Investigating Country Policy and Information Notes
The Case of UK Home Office & Eritrea

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Abstract

The aim of this research has been to investigate the UK Home Office, Country Policy and Information Notes (CINP) in the asylum-seeking process, through investigating the case of Eritrean CINP documents from 2010 until 2018. This single case study aimed to confirm its theoretical background of Lukes 2005 three-dimensional view of power theory. A pattern-matching analysing technique was implemented to address the research questions with the effort of trying to find overlapping patterns between the theory and the observed patterns in the data. The result shows there are some similarities between patterns. The connection between the three dimensions of power and the three overlapping patterns are then broadly discussed.

Key Words: UK Home Office, Eritrea, Asylum claims, Country Policy, and Information Notes, Power.
Table of Contents

Abstract 2
Table of Contents 3
Abbreviations 4
1. Introduction 5
   1.1 Background 6
   1.3 Research problem 7
   1.4 Aim and Questions 8
2. Literature review 8
   2.1 UK Home office 8
   2.2 Eritrean asylum seekers, the Eritrean Diaspora, and the UK 9
   2.3 Country of Origin 11
   2.4 Relevance of this research 12
3. Theoretical Framework 13
   3.1 Securitization 14
4. Methodology 15
   4.1 Pattern-matching analysis 16
5. Material 16
   5.1 Delimitations 17
   5.2 Role as a researcher 17
6. Analysis 17
   6.1 Expected patterns 18
   6.2 Observable patterns 18
   6.2.1 Pattern 1: Copying of information 18
   6.2.2 Pattern 2: Sources 20
   6.2.3 Pattern 3: Treatment of refused asylum seekers 21
   6.3 Overlapping Patterns 22
   6.3.1 Overlapping pattern 1 22
   6.3.2 Overlapping pattern 2 23
   6.3.3 Overlapping pattern 3 23
7. Discussion 23
   7.1 Future research 26
8. Conclusion 26
9. Reference 27
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<td>CPIN</td>
<td>Country Policy and Information Notes</td>
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<td>COI</td>
<td>Country of Origin Information</td>
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<td>IAGCI</td>
<td>Independent Advisory Group on Country Information</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
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1. Introduction

Country Policy and Information Notes (CPIN) are documents used in asylum-seeking processes (GOV.UK 2018). The purpose of these documents is to give an “up-to-date, impartial and accurate information about the country of origin (UKHM 2013).” They are created by researchers with the purpose to guide migration agents dealing with asylum applications (Refworld 2018: UKHM 2018). These documents were previously known as Country of Origin (COI) guidance documents (GOV.UK 2018). They are created and used by the governmental organization, United Kingdom Home Office. The UK Home Office deals with policies regarding immigration, security, terrorism, drugs, and crime (GOV.UK 2018). However, the UK Visa and Immigration department within the Home Office deals specifically with immigration and asylum (GOV.UK 2018).

The UK is not the only country that are using CPIN documents to help guide migration agents (NCCIOC 2018; GTN 2017) There are also other countries such as The Netherlands and Norway that have constructed similar documents (GTN 2017; NCCIOC 2018). However, the UK home Office CPIN documents stood out in the research process and were therefore picked. The reason that they stood out was the 2015 CPIN document about Eritrea. That document had caused backlash since it was not accurate (Taylor 2017; Amnesty International 2015; Still Human Still Here 2015). It has since been discredited by the Independent Advisory Group on Country Information (IAGCI) (IAGCI 2015; UKHM 2015). Before it was discredited it changed the opinion about Eritrea and deemed it as a safe country (UKHM 2015). The Eritrean CPIN document was not the only one that had inaccurate information. However, it was the 2015 Eritrean document that had the most flaws and biggest backlash (Arnone & 21 other signatories 2015).

Curiosity arose while researching the consequences of the document because of the understanding of how these documents are connected to power. This research will, therefore, investigate the UK’s Eritrean CPIN documents. Specifically, the CPIN documents between 2010-2018 to be able to establish patterns. The framework of this research will be Lukes (2005) three-dimension power theory. The purpose is to investigate if there is any overlapping patterns or relations between CPIN documents and Lukes (2005) three-dimension power theory. This can help us to gain a greater understanding of these CPIN documents connection to power.
1.1 Background

Eritrea is a country in the horn of Africa bordering Ethiopia, Sudan, Djibouti and the Red Sea (EASO 2015). Eritrea has been fighting oppression for about a hundred years with the colonisation by Italy, later Britain during World War Two and later Ethiopia. In 1991 Eritrea gained its independence after over 30 years of war with Ethiopia (EASO 2015). A disagreement between the two countries regarding their borders sparked another war in 1998 which ended in 2000 (EEBC 2002). After the independence, Isaias Afwerki was elected the first president of Eritrea. He is still the president since the country has failed to hold any election since 1993. In 2015, a UN inquiry reported human rights violations that are occurring in Eritrea (OHCHR 2015). This statement was released to the press:

“*The Government of Eritrea is responsible for systematic, widespread and gross human rights violations that have created a climate of fear in which dissent is stifled, a large proportion of the population is subjected to forced labour and imprisonment, and hundreds of thousands of refugees have fled the country (OHCHR, 2015).”*

