, p. 42). This implies that someone who has a cultural identity or habits can mutate his cultural habits with the other culture, through contact with people of another culture, and by so doing assimilate to the new culture. This theory seems to suggest a solution to the problem of migrant's crime as Boas reports the result of Dr Elliot Stofflet: “A study … conducted by Dr. Elliott Stofflet shows that in the second generation, that is among descendants of immigrants, the rates of crimes approach or equal those of the native Americans…. Assimilation has been proved for all nationalities” (Boas, 1939, p. 11). In addition
to this, Martinez and Lee (2000, p. 490) suggests that assimilation is done through criminal laws that reflect the interest of the dominant groups. This assimilation might also be perceived as an outcome on which Chambliss writes, “… it becomes necessary for the dominant groups in the society to enforce through coercion the norms of conduct which guarantee their supremacy” (Lilly et al, 2011, p. 181). Moreover, Martinez and Lee (2000, p. 490) report Sellin's idea who “recognized that the criminal law reflects the values of the 'dominant interest groups' in society, and that the values of other social groups, particularly immigrants, were quite different”. Furthermore, Sutherland advances that the label is someone having conduct denoted as injurious to the society or to those who possess political power within the society (Lilly et al, 2011, p. 170).

According to me, this theory seems to be related to the notion of stranger by Simmel and defined as a person who “comes today and stays tomorrow”, someone whose position in the spatial circle “is affected by the fact that he does not belong to it initially, and that he brings qualities into it that are not and cannot be indigenous to it” (Simmel, 1996, p. 37). This definition of the stranger by Simmer implies that the stranger is a newcomer who moves to another society and stays permanently. Based on Simmel’s understanding of the stranger, it can be understood that the stranger who does not belong to the spatial circle initially does not have the same primordialist attachment with those who initially belonged to it. For this reason, one of the qualities the stranger brings into the spatial circle is the objectivity which is also the freedom to perceive things in a different way: contrary to the ‘owner of the soil’ who, because of his primordialist ties and the primordialist perception of his own culture, lacks an objectivity that does not allow him to transcend taboos that are constructed throughout the history of the spatial circle. This is confirmed by Simmel who states, “he [the stranger] examines conditions with less prejudice; he assesses them against standards that are more general and more objective; and his actions are not confined by custom, piety or precedent” (ibid, p. 39). Even if this sounds to me as a positive aspect in the sense that it can contribute to the evolution of a society instead of stagnation, this freedom may be perceived as ‘dangerous’ by the institution of the host societies because it incites to do things out of the pre-established norms, rules and order (ibid). Indeed, because the stranger is not bound to the primordialist ties of his host society and because he is not attached to the history of his host society that contributed in the construction and the beliefs in the laws and norms of the society, it is much easier for him/her to perceive laws and norms without the prejudice that the native members of his/her host society has; s/he does not perceive the fictive wall that may prevent the native of the host society to break the rules. This is probably why Simmel suggests that the stranger’s freedom contains dangerous possibilities and it explains why it has been from the earliest time that incitement is perceived as coming from outside and
foreign emissaries (ibid). Actually, the stranger practices a culture that is totally different from the majority group and that may tend to be considered as injurious or unacceptable. As mentioned in the discussion about the social construction of crime, crime is a social construction that makes it (crime) to be a relative concept depending on the society where one comes from. This implies that a stranger, coming from a society where s/he was in a setting of the social construction of crime according to his /her society, is more likely to find it difficult to perceive crime the same way natives from his host society would perceive. In fact, their perceptions of social values and norms are totally different and can be conflicting with one another.

The fact that the stranger is acting based on his/her culture – that might be different from the culture of the native – incites me to ask whether one may say as Simmel that the stranger assessment of conditions are “against standards that are more general and more objective”. This is because the stranger might also be perceived as somebody who is attached to his/her primordialist attachment; and his perception of the native culture, values and laws might be subjectively influenced by his/her values, laws and culture that are simply different from the natives of his/her host society. In this case, in a society where the stranger belongs to an ethnic minority, the dominant group of the society which has more power is more likely to tend imposing its values on the ethnic minority and to create laws in which the stranger will become the criminal if s/he does not respect the rules. As a result of this, the stranger might become a criminal who, according to Martinez and Lee (2000), may be acting according to culturally accepted norms and feeling no “mental conflict” when violating the law (p. 491).
3. Methods

In an attempt to give an answer to my research questions, I have performed documentary analysis, unstructured observation and interviews among some people belonging to the minority groups I am studying. Each of these methods has weaknesses and strengths that are worth discussing about. I also make use of my experiences as a method to collect data to analyse. For example, since the 7th of October 2010, I have been working as a volunteer in an association, which aims at helping immigrant children to integrate in Sweden. At this moment of the project, all the children speak Arabic and are coming from the Middle East. Working there as a volunteer gives me the occasion to meet, discuss and share with many children and families. It also gives me the opportunity to have an experience with them as well as with their culture, attitude and their interaction with the Swedish culture. Because one of the aims of the project is to help children overcome conflict in their receiving country, Sweden, I have had the opportunity to have an insight on how they face conflicts in Sweden. Also, I grew up in Douala where my parents moved in when I was 4 years and I stayed there until I left to Europe when I was 22. As a native of the Grassfields - precisely of the Bamileke folk - I have had an experience with the Grassfields communities and their ways of life in Douala. However, this method of collecting data based on experience suffers from a weakness: Using my experience to analyze the data can result in bias. As a matter of fact, I am more likely to be subjective, take position or frame my research based on my experience. The meaning and importance I may give to the information I received are also more likely to be biased because they are based on my previous knowledge of the groups (Mehra, 2002), especially with the Bamileke, which is the group I ethnically belong to. As for the Middle East and North African immigrants in Sweden, my analysis and frame of my research might also be biased based on previous knowledge from the media and interactions with friends who are native Swedes.

3.1 Documentary Analysis

The documentary analysis I am about to perform are based on the documents coming from the website of various organizations on internet that describes the emigration and motivation of emigration from the Middle Eastern and North African natives to Sweden as well as from the Bamileke people to Douala. They also describe and analyse their social exclusion as well as their cultural differences with the dominant groups of their host society. For the account of the migration of the Middle Eastern and North African migrants to Sweden, I make use of statistical information in Sweden from the Swedish Migration Board to describe the population originating from the Middle East and North Africa and to look for the recent registered motives they give to
ask for residence permit in Sweden. In order to analyse their recent motives of migration to Sweden, I use the one reported by the Migration Board based on statistics from January 2011 till the 13th of May 2011, the date when I have retrieved the statistical information from the Migration board portal: www.migrationsverket.se. As for the account of the migration of the Bamileke (originating from West Cameroon) to Douala, I use Google Scholar to find out what scholars have written to describe these people’s migration to Douala and the motives of their migration. My analysis will be based on my interpretation and explanation of my understanding of the data found from the documents. Considering that Scott cautions researchers not to regard document as objectives data (qtd. by Fitzgerald in Briggs & Coleman, 2007, 280), I take into account the subjectivity that could have been behind the documents and therefore try to analyse the data more critically. In addition to this, I consider the four criterions enumerated by Scott as being the criterion for documents to be analysed. These criterions are authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning (ibid, p. 285). Authenticity refers to the soundness and authorship of the document – that is, if the document is a copy or an original and if the author is known (ibid). In this particular case, the documents I analyse are originals from known authors. The credibility of a document “refers to whether the evidence is free from error and distortion” (Mogalakwe, 2006, p. 226). Because this paper is about social phenomenon and not physical one, it is therefore difficult to speak of evidence without considering that the way evidence is perceived is related to our social context (Berger and Luckman, 1991, p. 16). Consequently, it is difficult to assess the credibility of the documents I am about to analyse because they all belong to social sciences and any evidence in social sciences can be questioned because they might be linked to the social context of the author(s). As for representativeness, that “refers to whether the evidence is typical of its kind, or if it is not, whether the extent of its untypicality is known.” One can say that they are typical of statistical information in the social context of Sweden and of scholarly information based on life history in Cameroon where more statistical research are to be done. Finally, the last criteria – meaning – refers to «whether the evidence is clear and comprehensible» (ibid, p. 227). Even if the evidence of the information might seem clear and comprehensible, there is a need to consider, as mentioned earlier, the subjectivity attached to the message and the social context of the author(s) of the documents that might be different from my social context and might affect my understanding of the whole information as well as the comprehension and perception of what is called “evidence” in order to have a critical analysis that allows to answer the research questions. On the basis of these criteria, I understand that it would not be suitable to limit my methods of research to documentary analysis. One reason might be that the perception of “evidence” is related to each individual background and might therefore
be questioned because the meanings/interpretations are purely subjective. Consequently, I choose to use an unstructured observation of the field of research that would allow me to support my understanding and analysis of the documents.

3.2 Unstructured Observation

During the summer 2011, I was living in an area where most of my neighbors were from the Middle East. I could know that because we used to ask each other where we come from. Before moving to that place, I was told to be careful with my stuffs because of the constant theft occurring there. I also observed regular cases of vandalism in the area. The fact that I was living there allowed me to interact and to have an experience with the inhabitants’ ways of living in this area that I choose not to mention the name. During that same period, I also had the opportunity to visit Rosengård, a place that was introduced to me as full of immigrants and crimes. I visited that place with a young man living there that I first met in a bus and with whom I stayed in touch. We were escorted by someone he called his cousin and they brought me to a place where they usually meet girls with other young members of their gang. My understanding of the word “gang” is based on Esbensen, Winfree, Ni He and Taylor (2001) that differentiate it from other youth groups by the fact that they are involved in illegal activities, they have some level of organization such as the institution of initiation rites, have an established leader, or have symbols; also, members position in the gang is either a core member or a peripheral member (p. 114). In this particular gang, although I cannot say that all the members were involved in illegal activities because I have not had an experience that confirms it, I know based on the conversation and an experience I have had with two of them that they were involved in illegal activities such as pimp and gang rape. I also know based on my experience with them that they have a twenty-five year old leader who is the one to whom they report their activities and who was not easily accessible to me; he was actually the eldest of the group. Whether this leader was the top leader or a sub-leader, I will not be able to confirm it with no reasonable doubt because I did not have the possibility to ask the question. It also appeared to me that some members were more peripheral members and others core members; this impression came from the observation that some members were easily accessible than others and before accessing a core member of the gang, the peripheral members had to introduce me to the core. Actually the one who introduced me to the other core members of the gang was a nineteen years old man who, based on the information I have received from him, was a peripheral member who was not solely involved in the gang activities. He was a full time employee in a grocery in Malmö and attended gang meeting and activities with his friends in the evening after his job.
As I was in Douala from 2009 - 2010, I daily visited from August 2009 to February 2010 the minor district of the central prison of Douala. This allowed me to be in contact with them and with the members of the families of some minors in prison. More than half of the minors in prison were Bamileke. During this moment, I performed unstructured observation that I also recorded in a diary and will be used to critically analyse the information provided from the documentary analysis. However, as Somekh (2009) notes, my unstructured observation would be “guided by [my] prior knowledge and experience”. Therefore, it can be said that I observed “through the unique lenses of [my own] socio-culturally constructed values depending upon life history and factors such as [my] gender, ethnicity, social class and disciplinary and professional background” (P. 140). This method is also limited in that it portrays my personal understanding, perception and analysis. I need to add to it the perception of the people living the situation. With regard to this, interviews will enable me to efficiently perform the political task of the social scientist, which, according to Mills, is to “translate personal troubles into public issues, and public issues into the terms of their human meaning for a variety of individuals” (2000, p.187).

