Homemaking and perpetual liminality among queer refugees

Thomas Wimark

Published online: 20 May 2019.

Submit your article to this journal

Article views: 1780

View related articles

View Crossmark data

Citing articles: 3 View citing articles

Homemaking and perpetual liminality among queer refugees

Thomas Wimark

Department of Human Geography, Stockholm University, Stockholm, Sweden

ABSTRACT

As people continue to flee repressive regimes, discussions of refugees' state of liminality have intensified. Refugee camps and detention centres tend to force refugees to endure living in liminality for long periods of time. Taking fleeing as a point of departure, this study suggests a change from the notion of fleeing as movement to a search for home and homemaking. This understanding shifts the analysis away from state-controlled spaces to a wider consideration of spaces of importance for homemaking. Widening the discussion on liminality to homemaking indicates that liminality can be experienced in a variety of spaces. Using material from interviews with queer refugees in the Swedish countryside, I discuss their travels, displacements and homemaking. Their stories show that creating a home is a continuous process delimited by norms in families, ethnic networks, host societies and queer networks. Not adhering to these norms renders homemaking difficult and pushes some queer refugees to liminal spaces. Thus, I suggest an understanding of some queer refugees as constantly rejected and pushed into a perpetual state of liminal homemaking. An analysis that illuminates refugees' displacements from belonging moves discussions of liminality away from state-controlled spaces and highlights the norms that govern the homemaking process.

Faire son chez-soi et liminalité perpétuelle chez les réfugiés *queer*

RÉSUMÉ

Alors que les peuples ne cessent de fuir les régimes répressifs, les débats sur l'état de liminalité des réfugiés se sont intensifiés. Les camps de réfugiés et centres de détention ont tendance à forcer les réfugiés à endurer un état de vie liminaire pendant de longues périodes. Prenant comme point de départ la notion de fuite, cette étude suggère de penser la fuite non comme mouvement mais comme quête d'un chez-soi. Cette interprétation fait glisser l'analyse au-delà de la question des espaces contrôlés par l'État vers une considération des espaces importants pour la fabrique d'un chez-soi. Élargir la discussion sur la liminalité à la fabrique d'un chez-soi signifie que la liminalité peut être vécue au travers une variété d'espaces. À l'aide d'entretiens avec des réfugiés *queer*

CONTACT Thomas Wimark   ✉ Thomas.wimark@humangeo.su.se

dans la campagne suédoise, j'aborde la question de leurs voyages, de leurs déplacements et de la façon dont ils fabriquent leur chez-eux. Leurs récits montrent que créer un chez-soi est un processus continu et délimité par des normes au sein de la famille, des réseaux d'ethnicité, des sociétés d'accueil et des réseaux *queer*. Ne pas adhérer à ces normes rend la création d'un chez-soi difficile et pousse certains réfugiés *queer* vers des espaces liminaires. Ainsi, je suggère de considérer certains réfugiés *queer* comme continuellement rejetés et repoussés vers un état perpétuel où l'espace du chez-soi est liminaire. En éclairant les déplacements des réfugiés hors de leurs espaces d'appartenance, cette analyse éloigne les débats sur la liminalité de la question des espaces contrôlés par l'État pour mettre en relief les normes qui gouvernent les processus de fabrication d'un chez-soi.