People started fleeing Eritrea to neighbouring countries and Europe, following the war of independence. Others who migrated before the war returned back to fight in the war of independence with the guerrilla movement (Hepner 2015). The general unrest created by war, together with other issues such as famine, caused people to flee (Hepner 2015). The total amount of Eritrean refugees that came to the UK during the timeframe of the war is unknown (Hepner 2015). Today a new generation of asylum seekers is fleeing due to the human rights violations mentioned and the oppressive regime (Hedru 2003). There is only one approved news channel; independent news channels and papers have been shut down since (HRW 2017; Ogbazghi 2015; CPJ 2013). In addition, journalists and ordinary people who have openly criticized the regime have disappeared or been put in detention without trial (HRW 2017; CPJ 2013). The case of the Eritrean-Swedish journalist Dawit Isaac who was put in jail in 2001 has been highly recognised by the international community (Rothschild 2017; Keyser De, V. et al 2011). However, the recognition did not have an effect. As of 2018, he has been in prison for 16 years without trial (FreeDawit 2018). Anyone who is against the regime is seen as a traitor against Eritrea and might disappear. The fear of accusation of being a traitor causes people to be suspicious of one another, even their neighbours (Hedru 2003).
One of the main reasons for Eritreans seeking asylum in the UK has been the obligatory national service (Kibreab 2009). This post-independence development project was created with the idea that the Eritrean people would rebuild the country by themselves (Kibreab 2009). However, the duration of the national service is unknown and unlimited, contrary to government claims (Ogbazghi 2015; Hedru 2003). Anyone who avoids the obligatory national service and attempts to flee the country is also seen as a traitor. The punishment for this escape would be imprisonment in a detention centre if they were not killed at the border (Amnesty International 2017; Ogbazghi 2015). Organisations are questioning if the president should be held responsible for crimes against humanity (OHCHR, 2015), considering these human rights violations are to be regulated by the government and there is a lack of improvements (Mekonnen 2016; Cumming-Bruce & Gettleman 2016).

It is common that refugees flee to countries where they already have family members. In the case of Eritreans, it is common those seeking asylum flee to countries that already hold relatives who fled during the war. The Eritrean diaspora is considerably larger in countries such as Sudan where there has been a previously established Eritrean community (Hirt & Mohammad 2013). When it comes to Europe, Eritrea remains on the list of countries of origin generating the most asylum applications in 2017 (The Refugee Council 2018). There were 1,093 new asylum applications from Eritrea in 2017 which is an 11% decrease from 2016 (The Refugee Council 2018). However, Iran took the first place in 2017 with 2,569 asylum applications in the UK (The Refugee Council 2018).

1.3 Research problem

As mentioned previously the 2015 Eritrean CINP document contained inaccurate information. It is important to note that different organisations and the media expressed their criticism regarding the documents when they first were released (Taylor 2017; Amnesty International 2015; Still Human Still Here 2015). An open letter to the EU was also created and signed by several prominent people of the migration and international development field, which conveyed the same concerns (Arnone & 21 other signatories 2015). In the letter, they also encourage the EU to hold back the aid package until the Eritrean government could prove their efforts of improving their human rights issues (Arnone & 21 other signatories 2015). Concerning this topic Mekonnen and Van Reisen (2012) wrote an article that mirrored the lack of results of improvement in Eritrea, despite the funding, which they argued can be seen in the number of people fleeing the country. Additionally, they also state that the EU
Another research that addresses the 2015 Eritrean CINP documents and the error was a working paper called “The true human rights situation in Eritrea: the new UK Home Office Guidance as a political instrument for the prevention of migration” by Arapiles (2015). Arapiles (2015) argues that the guidance document is a political tool to reduce migration. Testimonies were used, amongst other sources, to prove the case that Eritrea is not safe and that the 2015 CINP document was not accurate (Arapiles 2015). This paper stands out as one of the few academic papers addressing the issue. Moreover, it was conducted within the same year as this case occurred. Considering all of the above, this research will investigate several numbers of these documents to map out any patterns and their connection with power.

1.4 Aim and Questions

The aim of this paper is to investigate the use of UK Home Offices Country Policy and Information Notes in the asylum-seeking process. Through investigating the patterns that might exist within these documents we gain a further understanding of how the 2015 Eritrean case could have occurred. This research also aims to confirm Lukes (2005) three-dimension power theory. Together with this theory and the concept of securitisation this research aims to provide a further understanding of the need to investigate these documents in the asylum application process. Therefore, the research questions are:

- How is the documents’ information constructed within the CINP documents and are there any patterns in the way they are constructed?

- With the concept of securitization, how might this case and other CINP documents be used as a tool to exude power?

2. Literature review

2.1 UK Home office

Previous research of this topic often addresses the UK home office policies or reports regarding different subjects (Bosworth 2011; Dushinsky 2012; Drake & Simper 2005). Additionally, the home office's policy-making processes are discussed, questioned or
evaluated specifically those regarding asylum. Gibney (2011) addressed changes in UK asylum policy and inevitably by the Home Office. Three concerns came up in Gibney's research and the most relevant for this research is the policy-making goal. The goal of wanting to separate asylum seekers into groups of economic migrants and refugees has led to less protection to some who need it (Gibney 2011). Wallace (2017) examined the validity of the Immigration Act 2014 through the Home office report that justified it. The act, he argues, was created to reduce non-EU migration to the UK. The research proved that the report had many flaws and excluded information (Wallace 2017). Moreover, the execution of asylum claims has also been up for discussion (Darling 2014; Gregg & Pettitt 2017). Bögner, Brewin & Herlihy (2010) addressed the refugees experiences of giving away personal information during a Home office interview. A case study that proved the majority of the refugees interviewed had a negative experience during these interviews with psychological consequences. They address the same issue as Gibney (2011) in short, that legitimate asylum claims are affected by policies directed towards recognizing a false asylum claim. As an important governmental body, the UK home office has been questioned for their methods, reports, and execution of different subjects especially when it comes to asylum.