### 3.3 Interviews

In both Malmö and Douala, I have reported for this research twenty seven (27) individual interviews (questions used for the interview are in the Appendix section of this paper) and two group interviews with a total of sixteen (16) informants that were most of the times held in a form of friendly conversation with different people who knew that I was conducting a research as well as its topic. The interviews in Malmö were held from August 2010 to summer 2012 meanwhile the interviews in Douala were held from August 2009 to June 2010. When discussing with my respondents, I recorded the information collected either written in a notebook or orally through the use of a Dictaphone.

During the interviews, I was more interested to know who my respondents were – that is, how they perceive themselves, what were the challenges they face in their host societies, how they would personally evaluate their life in the environment they were and in case they committed crime, how they could explain that they got involved in crime at an early stage of their life. It was up to them to express it in their own words and as they wished to explain. This allowed respondents to elaborate, explain and argue their perception and position as Kvale and Brinkmann suggests that an interview should be done (2009, p. 5). I also had the possibility to critically confront the answers of the respondents as Bourdieu did in a case of an interview reported by Kvale and Brinkmann (2009, p. 7). As Torrance would say, it “offer[ed] an insight
into respondents’ memories and explanations of why things have come to be what they are, as well as descriptions of current problems and aspirations” (Torrance, 2005, p.35).

One of the challenges that I met with the interview was reluctance from people. Indeed, some people did not want to be interviewed. Besides, sometimes when I met somebody who was willing to be interviewed, after sometimes, the person was behaving as if s/he was no longer willing to. Most of the time, my informants' main concern was to remain anonymous, up to the point that they would not allow me to reveal their country of origin in the research. The problem when the process of an interview was suddenly stopped was the fact that as it is supposed to be done in an interview, the interviewee and I (the interviewer) could no longer “work together to develop understandings” (Cousin, 2009, p. 73). Also, even though the observation was performed before the interview in order to give me more insight on the way to ask for an opportunity of interview, ask questions to future respondents and reduce communication problem due to cultural differences, I must admit that I still faced another form of communication's problem that was due to my limited knowledge of Swedish and no knowledge of Arabic; this forced me to improve my Swedish.

### 3.3.1 Interviews in Douala

I performed thirteen (13) interviews in Douala – Cameroon with semi-structured interviews of two (2) youths of less than eighteen years in the minor district of the Central Prison of Douala, who were not Bamileke but natives of the Littoral region where Douala is located. In addition, eleven (11) people from the Bamileke folk were also interviewed, out of which two (2) unstructured interviews with one (1) feyman of twenty-five years old and one (1) Bamileke traditional chief with semi-structured interviews with eight (8) boys of less than eighteen years old from the minor district of the Central Prison of Douala and of another (1) eighteen-year-old young Bamileke not known as delinquent. The interviews with the minors in the Central Prison of Douala were made prior to an authorization received, upon request, from the Vice Prime Minister, Minister of Justice of Cameroon.

### 3.3.2 Interviews in Malmö

During the summer 2011 and the summer 2012, I performed semi-structured interviews in Malmö with Middle Eastern and North African immigrants. From August 2010 to July 2012, I performed several unstructured interviews with Middle Eastern and North African immigrants as well as native Swedes. Some were group interviews and others were individual interviews.
- Interviews With Middle Eastern and North African Immigrants

During the summer 2011 and the summer 2012, I had four (4) interviews with migrants from the Middle East and North Africa. Out of them, I performed semi-structured interviews with two (2) mothers of boys who were less than fifteen years old and who were living where I have heard that many cases of vandalism and theft were reported, one (1) nineteen-year-old man who was still living with his mother and belonged to a gang with people younger than him in his district and who were involved in crime such as assault, one (1) twenty-one year old man who came alone in Sweden at the age of seventeen and was later introduced into the business of drugs. Sometimes, I did not have the notebook or the Dictaphone because an interview meeting was not planned and the conversation came spontaneously. In all the cases, the informants knew that I was carrying out research. As I did not want to miss the flow of the conversation, I continued with the conversation and as soon as I got home, I had to record all the information I could remember in my diary. From August 2010 to July 2012 in Sweden, I performed two group conversations: the first group conversation was held during the winter 2010 with ten (10) people from the association where I work as volunteer; the group comprises Middle Eastern parents and the two (2) social workers we work with. The second group conversation was during the summer 2011 with six (6) young people belonging to a gang. The oldest of the group was twenty-five years old; there was one of eighteen, another of nineteen whereas the three youngest ones were seventeen. I tried to have the possibility to meet the parents of the youngest, but they would not allow me to meet their parents. I will not report the information received from the discussion with the youngest since I did not receive their parents' approval, but I will report my experience with them. Also, ten (10) unstructured interviews were made with five (05) Middle Eastern immigrant parents and five (05) native Swedes.

- Interview With the “Native” Swedes

I need to precise that the information received and recorded from the native Swedes for this research does not represent the opinion of all the Swedes. Actually, during my research and stay in Sweden; I have met Swedes who had different opinions about the overrepresentation of Arab immigrants. Some believe that it was because of their culture that was incompatible to the Swedish culture and the fact that most Arabs do not want to adapt to the Swedish culture, others did not even believe that Arabs were overrepresented in crime and believed that this thought of the overrepresentation of Arabs in crime might simply be due to a xenophobic attitude of some Swedes or might simply be a myth. On the other sides, others said, in case the statistics are true, their overrepresentation might simply be due to the prejudice they encounter in the Swedish
society and the fact that they might be poorer and are prevented from social opportunities that native Swedes might enjoy; another group of Swedes did not believe in the categorization of people such as the concept of “native Swedes” and immigrants; according to the later group, nobody was a native Swede and making a distinction between individuals were the roots of the problems. However, most of the people I have discussed with tended to put themselves in a certain category and was proud to belong to this category. For example, some people refer to themselves as the “native Swedes” and other refer to themselves as the “Arabs” and were proud of their respective ethnicity and culture. Even though, none of my Arab respondents could confirm that all Swedes are discriminating them, I found out that most of my Arab respondents used what they perceived as the discrimination of some native Swedes to justify their crime. Because I did not have the space to study the data received from all Swedes, and I needed to keep focus in my research, I decided to choose to report in this research, the data received from the Swedes who believed in the difference of culture between Swedes and Arabs that could explain the overrepresentation of Arabs in crime as a result of the incompatibility between their respective culture and the fact that some Arabs do not want to adapt to the Swedish one. I made this choice because during my research, I had the impression that some of the Arab respondents said to be committing crime in response to this particular category of Swedes.
4. Middle Eastern and North African in Malmö

4.1 Emigration Background

According to Martin Baldwin, “… [T]he world’s highest share of migrant population is to be found in the Middle East” (2005, p. 2). In the following lines, I am going to give brief comments about the emigration history of some countries of the Middle East and North Africa. These are countries that are statistically reported by the Migration Board as having granted a residence permit in Sweden: Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt, Lebanon, Iraq, Somalia, Iran and Turkey.

Baldwin notes that in the Maghreb, North Africa: Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria migration was encouraged mostly in the form of labour migration with the intention to acquire migrant remittances (transfer of money by migrants workers to their home country), and to increase human capital, with the intention to participate to the development of the migrants’ home country when they will return (ibid, p. 4). The Contemporary Egyptian Migration reports that the same approach to openly encourage migration was adopted in Egypt in 1971 for the same reasons (2003, p. 20). Also, Abdulkrim concludes in his article that the Lebanese Migration is mainly characterized by labour migration (1993), which according to Marwan Abi Samra, is having, through migrants’ remittances, a serious impact on the economy of Lebanon (2010).

The IOM (International Organization for Migration) notes in its website that several phases of emigration have occurred from Iraq from the late 70s based on various motives that all caused forced migration. As example, it lists the war with Iran in the 80s, the gulf war in 1991 and the continual state of violence in the country that exists from 2003 until today (IOM, 2010).

According to IOM, the geographic position of Iran contributes in making Iran to be a place of refugee zone for Afghans and Iraqis. Also, Iran is experiencing rural exodus, which makes the country to face a high rate of unemployment, forcing young people to leave the country in order to find jobs abroad (IOM, 2011).

Gundel notifies that the famine caused by the civil war in 1998 has being the reason behind the massive fled of people from Somalia to North America and North-Western Europe. He suggests that the main reasons behind Somali emigration are political conflict and a search for better economic opportunity. As a matter of fact, migrant remittances have being shown to have more impact on the survival in Somalia than both development and humanitarian aid (Gundel, 2002).

Migration flow from Turkey to Europe occurred in the 60s as a response to the high demand for low skill workers. The declining economic trends in Europe that contributed to make most
European governments to change their migration policies also had an impact on the Turkish migrant workers to adopt a defensive position by settling in Europe. This also led to another form of emigration - family reunification - because most of the Turkish migrants’ workers were married and had left their families back home as Reniers recounts (1999).

### 4.2 Migration to Sweden in the Early 2011

The following information are descriptions of the Appendix A which is a table of statistical information retrieved from the portal of the Swedish Migration Board [www.migrationsverket.se](http://www.migrationsverket.se) and which shows the number of immigrants of the nine countries (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Lebanon, Iran, Iraq, Somalia, Turkey) according to status of migrants in Sweden in the early 2011. This information was lastly retrieved on Friday, the 13th of May 2011.

From this table, we can realize that citizens who have received more asylums or have been granted residence permit on the basis of refugee status in Sweden up to the date of the retrieved information are Somalia at the top of the stair, followed by Iraq as second and Iran on the third march.

Iraq has the highest record of family reunification and refugee family reunification residence permits granted compared to the other countries; followed by Turkey and Iran.

In the category of residence permit granted for the labour market, Turkey is at the head of the list, followed by Iran and Iraq. It is also possible to realize that residence permits on the ground of studies are more granted to students from Iran and Turkey.

We can also realize that in the Middle East, Egyptians and Lebanese do less migrate to Sweden. Furthermore, North Africa does not send many migrants from their countries to Sweden; however when they do migrate (Lebanon, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria), it is more on the ground of family reunification and labour migration.

### 4.3 Unpleasant Context of Exit

From the emigration background information above, it appears that except Turkey, Egypt and Lebanon, migration from other Middle Eastern countries (Somalia, Iraq and Iran) are more characterized by a forced migration – they are seeking for protection because of wars, natural catastrophes, etc…. The other countries of the Middle East (Turkey, Egypt and Lebanon) as well as North African countries (Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia) migration is more characterized by labour migration with the intention to bring remittance in their country and contribute to their
development. In this latter group – Turkey, Egypt and Lebanon as well as North African countries (Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia) – we cannot speak of an unpleasant context of exit as perceived by Hällsten, Sarnecki and Szulkin's because such a context is characterized by “violent internal conflicts or wars and high levels of political ethnical and social unrest and different forms of persecution” (2011, p. 13) that are not particularly reported in the case of the later countries listed above. On this basis, it can be concluded that the countries that are reported to be more characterized by an unpleasant context of exit are Somalia, Iraq and Iran because of the social, political and or economical condition of the country that forces migrants to leave their country hoping to find better living conditions and life opportunities elsewhere.

This unpleasant context of exit found in this documentary analysis was confirmed in the course of my experiences and conversation as I was performing my volunteer activities. The parents of children coming from a country where documentation shows most unpleasant context of exit characterized by traumatic experiences reported during our discussions the context of exit of their country that was characterized by wars and if not wars, a lot of violence and traumatic experiences that forced them to leave their country and find refuge in Sweden where they hoped their human rights would be more respected. The children also experienced the traumatic experiences. In addition to this experience, the children used to experience at their arrival in Sweden scenes of their parents crying while remembering the traumatic experiences encountered in their home country. Although these children experienced these traumatic scenes in their country and in Sweden, I have not experienced a case of juvenile delinquency among them.