Hacer-hogar y la liminalidad perpetua entre los refugiados queer

RESUMEN
A medida que las personas continúan huyendo de regímenes represivos, las discusiones sobre el estado de liminalidad de los refugiados se han intensificado. Los campamentos de refugiados y los centros de detención tienden a obligar a los refugiados a vivir en la liminalidad durante largos períodos de tiempo. Tomando la huida como un punto de partida, este estudio sugiere un cambio de la noción de huir como movimiento a una búsqueda de hogar y de hacer-hogar. Esta comprensión desplaza el análisis de los espacios controlados por el estado a una consideración más amplia de los espacios de importancia para el hacer-hogar. Ampliar la discusión sobre la liminalidad al hacer-hogar indica que la liminalidad se puede experimentar en una variedad de espacios. Usando material de entrevistas con refugiados queer en la campiña sueca, discuto sus viajes, desplazamientos y hacer-hogar. Sus historias muestran que la creación de un hogar es un proceso continuo delimitado por normas en familias, redes étnicas, sociedades de acogida y redes queer. No adherirse a estas normas dificulta las tareas domésticas y lleva a algunos refugiados queer a espacios liminales. Por lo tanto, sugiero un entendimiento de algunos refugiados queer como constantemente rechazados y empujados a un estado perpetuo de hacer-hogar liminal. Un análisis que ilumina los desplazamientos de los refugiados del sentido de pertenencia aleja los debates sobre la liminalidad de los espacios controlados por el estado y resalta las normas que rigen el proceso de hacer-hogar.

Introduction

Every year, thousands of people flee repressive regimes, poverty, and environmental catastrophes and seek to create new homes in receiving countries. Not surprisingly, images of refugees in refugee camps or on roads to safety have become increasingly common in news media, often following refugees as they cross the Mediterranean Sea or the desert to the United States. However, media reports commonly stop once refuge is gained, assuming that this is equated with safety and stability. They do not acknowledge that the process of creating a new home endures well beyond refuge recognition.

This emphasis on reaching safety is often discussed in light of liminality among transnational migration scholars, who recognise that refugees inhabit a liminal period, a stage between what has been left and what is to come, on their way to finding refuge. Studies have highlighted refugees´ experiences in liminal spaces, such as detention centres, refugee camps, and asylum accommodation. One of the key insights from these works is how refugees endure liminality in state-controlled spaces (Mountz, 2011; Ramadan, 2013) where identities and behaviour become regulated, such as through sexual regimes in migration processes (Akin, 2017; Giametta, 2017; McPhail, McNulty, & Hutchings, 2016; Mühleisen, Røthing, & Svendsen, 2012; Murray, 2014a, 2014b; Shuman & Bohmer, 2014; Wimark & Hedlund, 2017). However, migration studies have also hinted at the possibility of refugees enduring liminality outside of state-controlled spaces (Mountz, Coddington, Catania, & Loyd, 2013). In fact, Hynes (2011: 3) has suggested that 'liminality can no longer only be used to describe refugees living in camps in their regions of origin'. In this article, I wish to draw attention to this expansion.

The aim of this study is first to add to the debate on liminality in migration studies by considering a multitude of spaces, rather than simply state-controlled spaces, as liminal to refugees. To date, research has mainly focused on camps and detention centres that refugees must pass on their way to reaching asylum. However, I propose expanding the understanding of refugee liminality to think of spaces that refugees inhabit during the fleeing/asylum process and after gaining asylum. Thinking of queer individuals as inhabiting liminal spaces and temporalities in general has been a principal understanding in queer studies of home and homemaking. Halberstam (2005: 1) has suggested that queer individuals inhabit queer spaces and temporalities developed 'in opposition to the institutions of the family, heterosexuality, and reproduction'. Combining insights from transnational migration studies and queer studies of home, this article focuses on the limitations and possibilities of homemaking among queer refugees, highlighting spatial and temporal aspects of liminality for refugees.

The second aim is to contribute to the understanding of liminality by suggesting the possibility of perpetual liminality after gaining asylum. To accomplish this understanding, I use insights from queer studies of home that imply that migration and home are intertwined as a search for belonging, comfort and safety. These studies highlight that homes are laden with norms and that not all queer people fit into these norms. As homes are revoked and queer people are displaced, they come to create homes that are often in opposition to norms. Using these insights, I suggest that many (although certainly not all) queer refugees are in a state of liminal homemaking. Non-alignment with norms results in different forms of discipline that can push refugees towards liminal spaces. This blurs the border of a specific timeframe of leaving/losing a home (country) and creating a new home since many queer refugees find it difficult to find belonging that fully embraces them.