2.2 Eritrean asylum seekers, the Eritrean Diaspora, and the UK

Recent research conducted in the UK regarding Eritrean asylum seekers offers differing views regarding the causes for asylum claims. The Human rights violations experienced in Eritrea is particularly a subject that continues to receive attention in the UK. One popular subject regarding human rights violations is the obligatory national service for everyone between the age of 18-55, known for the possibility that it can last a lifetime (Kibreab 2009). The aim of Kibreab’s (2012) research was to determine how many Eritrean refugees from his focus groups fled due to the obligatory national service. As this research was based on post-independence refugees, flight from the war was not an asylum claim he researched (Kibreab 2009). UK based researches have raised the question such as whether the National Service should be considered forced labour or slavery when considering international conventions’ definitions of the two (Kibreab 2009). The purpose of the general militarisation and securitisation mechanisms created by the government is a subject that some researchers investigated (Hirt & Mohammad 2013). Redeker-Hepner & O’Kane (2009) argue that nationalism, development, and militarism go hand in hand. Policies created by the
governmental regime in Eritrea favour the military, which leads to the militarization of society. The national service program was promoted as part of the post-independence development, but the militarization has been a leading cause of people fleeing the country (Redeker-Hepner & O'Kane 2009).

The lack of freedom of expression, the disappearances of journalists and the lack of free press in the country have caused media and several researchers call Eritrea “the North Korea of Africa” (Myers 2010; Gebrewahd 2017; Blair 2013). The majority of organisations and European governments acknowledge refugees’ testimonies of these human rights violations. (EASO 2016; USDOS 2017; OHCHR 2015). The reasons Eritreans seek asylum in the UK is examined from many angles. For example, claiming asylum on the basis of religious oppression is also common. The UK Home Office has CINP documents regarding religion in Eritrea, as well. Anderson (2013) speaks specifically about the challenges that the Home Office face in asylum claims regarding Eritreans being persecuted for their Pentecostal faith. This was discussed by looking at the political, historical and religious context of Eritrea.

In regard to the topic of transnationalism, Eritrea has often been used as a case study topic country in EU countries and the UK. One study's focus was to understand refugees’ integration process in the UK and their relationship to Eritrea while in the host country. Campbell & Afework (2015) addressed this subject of integration from the angle of understanding how the Eritrean and Ethiopian diaspora organises themselves in the UK. Hepner (2009) divided the Eritrean diaspora into two categories. The first category is the ‘Generation Nationalism’ are the early asylum seekers that fled due to the war of independence. The identities of these Eritreans are still strongly tied to ethnic nationalism. Second are ‘Generation Asylum’ that are fleeing Eritrea due to suppression and militarization by the regime (Hepner 2009).

One major critique that the UK based Eritrean embassy received is the enforcement a 2% tax upon the diaspora (Jones 2015). If this tax is not paid, they will not be entitled governmental services that might be needed, for instance, passport renewal (Hirt & Mohammad 2017). The tax money has been questioned to serve as funds for militant groups attacks on Ethiopia (Hirt & Mohammad 2017; Jones 2015). The UN imposed sanctions both 2009 and later in 2011 commanding Eritrea end the 2% tax imposed upon the diaspora (Hirt 2014). Teckle & Goldring (2013) look at the 2% tax as a transnational method of compliance
with Eritrea using the rhetoric of development. The development rhetoric is a similar argument stated by Redeker-Hepner & O’Kane (2009) previously.

2.3 Country of Origin

Previous research calls the CINP documents by its previous name Country of Origin (COI). The COI documents are usually discussed from the point of view of an implementation of law from a European perspective (Van Hear and Koser 2005). Vogelaar (2016) studied the European Court of Human Rights and their use of country of origin information in different cases. The study used cases of applicants from Somalia, Sri Lanka and Iran (Vogelaar 2016). They concluded in all three cases that they were not transparent since they discussed if they used the COI (Vogelaar 2016). Vogelaar studied a similar subject in 2017, however, this paper examined the implementation of COI information by UNHCR. UK Home office and UNHCR are similar because they both create guidance documents, but additionally, UNHCR creates eligibility guidelines to understand the level of protection needed for specific asylum groups (Vogelaar 2017). The result had similar conclusions to Vogelaar previous research. Issues such as the lack of variety of sources, cross-checking information, transparency, and balances in the supportive and contradictory information, raised doubts in the UNHCR eligibility guidelines (Vogelaar 2017). Furthermore, the assumption that information in the guidelines is based on contributions from UNHCR field offices was questioned as well (Vogelaar 2017:639). However, this research showed that the contributions are not clear in the guidelines (Vogelaar 2017).

The effect of COI in the asylum processes is a topic of multiple studies. The Immigration Advisory Service (2009) analysed COI documents in the decision-making process regarding refugee status in the UK. The paper was part of a larger project where the impact of those decisions made was further examined (IAS 2009). The result concluded that there is an inconsistency in the way that COI is used in the decision-making process and that they are not always used by the caseworkers. The reason that the research was conducted in the first place was the raising doubts about the implementation of COI made by the caseworkers (IAS 2009). Gibb & Good (2013) did a comparison of UK and the French use of the COI. Their result showed some similarities and of course differences in the implementation of COI (Gibb & Good 2013). However, the COI documents had according to them an important role in the
processes of refugee status determination (Gibb & Good 2013). It was also mentioned that 97% of caseworkers in the UK said they use the COI even though they point out that 36% did not actually analyse and compared the material (Gibb & Good 2013). This argues, to some extent, against previous paper mentioned that suggest that the COI documents are used inconsistently and are under-used if not used at all.

Madziva (2017) research analysed the connection between English names and religious persecution in the context of Pakistani Christians in their country of origin. To then draw a connection to the British immigration agents and the need to take religious identities seriously in immigration policies and practices. These subjects and connection between religious persecution, identity, and the British immigration officials are relevant to the research. The only COI document that is posted on the UK Home office for Eritrea in 2018 is the one on religious persecution. Madziva (2017) conclusion was that certain challenges arise from the perception of Christians coming from a country that is a perceived a Muslim country. Moreover, the research emphasized the importance of religious identities since it can form the context for inclusion and exclusion (Madziva 2017).