However in the course of my investigation, I interviewed a man coming from a country where documentation does not report as much cases of traumatic experience at a national level as the others. Leaving his country at the age of seventeen, he soon became a drug dealer few times after his arrival. He acknowledged that he did not leave his country because of the existing social unrest, political and economical condition of his country that was unpleasant, but because of the social unrest in his family. Indeed, according to him, his father who was a rich man became a polygamous who no longer really cared for them and his mother. He experienced a lot of traumatic experience in his family caused by the absence of his father and what he called, “the wicked actions” of the other new wives of his father against his mother and siblings. With a lot of bitterness, he then decided to leave his country without informing his family and asked for asylum upon his arrival based on inaccurate allegations. He believed that he would not have had to leave his country and asked for asylum in another country if his father had been present, protective and caring. He hoped to find in Sweden a better living conditions and life opportunities to succeed than in his country for the simple reason that his father was not devoted to them. This
interview shows that there might be an unpleasant context of exit that may not be known or reported at the macro level, but at the micro level; this unpleasant context of exit is characterized by a traumatic experience for the child who are noted by Rutter et al (1998) and Caspi et al. (2002) to have “significantly higher risk than others to commit criminal acts” (reported by Hällsten, Sarnecki and Szulkin’s, 2011, p. 13). The outcome of this interview leads me to ask if a case of a child involved in juvenile delinquency prior to a traumatic experience is exclusive to immigrant Arab children or if children from any nationality background may not also be exposed to it. If yes, the unpleasant context of exit with traumatic experience may not be considered as a way to explain the criminalization of Arabs in Sweden.

4.4 Experience of Strain

Immigrants are the most affected by unemployment when there is a scarcity of employment (Armatya Sen, 2000, p. 22). This information is confirmed in Sweden by Bevelander (1999, p. 445-46) and most specifically by Rooth (2007) who reports the result of a research proving an implicit discrimination in hiring Arab-Muslims in Sweden. In addition to this, Middle Eastern immigrants are exposed as migrants to discriminations at their working place or in the trade union. Indeed, Soininen (1999, p. 696) notes that ethnic discrimination was reported to exist within unions preventing migrants’ members to have their voice heard. As a result to this, the Trade Union of Active Immigrants (TUAI) was created in the 1990s to remediate to the marginalization experienced by immigrants in the unions. This appears to be a solution, but Malm (2005) reports researchers, Mulinar and Neergaard, who claimed that the relationship between the Trade Union of Active Immigrants and the Trade Union Confederation is characterized by dominance and subordination (p. 28, 33). Also, on a more specific note, Agerström and Rooth report that Arabs / Muslim are subject to implicit prejudice from employers (2009, p. 51). Finally, researchers have proved that Arabs are discriminated in the rental housing market (Ahmed and Hammerstedt, 2008; Karlsson and Ericsson, 2012).

One way of preventing someone to attain a social status could be through discrimination in the labour market that results in not being hired, which Arabs / Middle Eastern and North African immigrants experience in Sweden as shown above. This implies that the minority group encounters social exclusion with an economic disadvantage. In this circumstance, based on Agnew et al., it can be understood that an individual may use crime as a way to acquire what they aspire for because they are prevented to have it through legal means. Again, the practice of discrimination (in the labour market or in the rental housing market) as mentioned above on the Middle Eastern and North African / Arab Immigrants who see their human rights taken away from
them and who experience social injustice through discrimination may help to understand the second type of strain according to Agnew et al. where the individual may want to revenge or use illegal means to take back what has been taken away from him/her (his/her human right). Moreover, based on Agnew et al. third type of strain and because discrimination may imply to be treated in a negative way, it might also be understood that Arabs experiencing discrimination might be likely to commit crime in order to escape from discrimination or, like in the second type of strain, to revenge from the one originating the strain.

As I was doing my voluntary activities, I did not particularly experience complain of discrimination from the families we tend to; on the contrary, they used to report that Sweden is a country where they feel they have more rights. However, at a certain period, the person called the “laser man” who used to shoot immigrants panicked non-Europeans immigrants in Malmö. During that period, one could see that the parents were really scared for their families. During group conversations, parents expressed their desire to find a job; it seemed not to be easy for them. Others who had high professional ambitions perceived that the number of years that was recommended to them to learn the Swedish language through SFI (Swedish for Immigrants) and to do studies that will allow them to realize their professional dream was a hindrance because before they get there they will be old, and it will also mean for them to live on social welfare which is not enough for them and their families to live on. Thus, the need for a job was absolutely necessary. Unfortunately, this was not easy to find. I tried to imagine the stress these families could go through: they left their countries in a particularly distressing condition, are still traumatized by their experiences there; they come in a new country and have the burden to look for a job in order to provide to their families’ needs, but they cannot find that job. Such situation might be very distressing for parents who (as mentioned in the previous discussion about the unpleasant context of exit) cry out of desperation of their situation, and their children witness the desperation and cries of their parents. It might also be very traumatizing for the children who see how difficult it is for their parents to achieve their dream. On the basis of the Merton's strain theory, Hallsten, Sarnecky and Szulkin (2011) believe that this is likely to induce children in crime or anti-social behaviour as they notice, “When the adult environment carries strong signals that available (legitimate) means are insufficient to achieve the goals of society, antisocial (or criminal) behaviour may arise among children” (p.8). However, despite the distressing circumstances the parents of these youths found themselves, I do not remember having experienced something that could suggest of juvenile delinquency among the youths we supervised during my voluntary activities.
I also had the privilege to interview a woman whose statement allowed me to understand Hallsten et al. (2011) statement based on Merton's strain theory. Indeed, this woman, mother of two boys and who is highly educated with her husband, confided to me that:

“My husband and I are highly educated and qualified, but we are doing mean jobs because we are Arabs. When our children see us suffering this way, they are angry and they want to revenge for their parents. They need to see that Arabs are not only good for Kebab, Falafel and to drive them in taxis. We are also highly educated and we need recognition. It is frustrating and our children see these frustrations and sympathize and fight for us through delinquency.”

In another interview, another mother complained about the difficulties of finding a job. She added that she had stopped wearing hijab to increase her chance of being employed, but it was still unsuccessful. This example shows the case of a woman who, in order to be included, found herself obliged to deny her difference which has been mentioned earlier to be perceived as problematic by Kabeer (2000, p.9). Another one who was desperately looking for a job told me,

“It is hurtful for our pride to visit the social service; they look down on us as if we were less human … and it is also difficult to find jobs. We have to beg and beg and beg when we look for jobs and even with that, we still do not find that job. Yesterday for example, I was the first to apply for a job, but I was still not taken; it is very frustrating….”

In this particular case, the respondent told me, “We are deprived of our pride of being who we are.” As a result of this deprivation, three of my informants talked to me about a crime that was said to be the response / revenge to this deprivation against the Swedish authority: fraud through an abuse of the Swedish welfare system. An example of this can be an individual who might be reported as unemployed; he is thus taking advantage of the Swedish welfare but works illegally. I have received a practical example to illustrate this case from an informant: a lady who had a doctorate degree from a prestigious university, one of the top universities in the world. For many years she has been looking for a job corresponding to her professional qualification, but she was always turned down because they said that she was overqualified; a reason that she has never been able to understand. This was a very painful situation for her that made her to fall into depression. She was living under social welfare and at a time, because of an illness, she benefited of an early retirement pension. At this moment, she received an offer to work outside Sweden. One of her Swede friends told her that she cannot accept the job because it would be fraud since
she is receiving a pension from the Swedish state. However, she took the job and this was her statement in reply to that (in absence of her Swedish friend),

“They have taken my life. Throughout these years I felt useless because of them. They could not give me a job and they have made all these years of education to become useless. I cannot miss the opportunity to have this job and to put into practice my knowledge. I am going to take this job and I will continue to receive their money to pay them back for all those stolen years.”

This particular case helps to understand the last two types of strain according to Agnew et al. (2002, p. 44) because in this case, it is understood that one’s pride has been taken away because the person was feeling negatively treated in her unsuccessful search of job. The lady found a way to have her pride back by finding a job in another country and to revenge by abusing the social welfare system. My conversation with three informants revealed to me that as much as they could, some Arabs would abuse the Swedish welfare system and it was justified as an act of revenge and not of survival.

One could say that the above given reasons are just a way to justify one’s crime especially that some acknowledged to me that the help received from the Swedish state as immigrants was much better compared to most European country. As a matter of fact, one of my informants gave me the amounts smugglers ask from people who come to Sweden. According to her, it is $12,000 for Sweden, which is much compared to Greece that is $5,000 and the United Kingdom that is $10,000. Although I have not been able to evaluate the accuracy of this information, it gave me the impression that (in case it is accurate) it might be related to the better quality of life they have heard they could have if they come to Sweden where they could benefit of a generous social welfare system that takes care of them much better than many other European countries. However, it appears to me that although some may abuse of the help they receive from the Swedish state (as I have been informed through my conversations with friends who are native Swedes that some native Swedes do also abuse of the Swedish welfare system), two of my Arab respondents perceive this help as a source of frustration that prevents them to reach their goals and realize their dreams. For example, the lady who has a doctorate degree explained that she saw herself being reduced to receive help although she struggled in her life to receive a doctorate degree that would allow her to have a high standard of life. The early retirement pension she received gave her the impression of having to struggle all her life in her academics just to get there, to be early retired without having the opportunity to practice a job that matches her qualification. From my understanding of the interviews I have had with two of my respondents, the help received from the Swedish welfare system gave them the impression of having being
reduced to ask for help in order to live; although they would have preferred of being helped to realize their professional dream. It appeared, instead, that the system of integration was too demanding on them with a very long program of learning the Swedish language and of professional training that would take them too much time to reach their goal. Another conversation with a mother revealed to me that she was abusing the system with a motivation of revenge, but also as a way to have much money that allows her to invest in her country of origin. She added not being the only one doing that. The outcome of this conversation shows that although the practice of fraud might be due to revenge, it might also be due to a rational choice made by those who practice it. When I wanted to know how somebody who was new in Sweden and had no knowledge about these possibilities of practicing fraud got to know about, three of my informants told me that if somebody was not aware of the different methods of fraud and how to practice it, s/he was initiated by those who are old in the system. I understand by this that there is a habit and culture for some people to abuse the Swedish social welfare with the motivation given to revenge from the discrimination they encounter as a minority group. From there, I asked how the children living in a family who used to practice this culture would escape to nurture a spirit of revenge and perpetuate the culture of practicing fraud that their parents used in order to provide for the family needs and wants. Based on my conversations with the three informants, it appeared that as soon as they have the possibility of being on their own (mostly from 18), the children perpetuated the culture of practicing fraud and it gave them a satisfying feeling of “fooling” the system that discriminates them.