In the following sections, I discuss the concept of liminality and the renewed interest it has received in migration studies. I also highlight studies of home, illuminating both the inclusionary and exclusionary aspects of home. I then illustrate how queer international migration studies have applied liminality and suggest that liminality be considered as homemaking. I report details regarding how this study was conducted and who the participants were. Subsequently, I present the material from the study and how the participants discuss refuge and liminal spaces.

Liminality and queer quests for a home

As a concept, liminality arguably originates with Van Gennep (1960) discussion of 'rites of passage' and Turner's (1967) discussion of liminal stages within rites of passage. In their view, liminality is a structured period of initiation (and reflection) into a new status, i.e. a period of transition. According to this concept, an individual detaches from a certain point into liminality until reattachment to a new point is achieved. Thus, liminality is the in-between stage when the individual is neither attached to the old nor elevated to the new. The understanding of refugees as being in a liminal stage is not new, as seen in the discussion by Kunz (1973) in the 1970s. However, renewed interest in the concept can be found in recent studies (e.g. see Darling, 2009; Hynes, 2011; Mountz, 2011; Ramadan, 2013). These works also tend to conceptualise refugees in state-controlled liminal spaces, such as detention centres (Mountz et al., 2013), refugee camps (Mountz, 2011; Ramadan, 2013), in-between countries (Shakhsari, 2014), and waiting rooms (Seitz, 2017). An important point made in these works is the enduring temporality of these spaces (Mountz, 2011; Ramadan, 2013). As state-controlled spaces endure, the realisation that homes are created there is apparent but remains largely unrecognised in previous studies.[1] This is not to claim that the link between liminality and home is generally unrecognised in migration studies. Brun and Fábos (2015) recently highlighted liminal homemaking practices in state-controlled spaces and noted that the perception of migration as movement and home as static needs to be destabilised to understand (liminal) homemaking. This approach follows a larger under-standing of migration studies as expanding beyond movement towards spaces and places of home (Blunt, 2007). It is to this research that I now turn.

Countering naïve understandings of home as sites of safety and stability, scholars have established that home is rather a site of ambiguity (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Brickell, 2012). Indeed, home can signify spaces of belonging, memory, and anchoring, in which safety can be gained through protection from the outside world. However, as Blunt and Varley (2004) acknowledge, a home is not only belonging and safety but can also represent alienation, violence and fear. Home is also always in the making and not a finished project; it does not have to be a place, although it is often attached to a place. As home spaces are built and created, they also become potential sites of negotiation, struggle and conflict. The process of creating home spaces is thus often achieved by regulating behaviour and excluding unfit individuals (Brickell, 2012). Feminist scholars have been pivotal in illustrating the exclusionary aspects of home spaces, such as by highlighting patriarchy and domestic violence towards women (Warrington, 2001). Similarly, queer scholars have highlighted that (family) home spaces are built on an assumed heterosexuality (Pilkey, Scicluna, & Gorman-Murray, 2015; Sinfield, 2000), ren-dering queer individuals outcasts and inducing displacement (Knopp, 2004; Tunåker, 2015). Numerous studies have stressed that queer bodies become vectors of displace-ment as a consequence of not fitting in (Gorman-Murray, 2007, 2009; Waitt & Gorman-Murray, 2011a, 2011b). This suggests that queer individuals are cast to create homes in opposition to heteronormativity and reproduction, in queer spaces and temporalities (Halberstam, 2005) or liminality (Tunåker, 2015). However, queer scholars of home have also noted that home spaces are diverse and that not all homemaking is based on opposition and displacement (Gorman-Murray, 2008a). Importantly, Gorman-Murray

(2008b) shows that home spaces have the potential to bring together parts of the self that are not supposedly reconcilable, such as family connections and ethnic and sexual minority identities.