2.4 Relevance of this research

There is currently only one working paper that specifically addresses the Eritrean 2015 CINP document or any Eritrean CINP documents. Previous research addresses different topics relating to the case as shown previously. However, none go in-depth of how the case of 2015 could occur and why. Nor addressing the connection between a case such as this, the CINP documents and power. Research has shown to question CINP documents and one addressed specifically the UK home office CINP documents. However, the paper again questioned or investigated the direct implementation of them. This paper has the assumption that the implementation is questionable. The reason being this specific case was an inaccurate CINP document that was implemented in the decision-making processes. Hence, leading to severe consequences. Research of CINP or COI documents is a relatively unexplored area. This case study hopes to map out some patterns that might exist, to be able to implement them in other similar cases. This aim has not to my knowledge been addressed before, hence, the relevance of this research.
3. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework that will be used in this research is Lukes (2005) three-dimensional view of power. It argues that power is exercised in three dimensions that build on each other. The theory is based on two different interpretations of power and the last dimension is his effort to improve or go in depth in the understanding of power (Lukes 2005).

One-dimensional view of power

The first dimension focuses on power that is manifested and best observed in decision-making processes (Lukes 2005; Sadan 1997). It is the behaviours of the actors in the decision-making process that one needs to observe. Behaviours such as, who is winning, losing, participating, expressing themselves are ways to identify power (Sadan 1997; Lukes 2005). These behaviours could be observed first hand or through other means such as documents (Lukes 2005). The person who is succeeding is the one who gains power (Lukes 2005). The decisions that need to be taken are on issues or policy preferences that have caused a conflict. Moreover, a conflict between the different actors’ agendas (Lukes 2005). This conflict is observable just like the behaviors of the actors. The first dimension of power as a concept talks about the simplest form of power which is gaining power over someone else (Lukes 2005). The possibility of making a person do something they would not have done (Sadan 1997). This is analysed in the context of conflict of preferences and argues that power can be observed in the behaviors of different actors (Lukes 2005; Sadan 1997).

Second-dimensional view of power

The second dimension focuses on the power that is gained by preventing people from participating in the decision-making process (Lukes 2005; Sadan 1997). The first dimension focused on the power that is gained by succeeding in the decision-making process (Lukes 2005). The power in the second dimension is also evident in the decision-making process (Lukes 2005). More importantly in the restriction and exclusion leading to non-decision making, preventing people from expressing their interest and objections to the observed conflict of interests (Lukes 2005). The interests are the grievances from those excluded and the policy preference from those making the decisions (Lukes 2005). The concept of the second dimension is that power amounts from successfully controlling the agenda, the decision-making process and excluding decisions on potential issues (Lukes 2005; Sadan 1997), issues where there is a conflict of interest or in other words conflict of preferences,
leading to exclusion of people and non-decision making due to the political or social restrictions (Lukes 2005; Sadan 1997).

**Three-dimensional view of power**

The last dimension of power tries to fill the holes the previous dimensions left. Criticizing them for focusing too much on the behaviours of the individuals (Lukes 2005; Sadan 1997). The many ways certain issues are prevented to emerge beyond an individual decision is then investigated (Lukes 2005). This idea is taken a bit further with the agenda of shaping someone's preference to gain compliance (Sadan 1997). Different tactics are then used to be able to shape someone's thoughts such as controlling the information they are given (Lukes 2005; Sadan 1997). The prevention or exclusion can also be exercised through collective action and organisational practices (Lukes 2005). This prevention might occur without conflict since a way of using power is through prevention of conflicts to emerge. However, the potential of a conflict is there according to this dimension (Lukes 2005). Power is again enforced through control and shaping of people's thoughts and preference (Lukes 2005). To be able to gain compliance and acceptances of how things are run (Lukes 2005).

**3.1 Securitization**

The securitization concept converts a topic into a security issue, whereby actions are taken in the name of security. Boswell and Geddes (2011) talk about the issue in regard to the migration policy processes and why member states are not achieving their own migration aspirations. Boswell and Geddes (2011) are stating that the discourse is analysed from two angels: First the securitization and second the policy failure approach (Boswell and Geddes 2011). Within this context, securitization is created as a power-maximising agent who is the government. The agent uses securitization of migration to legitimize inhumane policies that would in any other cases be dismissed (Boswell and Geddes 2011). The policies are seen as opportunities and tools to expand the state's control over the perceived threat of illegal immigration (Boswell and Geddes 2011; Huysmans 2000). This perceived danger causes not only the government or political actors to implement the policies as a security issue (Boswell and Geddes 2011). The police and other officials have a great part in implementing these policies (Huysmans 2000). Therefore, the agents ensure that migration is seen as a security issue that needs to be regulated. The policy failure approach assumes the lack of ability to control immigration and that the policies are set up to fail (Boswell and Geddes 2011).
Securitization and its policies have significant political powers and have been argued to be a part of the state's political agenda (Boswell and Geddes 2011; Huysmans 2000). A sense of community or collective political identity arises from the threat of external danger (Huysmans 2000). Moreover, political power can also come from the ability to mobilize a political community (Boswell and Geddes 2011; Huysmans 2000). Terrorism serves as an illustration regarding securitization of migration and the actions that have been justified in the name of preventing it (Boswell and Geddes 2011). This can be seen with the increase of border security measures after the 9/11 terrorist attack (Castles, De Haas, Miller 2014; Benam 2011). However, securitization and the build-up to a heighten securitization of migration was a process that already started in the 1980s if not earlier (Castles, De Haas, Miller 2014; Huysmans 2000).