Furthermore, four of my Arab informants told me that receiving help from the Swedish welfare system caused them to be looked down by the civil servants who issue their case and other members of the Swedish society who discriminate them and perceive them as invaders who receive money from the Swedish welfare that they do not deserve. My five Swedish respondents had the opportunity to express their frustration about the fact that immigrants receive too much help compared to native Swedes; some videos on YouTube confirm this frustration and impression of some native Swedes towards immigrants, especially Arabs because, according to them, they are the one, who mostly have a lot of children that are taken care of by the Swedish social welfare system. They perceive the help received by the Arab immigrants as especially undeserved because they have in no way contributed to the development of Sweden and some still do not contribute to the development of Sweden, but are more interested in getting as much help as they can get from the Swedish social welfare system through an abuse of the system. Also, the fact that they do not participate to this development contributes in sinking the economy of the country. Although none of the native Swedes – who expressed their frustrations towards the
increased presence of Arabs in the Swedish soil and “exaggerated help” received by Arabs from the Swedish welfare system – perceived themselves as discriminating or hating Arabs, ten of my Arab respondents felt that the frustration of the Swedes was also related to the discriminatory attitudes they have towards Arabs when they show them that they are invaders. As a result of this, as it has been noticed above, in addition to the frustration of not being able to reach their goal, the Arabs, who may feel discriminated by the natives Swedes – who (from the perspective of the Arabs) do not want them – encounter an experience of strain. According to Agnew et al., this experience of strain may explain their involvement in criminal acts such as fraud in order to reach their goals, to get what they feel has been taken away from them, to revenge from what was taken away from them or revenge from the negative treatment – through discrimination – they feel they have received from native Swedes. However, it does not explain the fact that they are criminalized by some native Swedes as if they are the only one committing the crimes; since those crimes are also committed by native Swedes.

4.5 Influence of Disorganized Areas

When I discovered Malmö for the first time in 2007, a place was described to me as the most dangerous place: Rosengård. It was said to be a place characterized by gangs, assaults and theft. When I asked to know why it was so. The reason that was given by some native Swedes and non native Swedes was that they are mainly Arabs desiring to invade and impose their rules for the sake of their religion. It was said that they hate Swedes despite all the benefits they receive from the Swedish society. For this section, part of my experience was made in Rosengård; almost all my respondents were living in Rosengård and this allowed me to get the information I needed for my analysis.

First and foremost, based on the information retrieved from my respondents – who actually all lived in Rosengård – in the section of “Experience of Strain”, it is possible to perceive that there is a considerable problem of social exclusion and social problems encountered by the respondents and the people of their ethnic community (the Arabs) living with them in the same area and experiencing more or less the same conditions of life. This can be perceived in the “We” my respondents used to talk about them, the “Arabs”, as if they want to say that it is a common experience among them. They refer to the “Arabs” as people who are discriminated in the process of hiring for jobs and whose professional ambitions are threatened. As a response towards their perceived discrimination and hurt of their pride, some of my informants chose to revenge through vandalism and through an abuse of the Swedish welfare system, and such a culture was perpetuated in some families. As I look into this phenomenon of revenge developed in families,
which felt hurt, I consider the fact that ten of my respondents talked about discrimination as a common experience among Arabs. In addition to this, researches have proved that Arabs are discriminated. I also consider that many Arab families live in Rosengård. Therefore, because they share the same neighbourhood and the same experience of discrimination and – according to my respondents – develop (for some) the same feeling of revenge, the young men grow and are educated in an atmosphere or environment where they learn to practice habits that are reprehensible by the Swedish laws as a response to their perceived discrimination. Also, my experience of Rosengård suggests to me that some people living in Rosengård have made the place to become a place where Swedes can be discriminated and humiliated, as the Arabs feel discriminated and humiliated by the Swedes when they are outside Rosengård. An Arab living in Rosengård has confirmed this suggestion.

When I met the members of the gang for the first time in the bus, there was an advert in the bus from the city of Malmö inviting people from Rosengård to express what they feel about their district; it was a moment during which it appeared that the city of Malmö was working to make structural changes in Rosengård in a way that may satisfy the residents of Rosengård. A young boy, member of the gang, took one of the adverts and used it as a pillow to lay his head on; his friends were laughing as he was laughing. I had the impression that they were laughing at the advert and may be the initiative of the advert that seems to be funny to them. Later during the group conversation, when I asked them if they like living in Rosegård despite all what is said about Rosengård, they first acknowledge that they know all what is said about Rosengård and showed that they were proud of that image of “No entry zone” Swedes have about Rosengård. They all concluded by saying, “I love Rosengård and I will live in Rosengård all my life!” This statement was even repeated twice by some of them. Among those present that day, only one who was nineteen told me that he was employed and he had ambitions to further his training. I was curious to know if being member of the gang and having ambitions about furthering his studies would not be in conflict in his future; but I understood that he entered in the gang when he was younger and he shared with them a story that built a strong bond with the other members of the gang and which made it difficult for him to leave the gang and/or to leave Rosengård. This experience with the gang made me to ask myself the following questions: did the young boy – who used the advert as a pillow in the bus and was laughing together with his friends – behave like that as an expression of lack of confidence in the city of Malmö that they will indeed work towards changing the district of Rosengård in a satisfying way for the underprivileged residents? Was it his manner to express the fact that changing Rosengård is not really a solution because it will not change the discrimination they face when they are outside Rosengård? Was he
considering this change of Rosengård as a possible threat to their gang activities that might sometimes be perceived as illegal and may prevent him to have the fun he has with his friends? These were the questions I wished to ask the gang members; unfortunately I did not have another opportunity of interview despite all my attempts.

The social problems encountered by Arab immigrants in Malmö and my experience with the gang show that Rosengård is a disorganized area according to Hallsten et al. (2011, p. 11). In this disorganized area, Andersson presents the possibility of a clash of culture and misunderstandings among the different actors of the district such as social workers, landlords, police, health care professionals, school staff on one hand and young workers or other residents (2009, p. 28) on the other hand. A situation that suggests that there is an “inability of [the] community to realize common goals and solve [its] chronic problems” (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003, p. 374); this portrays an example of social disorganization according to McKay and Shaw (1948).

In an attempt to know how one can become a criminal when living in a disorganized area, I interviewed the man who became a drug dealer (interviewed in the section of “Unpleasant Context of Exit”). He told me, “after they gave me the residence permit, I started looking for jobs but I could not find anything because of the language”. Added to this, his family pressurized him to send money home for various needs. In this kind of situation, he said, “I started looking for people who looked like me, hoping that they might introduce me into a network where I could find a job.” He indeed found people in his neighbourhood who looked like him and he took the habits to spend time with them. He continued, “One day, somebody would come to you and ask you if you have hashish. You do not know what hashish is. When you ask, they show you what it is; somebody buys it for you and tells you how you can sell it and make money. Later they teach you how to be careful with the police....”

It was particularly interesting for me to see how the respondent changed from “I” when talking about his situation before he came to know about selling drugs to the “you” when he came into contact with those who initiated him into dealing drugs. Giving the impression that he wanted to make a distance between the drug dealer he became and himself, he probably wanted to show that he was not happy with himself or he had not fully realized that he found himself into it. According to his terms, “it just happened. It was not planned. You find yourself into it....” From the state of somebody who knew nothing about drugs, he went into the state of a drug dealer. This case showed me the case of somebody whose parental control was so weak to the point that he was able to leave the country without their consent and knowledge. Newly arrived in a host
country, he was obliged to live in a disorganized area for economic reasons and later felt the need to look for people who look like him, with the purpose of building a social network that could help him meet his human needs. Unfortunately, he fell into the network of drug dealers who initiated him into it. Hallsten et al. writes about this when he notes, “[y]oung people in disadvantaged areas may face a relative scarcity of positive role models and relatively weak control from adults and end up in a situation where peer group becomes their primary arena for socialization. According to Sutherland (1947) and Sutherland et al. (1994), criminal behaviours are learned in face-to-face relations in the context of the so-called differential associations with other individuals. This type of learning among young people often takes place in their neighbourhoods” (2011, p. 11).

The case of this young man who became a drug dealer would be understood, based on Triandis (2002, p. 910), as the case of an allocentric in an individualist culture who is more likely to join gangs. Triandis uses the term “allocentric” to refer to somebody who has a personality stemming from a collectivist culture, contrary to an idiocentric who has a personality stemming from an individualist culture. According to him, an allocentric who finds himself in an individualist culture would join groups or gangs as the young man did. In fact, as an Arab who grew up in an Arab world and culture, the young man would be considered as an allocentric – because the Arab culture is perceived as a collectivist society (Hofstede) – who found himself in the perceived individualist society, Sweden (Hofstede). Following this line of thought, it might be perceived that young men coming from the Arab world, living in the individualist society that is Sweden, experiencing discrimination in the housing market and in the labour market – that prevents them to live in an area that would not be considered as disorganized – may not be able to escape joining groups of people. Unfortunately these groups of people such as gangs, unions or other collectives might be composed of criminals who might initiate them into crime. At this point of my analysis, it is possible to understand how in a disorganized area some young Arabs may be led to juvenile delinquency; it is also possible to assume why they might be criminalized by some native Swedes, but it does not explain how the process of their criminalization occurs.

As mentioned in the theoretical chapter of this paper, another factor – that can lead to social disorganization – is the clash of culture at two levels. Those are clash of culture between the culture of the immigrants and the culture of the receiving country and clash of culture between the immigrants’ parents’ values and the values taught to their children in the receiving country. However, because they are part of the conflict theory, I choose to discuss them in the section: Cultural Influence.
4.6 Cultural Influence

Martinez and Lee (2000) suggest that migrants who arrive in a country come with their baggage of beliefs, values, attitudes and habits that are sometimes different from their receiving countries; it gives room to cultural clash that may occur especially if people from each group (native and immigrant) want to keep and preserve their culture and perpetuate it to their children (2000, p. 493-4). Among the seven parents I have interviewed (that is from the two parents’ (2) semi-structured interviews and five parents’ (5) unstructured interviews introduced in the Methods chapter) and discussed with, all the parents said that they taught their children, from the beginning of their arrival, not to respect and adopt the Swedish ways of life. According to them, it was simply out of question to tolerate it in their home; even if they liked Swedes, they did not like their ways of living. Keeping their values seemed to be something very important for most immigrant parents who controlled what was taught to their children in school and made sure to “erase from their children mind” what they felt was contradictory to the values they wanted to inculcate in their children. The most recurrent attitude I have heard parents wanted to erase from their children’s mind that they perceived was taught in school was an individualist mentality. They wanted their children to keep a collectivist mind, to keep the spirit of family and community as well as the feeling of being responsible of each other in the community and of keeping the honor of the family through a good image based on their values. In everything, children was taught to know that they were not alone; they were carried by their community or family, which they should not deceive by trying to live as if they were either alone or would not care about what their family or community may think. A mother told me, “I hate when my child uses the word ‘Min’³. When he uses the word, I rebuke him. This word that they learn to use in school should not be in his vocabulary; it will make him to be self-centred and irresponsible towards his family.” Another mother, the one who has two boys of different ages and who explained the involvement of their children in vandalism action in order to revenge from the strain encountered from their parents as recorded in the section “Experience of Strain” (p.31) told me,

“If I allow the teachers to teach this individualist mentality to my children when they teach the children the difference between their stuffs and the stuffs of their brother, it will bring my family apart and the elder brother will not feel the sense of responsibility he is supposed to have towards his junior brother. I cannot tolerate this in my home and I do not allow my children to make a difference between what

³ “Min” means “mine” in Swedish
belongs to each of them, because what belongs to one brother belongs also to the other one. I make sure to remove anything that can convey an individualist mentality in my children that is taught to them in school.”