Queer transnational migration scholars have focused more on the exclusionary parts of home and belonging than the possibilities. For example, most studies have relied on the ideas of heteronormativity and homonationalism to understand queer migration (Luibhéid, 2008), homonationalism denoting a relationship between nationalist ideologies and the acceptance of LBGT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) politics (see Puar, 2007). This means that they rely on sexuality regimes that only acknowledge certain forms of being that fit into a pre-existing palette of identities and ways of being. Many scholars have shown that in this sense, queer migrants are 'impossible subjects' (Luibhéid, 2008: 171) who neither belonged in their home countries nor fit into state-controlled spaces where Western categories of LGBT identities apply. As impossible subjects, they form ways of being that represent in-betweenness. However, Manalansan IV (2003) criticises the idea of queer migration as movement from a sexually repressive regime to a liberated one and shows that migrants negotiate and apply identities and ways of being according to the situation. Thus, they do not need to erase belongings in favour of LGBT identities; instead, they both maintain these identities and develop new ones. Like queer studies of home, this understanding suggests that both liminality and belonging are possible among queer migrants.

In the following, I discuss liminality as a process of homemaking for queer refugees and make two contributions to the understanding of liminality among migration scholars. As noted, this is not the first discussion of liminality among refugees, nor is it the first understanding of asylum seekers as being in a liminal stage.[2] However, this study expands the idea of liminality as interconnected with state-controlled spaces, arguing that liminality transgresses state-controlled spaces and can be experienced everywhere. Following this train of thought, I also present the idea of potential perpetual liminality.

Methods

The research in this paper utilises an inductive qualitative approach. The material used for the analysis consists of 22 semi-structured face-to-face interviews with men who desire men and who live in rural areas of Sweden. Many asylum accommodations are allocated through the Swedish Migration Agency (SMA) in rural areas of Sweden. Since rural areas in Sweden span quite large territories, finding interviewees and conducting interviews had to be arranged over several weeks in the spring and autumn of 2016. The sampling technique was based on connections made through social media and snowballing, and the majority of interviewees connected with the author rather than the other way around. Most interviews lasted approximately one hour (the shortest interview lasted 27 minutes and the longest one hour and 30 minutes) and were conducted in Swedish or English or by using a translator. All transcripts in the results section have been translated to English by the author or the translator.

The interviewees were between 18 and 48 years old with a mean age of 28 years, although age should not be considered exact. Some interviewees did not know their exact age, and others had two ages – one actual age of which they were aware and one official

age used in correspondence with authorities. All interviewees had sought or were seeking asylum in Sweden at the time and had left, in decreasing order, Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Morocco, Lebanon, Palestine, Somalia, Senegal, Turkey or Yemen. Some of the interviewees self-identified as gay or bisexual, but others rejected the idea of a gay or bisexual identity. When 'gay' is used in the text, it indicates an instance in which the interviewees themselves used the word. For ethical reasons, all names, places and professions have been removed or replaced.[3] Each participant also had the opportunity to continue participating in the project because of its focus on empowering methodologies. They were encouraged to stay in touch via social media, phone or email to be part of ongoing initiatives that seek to empower them, such as connecting participants with LGBT organisations, education institutes and other points of interest. The research in its entirety was approved by the regional ethical review board in Stockholm (Dnr: 2016/1596–31).

The interview material was analysed using grounded theory as the key point of departure, which stresses theoretical development founded on actual material gathered without the use of predefined theories (e.g. see Corbin & Strauss, 2008). This is not to claim that researchers are entirely uninformed about pre-existing theories before entering the field but simply that the theoretical development should evolve independently from the material (see Richardson & Kramer, 2006). First, the material was coded for similarities by reading and making notes. These similarities were then organised around themes, which are represented by the four headings in the results section. Next, a new literature search was conducted to include existing theories. Finally, the themes and theories from the literature were merged into the discussion on liminality.