4. Methodology

While looking at the raw data during the research process it was evident that the 2015 document stood out amongst the other Eritrean CINP documents (IAGCI 2015). There are other countries’ CINP that also have been questioned for their inaccurate content. However, the 2015 Eritrean one stood out as having most errors. Hence, the single case study method was selected for this research. To give more of an insight, the 2010-2018 Eritrean CINP documents was also investigated. The scope is one country’s CINP documents, therefore, still considered a single case study. There are six different kinds of case study methods and the theory conforming one was picked for this research (Moses & Knutsen 2012). Meaning, Lukes (2005) three-dimensional power theory was tested with this case study rather than developing one (Moses & Knutsen 2012). This research problem was discovered while investigating the data, hence, the decision to test a theory. The purpose is to investigate this case and its data thoroughly. Yin (2003) mentioned a reason for picking a theory testing single case study might be the potential contribution with new knowledge for new theory-building research. However, the theory testing provides this research with an understanding of how and if there is a connection between these documents with the theory of power.

There are two types of research design for the single case study and the holistic design is the one implemented for this research (Baxter & Jack 2008; Yin 2003). The unit of analysis is the Eritrean 2010-2018 CINP documents and not several subunits. This design makes it possible to use only one analysing technique (Yin 2003). The embedded design contains several units of analysis and different techniques are implemented within the single case study (Baxter & Jack 2008; Yin 2003). One of the benefits with the holistic design is that it
could be implemented when the theory in itself is a holistic one and when the subunits are not clear (Yin 2003).

4.1 Pattern-matching analysis

The analysing technique that is going to be applied is the pattern-matching technique. This technique is one of the most favourable techniques due to the enhancement of the research internal validity (Yin 2003). It is specifically desirable for theory confirming single case studies (Hak & Dul 2009). Patterns are considered non-random objects and therefore definable (Trochim 1989). Pattern matching analysis is a comparison of patterns based on a theory with an observed pattern (Trochim 1989; Yin 2003). Patterns based on the theory will be called ‘expected patterns’. A theory has generated from concepts with the effort of explaining a phenomenon that is why the pattern is considered expected or predicted (Hak & Dul 2009). The observed pattern is patterns observed in the data (Hak & Dul 2009). Either the patterns will overlap, and one might find a connection between the theory and data or there are no overlapping patterns. This analysis is an attempted to find matching patterns that might be implemented in other similar cases (Hak & Dul 2009). However, there are different types of pattern-matching analysis and the focus is laid on where the patterns differ (Yin 2003; Hak & Dul 2009). For this research, we will focus on similarities so that the findings might be implemented in other CINF documents. This pattern matching analysing technique will help increase the research reliability due to its clear direction on how to execute the analysis.

5. Material

This research has its focus and is based on the Eritrean CINF documents created by the UK Home office. The data and the documents have been collected from their own website. The data was collected ethically or with consent since data was already published. The literature review and other academic research are based on secondary data that has already been published. As mentioned previously, the data that will be used is the UK home offices, Eritrean CINF documents. Together with the existing reviews of the documents from the same timeframe of 2010 until 2018. There were CINF documents available up until 2000 but not all of them will be investigated. The documents from 2000-2009 were not conducive to the actual case study. With this delimitation, we gain an understanding of the existing patterns, changes and if they differ from the 2015 document. This timeframe was picked since I believe it is enough data to investigate, generalise, answer the research question and
test the theory. There are many strengths of using documents as the data and source of evidence (Yin 2003). The main one being that they can frequently be inspected if they are obtainable (Yin 2003). Another strength is in the saved details such as name, date, and reference of an event. (Yin 2003). However, one weakness with documents besides bias selectivity is the over-dependence of them. To avoid this, Yin (2003) emphasised that the purpose and the audience for whom a document is produced should always be taking into consideration when collecting data.

5.1 Delimitations

This research is narrowed down to one specific case with the focus on one specific country. With the limited timeframe and the resources available I decided to focus on Eritrea and the UK home office. This case stood out as the one country with the CINP documents that contained the most error during 2015. The Eritrean CINP documents from 2010-2018 are the ones that will be studied, and patterns will be investigated. There was no 2017 document publicly accessible on their website or any other website such as Refworld. There are more CINP documents available. However, going further back will not be conducive to this particular case study. It would also have an negative effect on the research validity due to the irrelevance of the documents prior to 2010.

5.2 Role as a researcher

An effort was made to keep this research as unbiased as possible. However, as a Swedish citizen with Eritrean descent, there is no denying that my background might have had an effect on decision making during the research. The choice to use the Eritrean CINP documents was justified by the means of errors contained within these documents. Every researcher has a background, different points of view and ideas that might affect their research.

6. Analysis

The pattern matching analysis will be implemented in this section. Firstly, the expected patterns will be conceptualized and clarified. Secondly, the data will be investigated so that the observed patterns can be conducted and clarified. The result of any colliding patterns will be shown in this section. With the research questions in mind, the result will be discussed in the next section.
6.1 Expected patterns

Silverman (2014) argued that a theory explains a phenomenon through having a set of concepts. Sinkovics (2018) also argued that a theory is a form of predictions. The predictions, themselves are expected patterns. Therefore, the work of conceptualizing Lukes (2005) power theory has already been done in the theoretical framework section. Moreover, the concept of securitization was also clarified in the previous section.

6.2 Observable patterns

For the observable patterns, the data will be conceptualized. The Eritrean CINP data between 2010-2018 are the ones that are going to be investigated. The first research question mentioned will be considered and investigated during this process. The same method will be used for the second question and the overlapping pattern section. However, the question will be further discussed in the discussion section.

How is the documents’ information constructed and are there any patterns in the way they are constructed?

6.2.1 Pattern 1: Copying of information

While investigating the Eritrean CINP documents a pattern seemed to emerge. The pattern shows that the same information is copied throughout the documents. Within the economic background, there is a sentence that was copied and used throughout the three documents (UKHM 2010; UKHM 2011; UKHM 2012). The documents had the same information down to exact wording (UKHM 2010; UKHM 2011; UKHM 2012).