Deriving from the Arab culture from which originate the parents I have interviewed, this effort to safeguard a collectivist mentality based on a collectivist culture depicts the fact that the Arab children of my respondents encounter a clash of culture in their mind because the value their parents said they are learning in school – individualist value related to the Swedish culture – is antagonistic to the collectivist culture of their origin. It therefore suggests that although the children are grown up and educated in what is known as an individualist society such as Sweden, they still have the influence of a collectivist society from their parents’ culture of origin - that is a collectivist culture. Based on Triandis (2002), they are understood to be allocentric. Therefore, as stated in the section: “Influence of Disorganized Area” based on Triandis (2002), they are more likely to join gangs who commit crime because they find themselves in an individualist culture such as Sweden. This interpretation based on Triandis’ explanation may lead to understand the fact that some Arab youths join gangs involved in crimes; however, none of the members of the gang I talked with told me that their parents or any guardian taught them to avoid the Swedish individualist culture and to solely cultivate a collectivist culture. On the other hand, the interpretation based on Triandis’ elaboration makes me to raise a question to know how far we can explain the fact that young Swedes who, according to Triandis, are idiocentric and still live in what is known as the individualist society such as Sweden also join gangs who commits crime. Indeed, the fact that young Swedes join gangs who commit crimes suggests that this practice is not solely encountered with the young Arabs. Consequently, this fact raises the question of the implication of the Arab collectivist culture in the involvement of its youths in crimes when they live in an individualist society.

On another point, Almaney (1981) presents pride, honor and “desire for dignity” as important cultural traits of the Arabs (P. 13, 14, 16). This can be confirmed from the statements collected during the interviews, proving the experience of strain encountered by my Arabs respondents. One may notice the importance of pride and dignity for Arabs, given that these words – pride and dignity – were coming most often from my respondents' expression of what they have felt has been taken away from them. I asked one of my informants the question to know what an Arab would not like to be deprived of, or what can be dreadful for an Arab to lose. The respondent replied, “his pride, dignity and honor”. This is perceived by Almaney to be so strong that he notes further, “if a person injures the Arab's sense of pride, he could easily bring out the Arab's hostility and aggression” (1981, p.17). An informant told me with a strong passion and conviction in his
voice, eyes and hand's gesture: “Our pride and honor and the one of our clan is the most important thing that should not be touched or harmed and we are ready to fight against anyone who tries to hurt our pride”.

This introduces another cultural motivation to commit “criminal actions”: the motivation of revenge. As discussed in the section of “Experience of Strain”, some of my respondents used as a justification of their crime the desire to revenge against the wrong that was done unto them. Almaney perceived this seek for revenge as a way to satisfy a “culturally conditioned impulse” (1981, p. 17), giving the impression that it is something that the Arab does not have the strength to control. Perceiving it this way may suggest that the crime committed by the Arabs as a form of revenge is solely related to an impulse that is culturally conditioned. In my point of view, my Arab respondents attempted to use it as an explanation and motivation of their crime in order to be accepted the way they are with their culture. However, because some Arabs use cultural mentality to justify their actions as they have an essentialized perception of themselves, Arabs might in return be perceived by people outside their community or ethnic group as a “threat to national security” and labelled as “criminal”, if not, potential “criminals”. This may explain why they are further discriminated by some native Swedes. Indeed, all the five native Swedes I have interviewed perceived most Arabs as a threat to the Swedish security. Those native Swedes based their perceptions on their interpretations of what they have heard some Arabs saying about themselves and which was reported through media as well as on the motivations they have heard some Arabs gave to justify their criminal actions. They also based their arguments on the riots that occurred in Malmö, which was apparently perpetrated by young Arabs. In their opinion, these riots “confirmed” the “threat” they see in the Arabs and which, according to them, must be culturally related; a culture that they perceive to be incompatible with the Swedes’ culture. One of my respondents said, “They [the Arabs] come from a religion that does not practice forgiveness and when you hurt them, they have to pay you back”. Another one said, “They [the Arabs] are Muslims who believe in ‘eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth’, whereas our country [Sweden] is based on Christian values and forgiveness is one of our value. That is why we are incompatible.” To me, these statements showed that my respondents acknowledge that a hurt has been done on Arabs. Two of my Swedes respondents clearly acknowledge the discrimination Arabs encounter daily with Swedes and perceived it as unfair. However, they consider the Arabs inability to forgive and their culture-based tendency to seek revenge to be the reasons behind their criminal motives and which in return constitutes a threat to Sweden. The manner my native Swedes respondents perceive Arabs depicts an essentialized perception of the Arabs, sustaining their need to be protected from them for the simple reason that they are who they are as a result of their
culture; they cannot change. An essentialized perception that might lead to further discrimination (Hinton, 2000, p. 125) and according to Bernstein, Sacco, Young, Hugenberg and Cook “enhance the sting of social exclusion” (2010, abstract). As we have seen so far, social exclusion might lead to frustration and the desire to revenge through an act that might be labelled as “criminal”. The more it is believed and nurtured by some native Swedes that Arabs are “threat to national security” who are more likely to commit crime because of their culture, I understand that, the more the Arab young people may internalize the idea that they are criminals, identify themselves as such and continue to behave as the “criminal” that the society seems to perceive in them, confirming by so doing a self-fulfilling prophecy. I, therefore, understand that the criminalization process of the Arabs might be more rooted in the essentialized perception of the Arab’s culture by some Arabs and some Swedes. This essentialized perception of the Arab’s culture might be used by some Swedes to sustain the idea that the Arabs are a “threat to the Swedish security”.

On the other side, if we choose to perceive the Arab culture as being behind the motivation to commit crime, one could also ask the question to know what is the cultural motives of native Swedes who like Arabs practice fraud or other juvenile delinquency crimes despite the fact that their cultural traits are perceived to be different. Though Swedes are perceived to be of a different culture than the Arabs, the fact that they are also involved in these crimes makes me to question the extent to which the Arab culture can justify the crimes committed by young Arabs in Sweden. Besides, using revenge as a motivation to commit crime, as portrayed by Agnew et al., does not seem to be influenced by a culture; it rather seems to be influenced by a strain, which can be encountered by any man/woman regardless of his/her culture. I am therefore compelled to question the ability of culture in leading someone into a crime, since the Swedes who are perceived to have different cultures also commits the crimes Arabs do. From my understanding, I believe that their actions are not motivated by culture, but by personal motivation based on a rational choice that may suit their personal interests. Hence, I do not perceive the cultural difference between Arabs and Swedes as a way to explain the criminalization of the Arabs by some natives in Sweden.
5. The Bamileke

5.1 Introduction of the Bamileke and their “Crime” in Cameroon

The Bamileke is a folk originating from the West Cameroon, known to be a hardworking folk. Their origin before they arrive in Cameroon is yet unknown and has given rooms to myths. Some believe that they come from Egypt (Tatsita, 2008, p. 41), others think that they are Israelites who migrated to Egypt (Noupa, 2009, p. 5); As a matter of fact, they are called the “Jews of Cameroon”, not just because of their supposed origins but also because they are known as very good traders who prosper financially and “do not joke with their money” as it is popularly said. Although the Bamileke population is the dominant folk in terms of size and economical power (Onana, 2005, p. 338), the Bamileke is a subordinate group in political power (ibid, p. 339). It is thus tricky to call this folk a majority group or a minority group according to Schermerhorn (2009, p. 17-18). However, as this folk undergo discrimination among its fellow citizens (Onana, 2005, p. 337), I would refer to them as a large minority group in Douala.

The history of Cameroon shows that the Bamileke is an ethnic minority that has been persecuted by the political authorities from the moment of colonization under the French protectorate. Though endowed with a humanized and perceived “good” intention of colonizing and civilizing the indigenes in Cameroon (Deltombe et al. 2011, p. 50), the Bamileke embarrassed France through their rebellion against colonization. The Bamileke’s rebellion that was then portrayed as a stumbling block to achieve the humanized mission of colonization led Maurice Delauney to call the “Bamileke world” an abscess to empty totally through police, political, economical, psychological and political means (ibid, p. 234). As a result of this, 50% of the Bamileke population region was killed through bombardment and others were sentenced to death by the criminal court (ibid, p. 244-45). Later on, when Cameroon obtained its independency in 1960 from France, the former Cameroonian president Ahmadou Ahidjo called France to help him fight against rebellion and banditry (ibid, p. 402). Indeed, after colonization, rebellious acts continued because rebels perceived that independency was not de facto. The rebels believed that the French continued to rule over Cameroon through the former president of the country. As a result of this, the Bamileke were killed by French military services (ibid, p. 407-408, 626-628). Three decades later, with the next and actual president Paul Biya, the Bamileke continued to be the rebel to be fought against through what was called the “Commandement Opérationnel” – aimed at fighting against banditry in Douala (Malaquais, 2001, p. 43). Apart from rebellious acts, “feymania” was another form of crime that was newly reported and for which the
“Commandement Opérationnel” was supposed to fight against (ibid). This new crime that was mainly fraud was reported to be a crime perpetrated by Bamileke (Malaquais, 2001, p. 110). Through this “Commandement Opérationnel,” young people were sometimes killed for no apparent reason (Deltombe et al. 2011, p. 649). In February 2008, again under the government of the same president, many young Bamileke were victims, among others who are not Bamileke, of murder and some were put in jail for what has been called by the government vandalism and banditry. The population has had a different version of the story, claiming to be rebelling against the difficult conditions of life and the constitution changed by the president in order to secure his place on the seat of the presidency of Cameroon for life (ibid). The summary of these different forms of killings and repressions encountered by the Bamileke from the moment of colonization shows in which contexts the Bamileke were killed and repressed – contexts of rebellion against colonization and against what they perceived as an abuse of power of those who became presidents of Cameroon. It is in this context of rebellion and repression that the general Lamberton made the statement that inspired me to write this paper, “Cameroon becomes independent with a pebble in her shoe. This pebble is an ethnic minority: the Bamileke, in turmoil for no clear reasons” (Doho, 2006, p. 177). As the Bamileke rebellion was seen as unjustified and as a threat for the country, according to Lamberton, the above described measures were taken to force them to accept the decisions imposed by the power and their rebellion was labelled a crime.

5.2 Rural Exodus to Douala and Context of Exit

According to Malaquais (2001), the origin of the exodus of the Bamileke to Douala comes from the fact that it was no longer possible to put into practice a custom because of the increase in the population (p. 20). Actually, in the Bamileke tradition, all the belongings of a deceased person – building, land, wives, titles (in case he had a title) - are supposed to be given to only one of his son, the successor; the rest of his children would not inherit anything from their father and would have to fight on their own. In the past, it was a custom that those who did not inherit from their father would meet the chief of the village who, after a series of initiation in return, would have the possibility to possess a land given by the chief. It was then possible to build a house, to cultivate land or crops and raise animals (ibid) on that land. However, as the population was increasing, it became impossible to continue to put into practice such tradition. Also, as it is considered in the Bamileke belief that a man’s value is known and seen from the architecture of the house he has built (ibid, p. 19), those who could not inherit from their father and who were no longer able to get property from the chief because of the increase of the population, were obliged to go elsewhere and look for money. When they judged it enough, they were supposed to come
back to the village, build a house with an impressive architecture so as to be respected among other men and be able to get a notability title in the village. This is how, according to Malaquais (2001) most Bamileke men left their village and arrived in Douala.

My experiences with Bamileke men living in Douala as well as my conversations with them confirm this view from Malaquais. From my childhood, I was taught that it was perceived as an achievement for a Bamileke man to build a prestigious house in his village. It was said that the house would be the house where they will live when they will retire from their duties in Douala. Of course, it is not all men who had the possibility to build a prestigious house in the village; but building a house with an impressive architecture, whether in the village or in town, but mostly in the village, has been for Bamileke men a sign of personal achievement. As Malaquais points out clearly, there was no perspective to achieve that by living in the village. I, thus, used to see in Douala Bamileke men and women hosting their brothers or other family members coming from the village. They were helping them either to further their education, to start doing a formation that would secure them a job or to do trade that will allow them to have enough money, later be on their own and achieve their goal in life.