The perpetually liminal process of homemaking

In the following, I illustrate the four themes that evolved through coding the interviews with queer refugees. First, I begin by discussing the family as an institution that creates the boundaries of how to be or not to be. Queer refugees who do not position themselves inside these boundaries are likely to be pushed out of the home into liminality. Second, I move on to discuss how ethnic networks simultaneously promote ideals of how to be and the consequences that ensue from not conforming to these standards. Third, I discuss the ways societies receive queer refugees and show how this is also constrained by ideals. Finally, I discuss how the queer community, through the lens of queer platforms, embraces and aids queer refugees, but I also show that this help is likewise conditioned.

Family marking the limits

In contexts where the welfare state is weak, the nuclear family is important and functions as a substitute for the State. As discussed in queer studies of home, it is common for families to have heterosexual expectations. Additionally, high dependence on the family might lead families to see childrearing as a vital duty for the reproduction of the family (Oksal, 2008). In return, the family offers its members support and stability – and a home. According to the interviewees, one of the most common ways to address possible displacement by the family was to keep desire a secret and thus to be able to maintain a stable location. Many of the interviewees hid their desires from families that offered stability and safety, a point that has

been recognised in earlier studies (Wimark, 2016). Jamal, Mohammed and Tahir moved back in with their families after a long period of insecurity on the road. Through their discussion of trust, the interviewees' stories reveal how they try to reconnect with the family that can offer stability and safety.

> Jamal (20): *"I miss my family. I want to live with them now. It has been two years since I saw my father, and that was really hard. So now, I want to get to know my family again. My sisters, my mother. It was not easy for me being alone with my bigger sister. She is only 22, not much older than me. So, we did not feel so safe in [neighbouring country to home country]. I missed my family. My father who I can trust. Can you trust anyone that is not from your family? You can´t. Not 100%. Not like I trust my father".*

However, the family also comes with expectations, and the need to follow the reproductive family cycle is palpable for many queer refugees. Conforming to the correct sexuality is often experienced as vital for the reproduction of children. This means that when children do not adhere to expectations, they may be ostracised, punished, or even thrown out of the home (Georgis, 2013; Oksal, 2008). For example, Mustafa was 13 years old when he had sex with a man in an elevator and was caught and imprisoned by the police. His father brought him home, and his father and brothers shackled and tortured him. After a few days, his sister released him when the rest of the family was out, and he ran away and lived on the streets for the rest of his youth before leaving for another country. Similarly, Mårten learned at an early age that he could not rely on his parental home:

> Mårten (48): *"When I was six years old, I´d been raped and I went to my father, and I went to my mother twice. I went to my father and said, 'That guy raped me'. They didn't do anything. My family is so afraid of society, afraid of the family's reputation, afraid of all things".*

For men, playing with or exploring their sexualities with other men during adolescence does not have to mean immediate ostracism from the family. If sexual behaviour that is considered incorrect continues, it is more common for the family to react. For Hamza, for example, ostracism only happened in later life when his mother, who had fled to Sweden and gained asylum, fell ill, and he moved there to care for her:

> Hamza (45): *"Before I am about to leave, he [my brother] comes in to my room. I am sleeping with him [a man] in the bed. I have fun with him, sex with him, we were naked of course. My brother, strong brother, just opens the door, like, boom, and they see me, and they push me, like, boom, bye, you´re an idiot; you are very very bad. He swings at me, and I get my stuff and go around him. After, I go back to my family. He said to me that he would call [person in country], and if you go back to [country], he will kill you".*

Although family expectations about the correct sexuality are important, the family also comes with expectations about how to perform gender roles. In contexts where strictly cis-gendered behaviour is common, individuals are sometimes advised to marry someone of the opposite cis-gender upon discovery of non-conforming genders and sexualities (Georgis, 2013; Oksal, 2008). Mårten explains this below.

> Mårten (48): *"I am sometimes in contact with my mother. She is always blaming me. Like, the last time, she told me to try to be like a man. I told her that I am a man; I don´t try because I am a man. When I told her about the situation in the camp here, that it is not so good, she said that if you want to come back, you are welcome, but you have to, you must marry".*

When marrying does not work, other drastic measures can be adopted so that the heteronormative family can be sustained. In Iran, for example, it is acknowledged that individuals can be of one gender but feel like the opposite gender, and gender reassignment surgery is allowed. Some families are aware of this solution and take it under consideration when their sons or daughters are non-conforming (Najmabadi, 2008). Karim, for example, has a large family, and his siblings live in several different EU countries; however, most of them refuse to speak to him.