“The United States State Department Background Note on Eritrea (updated 22 October 2010) stated that Eritrea’s economy is largely based on agriculture, which involves 80 percent of the working population, and contributed 24 percent to the GDP (2007); worker remittances and other private transfers from abroad contribute 32 percent to the GDP (UKHM 2010; UKHM 2011; UKHM 2012).”

Moreover, the date within parentheses states the year 2007 and this information was used in the 2012 document (UKHM 2012). This pattern lead to a further investigation of the accuracy of the information, comparing the information with the year 2012 and search for more up-to-date statistics regarding the same sentences. The result showed a lack of information published about Eritrean labour force by occupation. Different sources that did
publish anything regarding the subject referenced the same statistics from the CIA factbook which the paragraph references to, except that the statistic was from 2004 (Cia.gov 2018; Nationmaster 2018; Indexmundi 2018; Economywatch 2018).

Under the category of human rights sub-line security forces, the same paragraph was copied repeatedly from 2010-2014 (UKHM 2010; UKHM 2011; UKHM 2012; UKHM 2013; UKHM 2014). That statement might not have changed but the date and year of the source were repeatedly changed for the following document (see figure 1 below). Further investigation and research went into the accuracy of this paragraph. Moreover, researching the actual US Human rights reports themselves with the purpose to investigate if the reports had the same paragraphs with the same modifications of the date’s contrary to the UK Home Office conducting the modifications.

| “The US State Department Human Rights report for 2009, published in March 2010, stated that the: Police was officially responsible for maintaining internal security, and the army was responsible for external security; however, the government could call on the armed forces, the reserves, and demobilized soldiers to meet either domestic or external security requirements….” [4i] (section 1d) (UKHM 2010) | “The United State Department ‘2012 Human Rights Report: Eritrea’, published on 19 April 2013, stated that the: ‘Police were responsible for maintaining internal security, and the army was responsible for external security, but the government sometimes utilized the armed forces, the reserves, demobilized soldiers, or the newly mustered civilian militia to meet domestic and external security requirements…” [3b] (section (UKHM 2013) |

Figure 1

The US Human rights report did have the same modifications (USDS 2010; USDS 2011; USDS 2012; USDS 2013; USDS 2014; USDS 2015). Therefore, one can exclude that the modifications were made by the UK Home Office. The layout of the text on the website did not have any referencing in the text or any footnotes (USDS 2010; USDS 2011; USDS 2012; USDS 2013; USDS 2014; USDS 2015). The only dates or years that are given are in the headline of the report. Just as figure one shows the years kept on changing (USDS 2010; USDS 2011; USDS 2012; USDS 2013; USDS 2014; USDS 2015). Between 2013-2015 the same US Human rights report from 2012 was used (USDS 2013; USDS 2014; USDS 2015).
The paragraph had no modification in itself (USDS 2010; USDS 2011; USDS 2012; USDS 2013; USDS 2014; USDS 2015). The lack of referencing made it hard to continue to investigate the information, leading to the conclusion that the UK home office did not alter the dates.

There is another example of this in the human rights violations regarding the security forces in Eritrea. The information states what is supposed to happen when people get arrested and then brought up sources stating the contrary (UKHM 2010). Again, the dates have been altered and copied all between the 2010-2018 documents ((USDS 2010; USDS 2011; USDS 2012; USDS 2013; USDS 2014; USDS 2015; USDS 2016; USDS 2018). This information comes from the same US Human rights reports used previously (USDS 2010; USDS 2011; USDS 2012; USDS 2013; USDS 2014; USDS 2015). It contains the same obstacle of not being able to further investigate the accuracy of the information (USDS 2010; USDS 2011; USDS 2012; USDS 2013; USDS 2014; USDS 2015).

6.2.2 Pattern 2: Sources

In the background of these documents, it is stated that the aim is to highlight the main issues that cause Eritreans to seek asylum. It is not intended to be detailed and comprehensive research but rather encourages the agent to investigate the original sources themselves for more information (UKHM 2010). Web sources such as Asmarino or Hornsaffair seem to be quite in-official sources (UKHM 2016). Therefore, a further investigation was conducted on some of the sources to investigate their reliability. The result was that Asmarino is a media outlet while the Hornsaffair is an online newspaper that focuses on news from the Horn of Africa (Meharenna, T 2018; Berhane, D et al. 2018). Their content contained some news articles and interviews from Eritrea (Meharenna, T 2018; Berhane, D et al. 2018).

As previously mentioned, there is only one approved news channel and one paper that are run by the government (HRW 2017; Ogbazghi 2015; CPJ 2013). Therefore, having these alternative media outlets, brings news from Eritrea that would not have been published on the one official newspaper or channel. However, the CINP documents use the Eritrean government websites and reports as sources (UKHM 2010; UKHM 2011; UKHM 2012). For instance, when discussing improvements of health facilities or the health of children citing a report from the minister of health the information can be considered biased (UKHM 2012).

The 2015 document that was later on discredited contained a controversial source. (UKHM 2015). The Danish version of Eritrean CINP document from 2013-2014 had an
influence on the UK's Eritrean 2015 CINP document. The UK Home Office decided to keep using the Danish report as a source to prove that it was safe to return to Eritrea (UKHM 2015; DIS 2014). Even though the Danish report was discredited it was actively used in the UK's CINP document (UKHM 2015). The lack of ability to obtain certain sources is also a concern (UKHM 2018; DFAT 2017; EASO 2016; Amnesty International 2015). It is pointed out that a migration agent should investigate the original sources to gain more information (UKHM 2012).