Although, as Malaquais shows it (2001, p. 20-1), it could be considered as a desperate situation to find yourself with no perspective of achieving in your village what is expected from a man: building a house. It cannot be said that Bamileke rural exodus to Douala was generally based on a traumatic event – such as social unrest, war or catastrophe – even though it was a forced migration and originally based on an unpleasant context of exit. However, a particular look into some cases of exit shows that some Bamileke young men really had some particularly traumatizing contexts of exit. Indeed, I have interviewed an eighteen-year old young man known as a non delinquent, who left his mother and brethren in the village, after the death of his father, due to some constant persecution of a family member as he testified, “we were poor with no paternal protection and our uncle who were supposed to care for us took the property of our father and abused us.” As he arrived in Douala, he worked as a domestic in a family's house. Although he reported cases of abuse from the family members of this house, he said that he continued to stay and to serve the family because he could have at least what to eat sometimes, and he had the possibility to further his studies. The case of this young man is similar to the cases of other Bamileke men that I had an encounter with: with no background of delinquency in their youth, they later became responsible fathers and husbands, helping their mothers and helping their brethren to achieve their dreams in life.
As another example, I would like to report the case of a sixteen-years old boy I interviewed in the Central Prison of Douala who never knew his father and used to live with his mother in his grand-father’s house in the rural area where he comes from. As the mother was not married and had the child out of wedlock, he was discriminated with his mother and bullied. Later, he was sent in Douala in order to help his uncle’s wife in her household duties. According to him, it happened several times that they punished him by denying him food and they use to maltreat him. Out of frustration, he left his uncle’s house for the street where he said that he felt forced to steal in order to survive. There is another case of a seventeen-year old boy whose mother died and whose father has always been absent in his life because he was a constant trader in search for money and better opportunities in life at a point where his son reported that he never had time to be a father. At sixteen years, when his grand-mother who used to take care of him died, he left the rural area where he comes from to Douala in order to have a better life opportunity. He was a trader living on his own in a disorganized area where he said that he met and hanged out with people who misled him into delinquency. These two cases illustrate the case of two young men who went through traumatic experience prior to their migration to Douala. These traumatic experiences can explain, according to Hällsten, Sarnecki and Szulkin’s, (2011, p. 13) the fact that they later became involved in crime. However, it is not an exclusive situation to Bamileke because I have also reported the case of two young men from the Littoral region that encountered traumatic experience in their life and explained it as a motivation to their involvement in criminal activities. For example, a sixteen-year old boy from the minor district reported that the fact he missed his father he had never known and was physically abused by his aunt who was supposed to take care of him – because his mother did not have the means to take care of him led him to steal into the street. Another one of the same age told me that the fact that his father took another wife and was constantly beating his mother was a traumatic experience that led him to run away from his parent's house. Because he had no means to live on his own, he said that he joined a gang and started stealing. These cases show that delinquency prior to traumatic experience is not exclusively the case of Bamileke who migrated from their rural zone of origin to Douala; it can also be the case of the children of the autochthones who faced traumatic experiences in their families. I cannot therefore conclude that the context of exit explains the criminalization of the particular case of the young Bamileke in Cameroon.

5.3 The Bamileke’s Strain and “Feymania”

As citizens of the country, the Bamileke are entitled to the same rights and duties like all the other citizens of the country. This implies that there is no formal exclusionary measure against
the Bamileke. Besides, the Bamileke is known to be the most prosperous folk, financially speaking in Cameroon. This information gives the impression that the Bamileke is protected from social exclusion in Cameroon; unfortunately, this will be without considering informal practice of exclusion that the Bamileke folk encounter. Deltombe, Domerque and Tatsitsa reports a human genocide perpetrated against the Bamilekes before, during and after the colonization by the French protectorate (2011, p. 234, 244-45). Gilbert Doho speaks of a political genocide perpetrated against the Bamileke (2006, p. 175). Zognong writes about strategies used to prevent Bamileke to be politically incorporated in the country (2002). Orock reports cases in Cameroon where Bamileke settlers were threatened by Douala indigenous to be chased away from their house although they (the Bamileke) have built their house on lands bought to the indigenous (2005, p. 73). Mouiche reports the fear that other ethnic groups in Cameroon have to see the Bamileke being politically involved in the country because of their large representation in number, their economic power, their ability to be organized and highly disciplined. Thus, the Bamileke are prevented from access to opportunities in the State and are frustrated of not being able to convert their economic power into political power (1996, p. 190). Finally, Malaquais highlights the social, political and economical turmoil encountered by the Bamileke of New Bell – a disorganized district in Douala – after the devaluation of the Cameroonian currency that immerged the country in an economic and social turmoil. After that, young Bamileke had been victims of oppression and killings while trying to rebel against the political system in place (2001, p. 22-3).

An analysis of this information on the basis of the three types of strain according to Agnew et al. proves that the Bamileke encounters all the three types of strain by:

1. Being prevented from political incorporation and from access to social opportunities in what is supposed to be his/her own country, the Bamileke faces the first type of strain because he is prevented to attain what is considered to him as a valued goal: a social status in his country.

2. Being threatened to be chased away in a house built on a land bought by oneself in a foreign region where he migrated in order to achieve his social goal, the Bamileke faces the second type of strain because he is threatened to be removed from something that has been thought in his culture to be of high value: building a house.

3. Being an individual who is emotionally affected by the loss of his family members in a genocide or due to an act of rebellion against the political system of their country, the Bamileke faces the second and third type of strain because he lost somebody
valuable to him in a genocide and still continues to be treated in a negative way in his own country.

As a result to these strains, scholars have reported the emergence of a new crime said to be perpetrated mostly by Bamileke from New Bell (Malaquais, 2001, p.19): Feymania.

“Feymania captivated people’s attention because it proposed a new form of enrichment that allowed them to command respect and consideration from other people, and also to challenge the hegemonic position of the postcolonial politico-bureaucratic elites in society. That is why right from the beginning, feymania appeared as what James Scott would have called a ‘hidden transcript of resistance’ that was essentially directed against the dominant groups, since most of the local victims of feymen’s confidence tricks were either the politico-bureaucratic elites or wealthy businessmen who were connected with the ruling CPDM (Cameroon People’s Democratic Movement) regime” (Ndjio, 2008, p. 276).

This information suggests that feymania practiced in Cameroon was more used to revenge or resist against those who prevented the Bamileke to have access to political power, since it is reported that the main victims of feymania were those who had access to the political power that Bamileke longed to have and who also prevented the Bamileke to have access to the political arena. We therefore understand that in order to overcome the economical barrier that was placed before them after the implementation of the devaluation of the CFA Franc, some Bamileke who might not have seen a legal way to be rich and might have it as a desired social status used feymania to attain their desired social status. This same feymania could also be perceived as a mean used to revenge from the bad treatment they received from those who have political power, and to perhaps get back the economic power that was being taken away from them.

This ambition of the feyman corresponds to the ambition of a feyman I had the privilege to discuss with. He said that he came from a polygamous home where the father was absent and had been initiated to feymania in his seventeen by a group of Bamileke feymen in pursuit of political ambition. He added that because his father did not give him the means/opportunity to further his education for him to become an important personality in life, he had no other alternative than to “fey” in order to be able to reach his goal as well as getting all the money and notoriety he needed to have – that might be the bridge that will connect him to the dream of having political power or why not becoming the president of the country. I was not able to confirm that other feymen and him have been able to reach their political ambition, but I was able to realize from my experience that what they had mostly succeeded was to create in young people the dream to later also
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become “feymen”. For example, I have met in the Central Prison of Douala a young boy of sixteen who lacked parental control because his father was absent in his life and the mother was always outside looking for money to take care of him and his sister as she told him when he was complaining about her absence. It happened many times that she did not have time to cook. As a result to this, the young boy said that he started stealing from his classmate in order to be able to eat, as he was seriously hungry. When it was discovered in class that he was the one taking the meal of his classmate without their permission, he became discriminated, felt ashamed and stopped going to school. The mother later realized that her son had stopped going to school. When she tried to force him to go back to school, he left the house and started living in the street on his own. When I asked him what he wished to become tomorrow, he boldly told me that he wished to be a feyman and he was getting some connections and pieces of advice from some senior prisoners in the senior district of the Central prison of Douala (The minors of the Central prison of Douala had the possibility, at least once per day, to be in contact with the seniors because they shared the same playground). According to him, it was too late for him to go back to school in order to later become an important personality in the country that will be respected. However, through feymania, he believed that he had the possibility, like other feymen, to become an important personality in the country that will be respected without having to struggle in school. The family situation of this Bamileke young boy does not differ with the case of other autochthones Douala (two) as well as Bamileke young men (eight) that I have interviewed in the Central Prison of Douala and who were being initiated into feymania by feymen. They all justified their involvement into feymania by the fact that their parents were absents. Their life stories suggested that the absence of their parents – that was so valued to them – put them in a strain where they needed basic things to live with. To remedy to that situation, feymen were introduced to them as those who could help them find more than the basic things they needed to live their life. This shows the strain encountered by some young Bamileke as well as non-Bamileke that experience the lack of parental presence in their life and are easily initiated into feymania by feymen. This phenomenon might constitute an attempt to demystify the essentialized idea I have usually received from some non-Bamileke who say that the Bamileke has feymania in the blood; that is, feymania is in the nature of the Bamileke. It indeed indicates that feymania may not be in the blood of the Bamileke, but might be taught and learnt to Bamileke as well as non-Bamileke, who constantly use the absence of their fathers / parents as well as their lack of involvement in their education as a justification that led them to crime. It can be understood that these youths perceive the absence of their parents as the second type of strain in the sense that the presence and involvement of these parents in their lives and education has been taken away from
them. Feymania might therefore appear to be the (illegal) mean those youths have found to win back the attention and consideration of their father/parents and the society.

From this analysis, it is possible to understand that the strain of political exclusion encountered by the adult Bamileke men is used as a motivation by some of them to practice feymania in order to reach their desired political goal. In return, they inculcate in some Bamileke youth, suffering from the strain caused by the absence of their parents in their life and education and willing to win back their parents’ attention and consideration, the practice of feymania. However, this analysis, presenting the feyman as the Bamileke may blind us to perceive that feymania is not exclusively practiced by Bamileke. In fact, four friends have testified to me that they have been victims of feymania from non Bamileke. Two parents have also told me many testimonies where they have been victims of feymania and other cases where they have escaped feymania from non Bamileke. In prison also, I have discussed with two non Bamileke minors who told me that they were receiving initiation to feymania from the seniors prisoners; initiation that will help them to practice a flawless feymania compared to the one they used to practice before being arrested. These experiences and cases lead me to ask the following question: How can we explain the criminalization of the Bamileke, as the feyman, when non-Bamileke are also involved in the same crime?