> Karim (25): *"My sister says, when I call her, my sister says that if I want to become a woman, they say that they can pay for me to become a woman. But I don´t want that. I am already a woman".*

For many queer refugees, this means that they choose not to disclose their sexual desires and perform gender in the expected way. This gives them the protection of the family and renders emotional, social, and economic support and stability. At the same time, the family limits them, which also induces a desire to distance themselves from the family. Many interviewees explained how their families did this. Kamal, for example, was avoiding his brother, who lived in Sweden as well.

> Kamal (28): *"It´s a problem [that my brother came to Sweden as well] because I came here to live my life, and he is following me. You understand? Yeah. He´s living in a home with his friend. He is always saying to me, come and live with us. No thank you!"*

Previous research has acknowledged that the nuclear family is vital for both the survival and the wellbeing of migrants. As has been shown in this section, however, the nuclear family is equally likely to be the very institution that keeps migrants away from the family home spaces, as suggested in the homemaking literature (Tunåker, 2015). The interview excerpts illustrate that the family can ostracise members at any point in their lives due to nuclear families' views on how sexuality should be performed, as also suggested in the work by Georgis (2013). The consideration of family as affecting home spaces through inclusion/exclusion practices expands liminality discussions in migration studies, which often consider only state-controlled spaces (e.g. see, Mountz, 2011; Mountz et al., 2013; Ramadan, 2013). It also illustrates that views other than homonational views govern refugees' possibilities to access home spaces, which has been ignored in queer migration studies. These excerpts expand previous knowledge by demonstrating that the heteronormative family governs both the asylum care period and the subsequent period. After asylum is granted, it is often assumed that liberation is achieved and homemaking can commence, but the stories related by the interviewees show that the nuclear family prevents them from reaching their goals.

The peril of ethnic networks

In the absence of family members aiding refugees, it is well known that ethnic networks (i.e. other individuals from the same country or region of origin) are a strong force in the integration process. Previous research shows that ethnic networks help refugees along the road through Europe as well as within the new country. They assist with information about the new society, accommodations, finding work and creating stability and social attachments in the new country (e.g. see Beaman, 2011; Larsen, 2011). Many interviewees

spoke of the advantages that came from being part of an ethnic network. Both Salman and Anders, for example, described how they navigated the new society through connections to their countrymen.

> Salman (30): *"I had friends, and I contacted them, and they said I had to move to them, that I couldn't live in that camp. That's how I came to live in [this city], and I lived with friends, some friends, we shared a flat. It's expensive, so you can't live there alone. I lived there maybe one and a half years".*

Keeping desires hidden and maintaining gender performances in line with cis-gendered expectations render advantages that can be lost if a refugee is outed or fails to adhere to the expected gender performances. Many other interviewees expressed fears of being outed and the ostracism that could result. Najib's story, for example, reveals evidence regarding the fear of being outed.

> Najib (29): *"We just became friends, we just talked to each other. […] He was very, you know, friendly with me. He wanted to talk about different things with me, but because I was scared of what people [might do], I didn't want to talk to him very much. Whenever I sat down, he used to come to my table to talk. My friends, they didn't like that; they suspected that he was gay or something".*

The consequences of disclosing one's sexuality can also be dire in state-controlled accommodations (Gorman-Murray, McKinnon, & Dominey-Howes, 2014). Khalil and Kamal fled their country together as partners. Through most of the journey, they kept to themselves and kept their sexuality hidden, but while in a pre-asylum accommodation in Sweden,[4] they made a few new friends who understood that they were gay. These new friends then spread the word in the asylum accommodation, and as a result, Khalil and Kamal became isolated.