6.2.3 Pattern 3: Treatment of refused asylum seekers

The documents between 2010-2014 are almost identical in the use of sources, dates, text and general formatting (UKHM 2010; UKHM 2011; UKHM 2012; UKHM 2013; UKHM 2014). However, the 2014 document stands out in a section at the end of the paper (UKHM 2014). It is discussing the uncertainty of the treatment of refused asylum seekers that are being returned and deemed deserters of the national service (UKHM 2014). Even though they made it clear that some ill treatment can occur upon those who return, they did not state it as clearly as in the previous documents (UKHM 2014, UKHM 2013). In the new 2015 document, the same discussion on the treatment of refused asylum seekers was brought up (UKHM 2015; UKHM 2016). The focus is on the question if people who fled the country and had been refused asylum in another country are seen as traitors (UKHM 2015). Moreover, people who fled from the national service are considered to have an anti-government agenda (UKHM 2015; UKHM 2016).

The UN inquiry on Eritrea was released in 2015 and still, there seems to be hesitation on the treatment of those who are forced to return and what constitutes persecution (UKHM 2016; UKHM 2018). The 2016 October CINP document even used the Danish and UKs so-called fact-finding mission as sources again (UKHM 2016). This fact-finding mission stated that the UNs inquiry, academics, and human rights organizations all agree on that draft evaders are considered traitors (UKHM 2015; UKHM 2016; UKHM 2018). However, their fact-finding mission, diplomats and the Eritrean government state otherwise (UKHM 2016; UKHM 2018). The question is if the returnees are really being seen as traitors (UKHM 2015; UKHM 2016; UKHM 2018). In addition, since the opposed research, such as the UN inquiry, was mostly done through interviews the topic is still up for discussion (UKHM 2016).

Moreover, the CINP documents also state a concern that the returnees might face a risk upon return due to their illegal exit (USDS 2014; USDS 2015; USDS 2016; USDS 2018). Thereafter it states that it depends on the government's interest even though there is evidence
stating that they do in fact face harm upon return (USDS 2014; USDS 2015; USDS 2016; USDS 2018). Furthermore, previous CINP documents and the 2016 CINP all state the lack of possibility to gain an exit visa (UKHM 2010; UKHM 2011; UKHM 2012; UKHM 2016). If the person is between 18-57, they are automatically seen as deserters of the national service (UKHM 2010; UKHM 2011; UKHM 2012). People under 18 have also been denied exit visas since young people who are considered of eligible age to do the national service have not been permitted to leave (UKHM 2012; UKHM 2013).

In the 2018 CINP, the discussion got more elevated stating that draft evaders might be seen as having imputed political opinion and might face a real risk of persecution (UKHM 2018). It is stated as a question or discussion within these documents (UKHM 2018). From 2014 until 2018 there has been a lot of arguing around the treatment of returnees or deserters (UKHM 2014; UKHM 2015; UKHM 2016; UKHM 2018). The CINP documents prior to 2014 did not question that (UKHM 2010; UKHM 2011; UKHM 2012; UKHM 2013).

6.3 Overlapping Patterns

In this next section, I will identify similarities between the observed patterns and the expected patterns from the concept of the theory.

**With the concept of securitization, how might this case and other CINP documents be used as a tool to exude power?**

6.3.1 Overlapping pattern 1

The first dimension talked about the simplest form of power that a person gains in the political arena or discussion over a conflict (Lukes 2005). The power is then evident in the behaviours of the political actors such as who is winning the discussion (Lukes 2005). The first overlapping pattern, therefore, would be the connection between the actors who are winning in the ongoing discussion within the third observed pattern. As mentioned previously the third observed pattern is that there has been an ongoing discussion within 2014-2018 documents. The purpose of having the discussion in the document is to give context to a specific asylum topic (UKHM 2010). The debate is about the treatment of the refused asylum seekers or the deserters of national service. This debate is still up for discussion even though the UN inquiry, human rights organisations and academic/researcher have stated what the consequences are (UKHM 2016). As a counter argument, they reference the UK and Danish fact-finding mission together with the Eritrean government (UKHM 2016). It could be argued
that in this case, the UK, Danish and Eritrean government are the political actors that are winning the discussion since the consequences of the refused asylum seekers are still up for debate (UKHM 2014; UKHM 2015; UKHM 2016; UKHM 2018).

6.3.2 Overlapping pattern 2
The second overlapping pattern resonates with the second dimension. The second dimension of power focuses on the efforts of exclusion and restrictions in the decision-making process (Lukes 2005). The UNs inquiry (2015), academics and human rights organisation gain a large portion of their information outside of Eritrea (OHCHR 2015). There is an argument presented in the 2016 CINP document that deemed the information obtained outside of Eritrea as not trustworthy (UKHM 2016). However, the researchers of the CINP documents have themselves pointed out the difficulties of gaining certain information from Eritrea (UKHM 2016). The Home Office has, therefore, the same challenge when conducting these documents (UKHM 2016). This pattern is connected with the second dimension due to the prevention of those who are affected or have experience. Leading to exclusion of the Eritrean people’s experiences and non-decision making due to the political or social restrictions (Lukes 2005; Sadan 1997).

6.3.3 Overlapping pattern 3
The third dimension is as mentioned previously about the shaping of someone’s will and thoughts to fit one’s agenda (Lukes 2005; Sadan 1997). One of the ways to shaping someone’s thought is through controlling the information that person would receive. Having the discussion within the documents and not stating clearly if the returnees face danger is a form of controlling information (UKHM 2016; Lukes 2005). The third dimension also resonates with the second pattern previously mentioned, with the lack of ability to obtain certain sources to further gain more information. The main purpose of the documents is to give a context of the problems that Eritrean asylum seekers claim asylum for (UKHM 2010; UKHM 2011; UKHM 2012; UKHM 2013). The context might shape the migration agent's thoughts whether that person chooses to use the information or not. The power is manifested in the control of the information and that it might shape the agent’s thoughts. Therefore, it is of utmost importance that the information is accurate, reliable and up-to-date.

7. Discussion
For this section, the questions together with the patterns will be discussed.
How is the documents’ information constructed and are there any patterns in the way they are constructed?