5.4 The “Criminal” Bamileke – Is There a Cultural Link?

As noted in the previous section, the common strain I’ve recorded as encountered by the Bamileke’s children involved in crime is the absence of the parents in the involvement of their education. I did not have the possibility to discuss with a father whose child reproached the absence in his life. However, I had the opportunity to discuss with a mother of a child whose polygamous father was said to be absent. According to the mother, everything started to go down in their family life when the father lost his job. He used to sacrifice himself as being the sole caretaker of the family; but when he lost his job, he was not able to find another one. She was therefore obliged to start working and thus spending less time in the house; this is how their son started to lack parental control. The woman did not explain the absence of the father in the education of his child since he was not working and was therefore able to spend much time with the children. According to the child, the father was absent in the house and was spending much time with his friends in off-licenses, drinking beers. The child complained that when he succeeded to have some money, from a trade activity he performed to finance his education, the father took the money and used it to drink alcohol with his friends. In an attempt to understand if the attitude of the father might be culturally related, a Bamileke chief told me that in the
Bamileke’s culture, a man possessing a big farm should also marry many wives who can work for him. The husband will consider the children born from these marriages to constitute human resources aimed at working in their father’s farm. However, this father is the only one to manage the benefits of the harvest at his convenience. According to the chief, in a city context such as Douala where there is no farm, a father might still have that mentality of expecting and managing as he wishes the fruits of the labour of his children and wife’s activity. The Bamileke chief also revealed to me that in case of polygamous home - the most frequent matrimonial regime in the past - Bamileke men were not involved in the education of their children. It was the mother’s responsibility to spend much time with her children either in the farm or at home. However, the Bamileke in Douala are in another context where many men are still polygamous and continue to leave the responsibility of the education to the mother of their children who cannot control their children because they do not share the same farm activities as before. Indeed, nowadays, the mother goes to work and the child is expected to go to school; it is difficult to find parents who can control the activities of the child outside the house. If a mother is too busy with her job activities because she is the sole caretaker of the house, she may not be able to control the child. Coupled with an absentee father, the child will lack the expected control from his parents. This revelation from the chief seems to show that the strain encountered by the youth Bamileke I interviewed might be culturally related by the fact that their fathers keep a cultural mentality linked to a rural social context that does not correspond to one such as the city of Douala. Keeping and putting into practice this cultural mentality is not a crime, but it seems to be related to the strain some young Bamileke men encountered in their youth and which they use to explain their motivation in committing crime. However, although the absence of some Bamileke parents can be understood as culturally related, it can also be noted that absentee parents and what is perceived by the minors I have interviewed in the Central Prison of Douala as its consequences – juvenile delinquency – are not solely met among the Bamileke. Indeed, I have interviewed non Bamileke young people who have been involved in juvenile crime and who testified of having experienced the strain of absentee parents. For that reason, I cannot explain the criminalization of the youth Bamileke as being culturally related to the absence of their parents.

In another setting, I would like to notify that the conflict against the Bamileke originates from the moment of colonization when the Bamileke were victims of inhuman forms of killing; the hidden agenda behind such atrocities was to inject in them a spirit of fear that will force them to be assimilated like the rest of the population to the submissive mindset of a colonized folk. It is reported that an estimation of 400, 000 Bamileke were killed during what has been called a genocide (ibid, p. 180): pregnant women’s belly were gutted, children torn (Delombe et al.,
2011, p. 417), chopped heads exposed in public (ibid, p. 547), women raped (ibid, p. 239), people were kept and tortured in a concentration camp (p. 244), in order to make Bamileke folk to understand that they should stop rebellious acts and had to assimilate with the rules and laws imposed by the French. As shown above (in “Introduction of the Bamileke and their "Crime” in Cameroon”), the French had implemented a model of repression against all rebellious acts and of assimilation through the propagation of a spirit of fear. Many years later, the same treatment still exists as portrayed in the 90s and in February 2008, when respectively thousands and hundreds of people were killed because they were rebelling against the political regime in place since 1982 and which, for the sake of remaining in power for life, changed the constitutional law (ibid, p. 649). These events indicates how labelling works as a self-fulfilling prophecy as it is the case of the Bamileke of whom Lamberton prophesized to be a pebble in the Cameroon’s shoe. Doho perceives the imagery of the pebble in the shoe as being “very graphic and emotionally manipulative” (2006, p. 177). It is such a success that until today the Bamileke is still perceived as the most rebellious to the political regime in place, a trouble maker in Cameroon, a ‘threat’ to the national security (ibid, p. 181).

In addition to this, an analysis of the social construction of crime in Cameroon allows identifying how the concept of crime can be purely relative and depending on the context and on the power of the labelling agents who decide who is to be called a criminal as well as how the crime can be interpreted and punished. For example, although the Bamileke was a victim of what has been called genocide, the Cameroonian authorities have never officially recognized that the Bamileke were victims of mass killings as they were killed for rebelling against the authorities. Since France was the labelling agent who perpetrated the genocide as well as the actual government sending the soldiers to kill citizens who were rebelling against the political regime in place, they could make laws, use and interpret it in a way that reality could be seen the way they wanted it to be seen. Beyond that, they had the possibility to label the rebellious Bamileke as criminals, troublemakers, pebble in the shoe, feymen, ‘vandals’; whereas the French and Cameroonian soldiers – killers of civilians – would never be perceived or interpreted as such, not even talking of being punished by the law as partakers of a genocide or murder. From this, we understand that even if the Bamileke have the economic power in the country, they fail to have a say in the political arena of the country, which has been dominated and protected from them since the independence. As a result to this, the Bamileke undergo the laws prescribed and implemented at its convenience by the regime in place to counteract each time the Bamileke are willing to rebel. It is thus understood that the conflict between the Bamileke and the Cameroonian authorities – the labelling agents – are not related to a particular cultural value practiced by the
Bamileke that might be against the laws of the country. They might be rather related to a conflict of power as Friedman (2009) reports Fotsing who states that long ago, politicians have used media to spread destructive stereotypes because they were afraid that the Bamileke may take over their power (p. 25). This fear might be connected to what a Bamileke chief has reported to me as the self-perception of the Bamileke as a conqueror and which is contrarily perceived by the non-Bamileke as, Sindjoun notes, “the invaders, the dominating” (1996, p. 63). According to the Bamileke chief, the Bamileke has always been a conqueror because his culture forces him to be like that. In the Bamileke's culture, only the successor of the father is inheriting from his father; however, this successor is never known before the death and burial of his father. Therefore, mothers – to whom the education of the children is the sole responsibility as in the case of a polygamous home – tend to train their children to work hard in order to be independent and conquer new territories, as they never know which of the children may not need to be a conqueror. Besides, in order to be the successor of the father, one needs to deserve it.

According to the chief, this mentality of the conqueror (as perceived by the Bamileke) or invaders and dominating (as perceived by the non Bamileke) is at the heart of the conflicts with this ethnic group. Indeed, as the Bamileke perceive themselves as conqueror and transmit this culture to their children, the dominant groups in the country perceive them as an ethnic group that may conquer their power and leave them powerless the same way they have conquered their [the dominant groups] lands and have possessed the economical power of the country (Friedman, 2009, p. 14). This may explain the negative stereotypes created and spread against the Bamileke, even in case of crimes that are also committed by non Bamileke as the case of feymania. It thus appears that assigning the criminal label to the Bamileke may turn out not to be related to his / her behaviour; it may rather be related to his / her relationship with those who have power (Lilly et al., 2011, p. 175). In return, these stereotypes may contribute to accomplish a self-fulfilling prophecy by the fact that it may create discrimination and lead to social exclusion, causing strain on parents who may use illegal actions to respond to the strain encountered. As Hallsten et al. suggest, “when the adult environment carries strong signals that available (legitimate) means are insufficient to achieve the goals of society, antisocial (or criminal) behaviour may arise among children” (2011, p.8); Bamileke children might also use illegal means to achieve their goals. The criminalization of these “illegal” actions may reinforce the destructive stereotypes against the Bamileke and play a self-fulfilling prophecy role on the youths who may internalize the idea that they are criminals, driving them to continue perpetrating the crimes that are stereotypically portrayed as Bamileke’s, which might therefore explain the criminalization of the youth Bamileke.
6. Corroboration of the Two Cases

The analysis of the two cases presents some differences at each level of the analysis: context of exit, experience of strain and cultural influence. Indeed, the context of exit that might be unpleasant at the macro level and characterized by wars, social unrest, … in some Middle Eastern countries are not particularly experienced the same way by the Bamilekes who, according to this research, mostly experience an unpleasant context of exit at a micro level – that is at the level of the family or their experience with their community. Also, in the experience of strain, it can be perceived that some Arab immigrants in Malmö respond against the strain encountered through the discrimination they perceived being victim of by committing a fraud against the Swedish social welfare system. This shows that although some Arab immigrants might feel exposed to discrimination and strain due to social exclusion, they still have access to a social welfare system that can take care of their needs. This research indicates that, this access to the social welfare is at the heart of the frustration of my native Swedes respondents, who according to some of my Arab respondents discriminate and socially exclude them because they perceive them as invaders and receivers of an undeserved help that can sink the country’s economy. As a response to the perceived discrimination in the labor and housing market and social exclusion, an analysis based on the strain theory suggests that Arab immigrants may commit crime in order to escape from the strain encountered and one of the methods used to escape from the strain is to commit fraud and abuse of the social welfare system. Conversely, an opportunity of access to a State social welfare does not exist in Cameroon since the Bamileke who experience discrimination and a strain due to social exclusion do not have an opportunity of a State social welfare that might respond to their needs; not to talk of an opportunity to commit fraud against it. It rather appears that what is at the heart of the frustration of the dominant group in Cameroon is the Bamileke large population and economic power that is perceived as a threat, to the dominant group’s power, if it happens that the Bamileke succeeds to convert its economical power into political power. Because of this fear, killings are perpetrated and dangerous stereotypes by the authorities are constructed against the Bamileke in order to rise a spirit of fear in the rest of the Cameroonian population, who also socially and politically exclude the Bamileke folk from State opportunities in his own country. An analysis based on strain theory suggests that this is more likely to induce the Bamileke to commit crime in order to escape from the strain and a method used to escape from this strain is feymania. Finally, the research indicated that the essentialized self perception of the Arabs as those strongly attached to their prides and who have a cultural compulsion to be revengeful was also perceived as such by the native Swedes respondents recorded in this paper, this appears to me to reinforce the feeling of “threat to Swedish security” that my Swedish respondents seem to
perceive in most Arab immigrants. Whereas, for the Bamileke, their essentialized self perception of the “conqueror” was perceived and understood otherwise by the others who perceive the Bamileke as “dominating, invaders, …” which explained their social and political exclusion in their country.

Nevertheless, these differences also show that the two cases corroborate with each other. Indeed, even though the level of the unpleasant context of exit might be different (sometimes micro for the Bamileke migrating to Douala, and sometimes macro or even micro for the Arabs migrating to Malmö), my work indicates that it does not explain the criminalization of the particular case of the minority in their place of settlement. Also, in the two cases there is an experience of strain and of perceived social exclusion. The analysis of the experience of strain of some Arab respondents demonstrate that they are involved in criminal acts (such as vandalism, fraud) in order to respond, through revenge, against the strain they encounter. Similarly, it was noted in this work that the Bamileke engage also in criminal acts (feymania) as a way to respond, through revenge, against the strain they encounter. However, the motivation of revenge appears, according to the documentary analysis, to be more used in the Bamileke adult environment. As for the Bamileke youth respondents, it appears that they are using juvenile delinquency and feymania as a way to respond against the strain of absentee parents in order to win the attention of their parents. However, under the strain of lack of sufficient economic resources, my work indicates that both young Arabs in Malmö and young Bamileke in Douala, might commit a crime (such as theft and dealing drugs) in order to escape from the strain and have what they could not have through legal means. In this particular frame, there is no indication for both cases of an expressed motive of revenge. Although at this stage of the analysis, it is possible to understand why the minority respondents might be involved in criminal acts, it is still not possible to understand why they are criminalized especially that the crimes that are said to be committed by the minorities are actually also committed by those who criminalize them. Furthermore, although the analysis of documents as well as the comments of my Arab respondents might give the impression that the crimes they commit are culturally related (confirming, by so doing, the perception of my native Swedes respondents who believe that there is a cultural misfit between Arabs and Swedes that might explain the overrepresentation of Arab immigrants in crime in Sweden), it appeared that the crime committed by the Arabs were not culturally related since they did committed crime that was also committed by the native Swedes. This corroborates with the case of the Bamileke in Douala. Indeed, my work indicates that the cultural difference between the minorities and the dominant groups of the minorities’ place of settlement was used by some members of the dominant group / natives as a reason to be concerned about the safeguard of their
interests and values that was perceived by them to be threatened by the presence and practice of culture of the minority on their territory. I assume that this concern could explain the reason behind what is perceived by the minority as a social exclusion of their group by some members of the dominant group / native. In return, in order to escape from the strain resulting from the social exclusion, some members of the minority group might commit crime confirming by so doing the perception of some member of the dominant groups that they are a “threat to national security”. As this is done, the young people from the minority group might internalize the fact that they are criminals and therefore fulfilling the prophecy to be a threat to the dominant groups’ interest and values. This might be an explanation of the criminalization process of the minorities in their place of settlement.
7. Conclusion

The context of exit of countries such as Iraq, Iran and Somalia are more characterized by forced migration because of social unrest, war and catastrophe that can be traumatic experiences; whereas the context of exit of countries such as Turkey, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria and Lebanon is more characterized by labour migration as the rural exodus of the Bamileke to Douala. However, a study of particular cases reveals that even if the migrant did not migrate out of an unpleasant context of exit from his country, s/he might have migrated out of a social unrest or traumatic experience encountered in his/her family; a situation that is not solely experienced by migrants, but also by natives as my work indicates. This indication suggests therefore that an unpleasant context of exit based on a traumatic experience may not explain the criminalization of Arabs or Bamileke into their host societies.

My research also suggests that some members of the dominant groups experience frustration that is perceived by the migrants to be what might explain the fact that they are discriminated. For the case of the Arabs in Malmö - Sweden, they perceive themselves to be discriminated and socially excluded by some native Swedes who express their frustration from the exaggerated and undeserved help received by the Arabs from the Swedish social welfare. As for the Bamileke, they are perceived to be discriminated and socially excluded by the dominant group who perceive their large number and economical power as a threat to their political power if it happens that the Bamileke succeeds to convert his economical power into political power. As a result to this, discrimination has been reported to be encountered by the minority groups in the labour as well as the housing markets. For the Bamileke particularly, it was also seen that they encounter political exclusion in their own country. As seen, social exclusion:

- Prevents migrants to reach their goal in a legal way. Respondents reported that it forced them to use illegal means such as fraud and abuse of the Swedish social welfare, juvenile delinquency and feymania to attain their goal;

- Removes or appears as a threat to remove something / somebody important to the migrant such as his honor and dignity in the case of the Arabs or concerning the Bamileke in Douala, a loss of family members, the absence of parents in the case of the youth as well as the right to be equally treated as any other Cameroonian folk who can be involved in the political sphere and important decisions of his country. As a result to this, my work indicates that the respondents used illegal means to replace/win back what has been removed in their life or to get their revenge – through fraud and abuse of the Swedish
social welfare, practice of juvenile delinquency and feymania – on those who removed or threatened to remove what / who was important to them;

- Presents a negative treatment such as discrimination, which has been said to be responded by my Arabs immigrants or Bamileke informants through revenge as in the second type of strain.

Despite the motivations grounded in the strain caused by social exclusion that have been used to explain those particular crimes committed by the Arabs and Bamileke, it has also been considered that those crimes are not exclusively practiced by the Arabs and the Bamileke, but also by the group that, they perceive, discriminates or excludes them. It therefore does not explain the fact that they are criminalized by some members in their host society.

Because of the perceived discrimination encountered, my research suggests that Arabs migrants might be pushed to live in a disorganized area where they are more likely to find people like them who will not discriminate them and might share more or less the same experience of discrimination and the same feelings of revenge (on the opinion of my respondents). It was also indicated that young men who grow and are educated in such an area are likely to learn ways to revenge against those who discriminate them in the society, making the disorganized area to be a “No Entry Zone” for the perceived discriminating majority group as indicated in the case of the Middle Eastern and North African living in Rosengård, Malmö. A young man who lacked parental control might have the possibility to get in contact with peer groups involved in criminal activities and who initiate him into crimes. Even though this section might explain why the young Arabs are criminalized by my native Swedes respondents, it fails to explain how the process of criminalization occurs.

Although my work suggests in the case of the Arabs immigrants in Sweden that there is a cultural difference with Swedes, I was not able to conclude that culture was a direct factor leading to the criminalization of the minority group. However, I was able to perceive that culture was used as an excuse for some of my Arabs respondents to have an essentialized perception of themselves, which they also used to explain the crime they committed. My Swedes respondents also used that essentialized self perception of the minority group to sustain the idea that the Arabs were a threat to the Swedish security. The difference in the use of this essentialized perception of the Arab respondents by themselves and the Swedes respondents suggests to me that the Arab respondents are fighting to be recognized, accepted and socially included the way they are – that is with their culture – whereas the Swedes respondents are justifying their needs to be protected from the minority group cultural practice that might constitute a threat to their interests. As they
perceive themselves to be so threatened by the Arabs, I assume that some members of the dominant groups may socially exclude the Arabs the more that, in return, are also likely to commit certain crimes in response to the strains they encounter. As they commit those crimes, they are further labelled as a threat to national security and as criminals; label that contributes to fulfill the prophecy of Arabs criminals that is internalized by the young Arabs. However, I was not able to support this perception of crimes said to be culturally related because there are cases of native Swedes – who are perceived to have a culture different from the Arabs – committing the same crimes as some Arabs.

In the case of the Bamileke in Douala - Cameroon, although there is a difference between the Bamileke cultural mentality – which seems to be more appropriate to a rural context than a city such as Douala – and the other ethnic groups in Cameroon, I have noticed that there is another reason to the criminal label assigned unto the Bamileke: the conflict of power with the Cameroonian authorities that the folk encounters in the country because it is believed that the authorities see the Bamileke’s future political inclusion and present economic power as a threat to their interests. Consequently, the analysis of my documents suggests that the authorities make use of diverse forms of repression with the aim of fighting all forms of rebellion or political ambition with the aim of assimilating and/or submitting the Bamileke minds. Moreover, the analysis of the documents suggests that the political authorities make use of destructive stereotypes against the Bamileke which tends to make them to be discriminated and socially / politically excluded by other folks in Douala. For example, the cultural self perception of the Bamileke as the “conqueror” is translated by the others as the “dominating, invaders”; a translation, which might develop a feeling of fears in the others against the Bamileke and might justify a social exclusion of the Bamileke in Douala. As they might feel excluded, the Bamileke may react by using illegal means to respond to the strain encountered and face the consequence of being labelled ‘criminal’ the more. As a result, this labelling will sound as a self-fulfilling prophecy as the young Bamileke may internalize the idea of being criminal.

Henceforth, in conclusion, my work does not show that the criminalization of a minority is rooted in its context of exit, its experience of strain, its settlement in disorganized areas or its culture, since some members of the dominant group / native also commit the crimes that are stereotyped as the migrants’. It suggests, however, that it is the conflict of values and interests of both groups that leads to the criminalization of the minority group. Indeed, my work indicates that the minority group is fighting against discrimination, social / political exclusion that they perceive is fostered by some member of the dominant group / native, who also expressed their frustration to see their interests threatened because of what they identify as the essentialized
nature of the minority groups. This perception of some member of the dominant group / native prevents them to work towards a proper social inclusion of the minority group because they wish to protect their national security and their interest. As a result, people from the minority groups develop criminal attitudes out of frustration (with the intention to reach a goal that is prevented to be reached through the legal way), to get a revenge or to take back what was removed to them. As they used illegal means to have what is prevented from access to them or to revenge, they accomplish the self-fulfilling prophecy of being a threat, of being criminal; in return, the youths are affected as they internalize the stereotypes of criminals used to label them. Social exclusion may also contribute in making the minority group to settle in disorganized areas where criminal activities are more likely to occur.

In a final attempt to answer the question: “How does a minority become a pebble in a country shoe?” – With a reference to Lamberton’s metaphor - I may say that the pebble does not go into the country’s shoe if it is not hit. The pebble might be hit because it is perceived by the owner of the shoe as a threat to one’s security and interest and hitting the pebble might be through discrimination or social exclusion. In return, the pebble may use means that are against the owner of the shoe’s interest in order to reach its goal – or to revenge against the social exclusion or discrimination, it encounters.
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9. Appendix

9.1 Appendix A

9.2 Questions for the Middle Eastern and North African Parents:

1. Can you tell me something about yourself? Who are you?
2. Can you tell me more about yourself before you came to Sweden?
3. What motivated you to come to Sweden?
4. What was / is the vision you had before coming to Sweden?
5. Did you find it possible for you to achieve your dreams?
6. Can you explain if it was difficult / easy for you to achieve your dream, and how difficult or easy it was / is?
7. Do you have the impression that there is a place for you in Sweden?
8. If yes, do you have the possibility to contribute in the decision making of the country as a permanent resident in this country? If yes, explain.
9. How can you describe your interaction with the Swedish administration since you have arrived Sweden?
10. What are the challenges that you feel you have in educating your children in Sweden that you think won’t have if you were in your home country?
11. In your home country, what did you do if you saw the child of your neighbour misbehaving in the street?
12. What do you do now in Sweden if you see the child of your neighbor misbehaving in the street?
13. How do you feel between the Swedish culture and your home country culture?
14. How do you feel between the Swedish laws and your home country laws?
15. Do you feel comfortable with all the Swedish values taught to your children in school?
16. How do you manage to create the balance between these differences and the education you want to give to your children to ensure that they keep their home country’s culture?
9.3 Questions for the Middle Eastern and North African Youth

1. Can you tell me something about yourself?
2. Can you tell me something about you before you come to Sweden and after coming to Sweden?
3. What motivated you to come to Sweden?
4. What was / is the vision you had before coming to Sweden?
5. Can you explain if it was difficult / easy for you to achieve your dream, and how difficult or easy it was / is?
6. How do your parents speak about their experience in your fatherland compared to Sweden?
7. Who do you feel spend / spent more time for your education? Dad, mum or teachers or the three?
8. Who do you feel influence you the most in your education?
9. How do you feel between the Swedish culture and your home country culture?
10. How do you feel between the Swedish laws and your home country laws?

9.4 Questions for the Bamileke Youth

1. What is your age?
2. What is your religion?
3. What is your parent’s religion?
4. What is your tribe?
5. Are you living with your parents or were you adopted by them? Is it a home with one parent?
6. Are your parents married or divorced?
7. Are you in a polygamist home or a monogamist?
8. What is your dad and mum’s level of education?
9. What is your dad and mum’s profession?

10. What does it mean to you that dad is the chief of the family?

11. Do you answer to that based on your experience with your dad or according to what you believe?

12. If it’s according to what you believe, what makes you believe that?

13. Do you believe that it is better that a chief serves himself; it is served or serves when he is exercising his authority?

14. According to you, what does it mean when it is written in the civil code that a woman with her husband has to educate the children?

15. Do you think that a man has a place in the education of his children? If yes, which place does he have?

16. What do you think about a home where the woman is the only one to have the responsibility of her children? Do you believe that there is a risk?

17. How is the case in your family?

18. How is your relationship with your father? Is it tight?

19. How is your relationship with your mum? Is it tight?

20. Do you think that the role dad is playing or had played affects you in your situation right now?

21. Do you think that the role mum is playing affects or had played affects you in your situation right now?

22. Do you believe that poverty might explain why a father or a mother does not play his or her role as parent? Do you believe it can stand as an excuse?

23. Do you have an advice to give to parents who abandoned their children because of their poverty?