The first question we will discuss is, how is the documents’ information constructed and are there any patterns in the way they are constructed? In the CINP documents from 2010 to 2014, the information is construed in a repetitive manner with little alteration between the documents. There is also little to no changes in the information meaning those who create the documents keep copying the information from previous documents. The pattern here is the lack of up-to date and obtainable information. While further investigating information, some sources were unavailable. The documents are, after 2015, constructed more like a discussion trying to state where there is a conflict. There are still some questionable or unavailable sources and copied information (UKHM 2016; UKHM 2018). This becomes a conflict when a migration agent might need to further investigate the original sources to gain more information, which has been encouraged by the UK Home office (UKHM 2012).

It has been argued within the documents that information is hard to retrieve from Eritrea (UKHM 2014; UKHM 2015; UKHM 2016; UKHM 2018). Therefore, there is a limitation with the up-to-date information. However, there are research conducted with testimonies etc. that seem to still be up for discussion due to it containing testimonies. This has a connection with the second dimension of power, which is the ongoing exclusion of who gets to participate in the discussion and restriction in the decision-making process. In addition, another way for power to manifest itself is through the shaping of someone’s will and thoughts through controlling the information that person receives. This creates an overlapping pattern or connection with the third dimension and observable pattern number three.

The background text in the documents puts the responsibility away from those creating the documents (UKHM 2010; UKHM 2011; UKHM 2012; UKHM 2016). Stating that these documents are created with limited information or that the reader shall not make assumptions beyond what is written (UKHM 2010). How are the researchers managed or supervised during the processes of creating these documents? As mentioned previously the Independent Advisory Group on Country Information (IAGCI) recommends improvements and reads through the documents at the end (IAGCI 2015; UKHM 2010). However, they do not seem to supervise the process which could make these documents become more reliable. Another question that arises is if there is a limited amount of information that can be obtained. Should the information that is obtainable be used even if it might not give the whole picture or context? These questions do arise during the process but should be answered another time.
However, in regard to the question asked we can establish that there are observable patterns and how they are constructed has been discussed.

**With the concept of securitization, how might this case and other CINP documents be used as a tool to exude power?**

The second question we will discuss is, with the concept of securitization, how might this case and other CINP documents be used as a tool to exude power? The concept of securitization goes hand in hand with the theory of power. It can be said that these documents are used in the decision-making and asylum application process no matter how much it is stated in the background text that a decision should not be based on these documents. How can the UK Home Office ensure that decisions are not based on these documents? The documents if nothing else are still a part of the shaping of someone's thoughts since their whole purpose is to generate the context. The power is manifested in the fact that they even have this choice of using or not using the information that is given to them in the decision-making process. That is how the documents can be used as a tool in the shaping of the migration agents' thoughts and will. It is of utmost importance that the information is accurate and compiled in an accurate manner. The researchers do have the power to alter the information and not compile the documents in an accurate way. That is where the concept of securitisation comes in.

No one can ensure that these documents will be used as a tool to exude power and political preference of those from the ruling elite. The concern could arise that they might even be used as a political tool to prevent migration. The 2015 document was constructed and used. One of the points that were made is still being debated in the 2016-2018 documents. This is a point that was not previously questioned in the other documents investigated for this research. The wording and information that is being presented is shaping the migration agents’ thoughts since the whole purpose of these documents is to give context. One cannot prove that it does not have any effect at all on the migration agents’ thoughts. As stated previously, securitisation is manifested in the political actors, police and other officials by implementing security policies (Boswell and Geddes 2011). Making sure that subjects such as migration stay a security issue (Huysmans 2000). The migration agents that handle the application can be seen as the officials implementing a certain policy preference, namely, that migration or asylum applicants from Eritrea could be seen as a security threat since the country is not currently at war. In addition, the documents themselves might be used as a tool
to exude power and the agenda or preference of the UK Home Office. We can conclude that the documents could be used as tools in the securitization process and that no one can control their impact in the decision-making process for certain. However, further investigation needs to be conducted on the CINP documents in connection with securitization to be more conclusive.

**Overlapping patterns**

There are some similarities between the theory's expected patterns and the observed patterns from the data. One might see power being manifested in the shaping of thoughts of the migration agent with the information that is provided. Moreover, power manifestation can be observed in the restriction of whose voices can participate and be used as sources. Furthermore, we should ask, who is succeeding in the conflict of interest? Even though one could see similarities it is hard to generalize and say that there are clear overlapping patterns. It is therefore imperative to state that this paper can be used as a guiding point in the future but that further research is needed to find concrete evidence. Evidence that can manifest Lukes (2005) three-dimensions of power theory, through similar research problem and specifically through the CINP documents.

### 7.1 Future research

An idea for further research would be to investigate all the CINP documents who have been revised more thoroughly. Additionally, instead of only focusing on one host country and their migration agency one could have compared multiple ones. It would be a greater comparison to figure out patterns on a larger scale. Moreover, research that focuses a bit more on the consequences of these documents, exploring further the concept of power or other relevant theories, is advised.

### 8. Conclusion

The aim of this research was to investigate the UK Home Office Eritrean CINP documents in the asylum-seeking process. This single case study aimed to confirm a connection between CINP documents and its theoretical background of Luke's (2005) three-dimensional view of power theory. A pattern-matching analysing technique was implemented to address the research questions. Effort was made to try and find overlapping patterns between the theory and the observed patterns in the data. The result shows that there are three overlapping
patterns. Therefore, some similarities between the patterns and the theory were observed. However, there were not enough overlapping patterns between the expected and observed patterns to confirm the theory. If these similarities were strong enough one could have generalised the result, leading to the conclusion that Lukes (2005) power theory would have been confirmed within this research problem. However, as mentioned, the similarities were not that many nor had a strong foundation to confirm the theory. Therefore, the conclusion to this article is that further research is needed. The aim of this research is a topic that should be further investigated due to its role of providing a context in asylum-seeking processes.

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