> Kamal (28): *"And you know what they are saying about gay people […] They don't say it to me because I don't talk to anybody […] I don't know anyone here. […] But, at first, when we came here, we already had some friends from [the arrival pre-asylum accommodation], and when we came here, they came with us to [the asylum accommodation], so they knew me and [his then-partner]. After that, they started to say in the camp that we were gay".*

Isolation and ostracism in asylum accommodation was common among the interviewees, but even more common were stories of violence. Lorans' route to Sweden, for example, was quite fast; it took him only approximately 20 days to flee to Sweden via Turkey and Greece. However, once in Sweden, a long road in the care of the SMA began:

> Lorans (20): *"I had long, very long hair. That gave me problems with the people living there [in different asylum housing], with the other refugees, Muslim refugees to be more exact, because they started to tell me that I was a girl, I was a woman and I would, eh, go to hell. Because I had a lot of stress from this and became depressed, they took me to the hospital. From the hospital, they moved me here. […] Here, I stayed with a person in one room. […] He tried to abuse me and asked me to have sex with him. I refused that. He felt scared, [name] felt scared because he thought that I would talk to someone about this. […] One night, he told me that he would visit some of his cousins or something. The same night I was alone; two guys came in here and tied me up and cut my hair, burnt it, burnt it. I suspected [roommate] because no one knows the code of the door, just me and [roommate]. I was just asleep, and then there were two guys in my room".*

Lorans' story highlights that sexual desires are aligned with gender performance, i.e. the pervasive heteronormative expectations that permeate asylum accommodation and many ethnic networks. If a refugee is not viewed as a man, he can be considered a (female) sexual object for men's desire. Lorans´ story is far from the only one, and refusing men's sexual advances comes with consequences. Wael's story is similar to Lorans', but he learned to use his body as payment for services during his flight between many countries. During his migration, several men expected to be able to use his body as payment. At one point, he found himself stranded in a city without money and nowhere to stay because the local SMA was closed, but he met a man who was also there to talk to the SMA. This man rented Wael a hotel room for the night:

> Wael (22): *"I asked him why he did all these kind things for me – renting me a hotel room, giving me food, why? […] He asked me if I wanted to do something together with him; we could do something together. Or, if I didn't want to, it´s okay. I slept with him because he was very kind".*

Research has emphasised that ethnic networks are often powerful institutions in the integration of migrants. Similar to the institution of the family, an ethnic community can offer stability, safety and advantages. It helps with accommodation and information about the society and renders homemaking easier. However, like family, ethnic networks are characterised by values of sexuality and gender performance. In this section, I have discussed ways in which ethnic networks aid in preventing liminal homemaking and what they offer in terms of safety and stability. For the interviewees, this entailed hiding their desires and performing the correct gender. I have also discussed the ways that ethnic networks can keep refugees in the process of liminal homemaking due to ostracism, expectations of sexual acts, and violence. Thus, desires and gender performances need to either be kept at a distance or framed in a way that is required by the ethnic networks in order for refugees to stay put and create a home in one place.

The persistent heteronormative society

It has become more common to depict countries outside of the West as homo- and transphobic. Puar (2007) discusses the term 'homonationalism', signifying that Western countries consider themselves superior with regard to LBGT politics. Queer people must therefore be saved from other countries to survive and prosper, perhaps especially by a country that has considered itself a moral super power (see Pred, 2000). Most popular narratives about queer refugees contain some sort of story of them being persecuted in their country of origin and then experiencing a period of wandering from the place they are fleeing to the new promised land. Once in the new country, a period of safety and stability is expected to arise (cf. Shakhsari, 2014). For queer refugees, this entails forming a home where they can live out their sexualities and gender performances without punishment. However, the most common strategy among the queer refugees inter-viewed, both on the road and in the new country, was to hide their desires to make everyday life less dangerous. As previously discussed, non-disclosure is a common strategy for survival in the asylum process when an individual is fleeing a context in which he has experienced sexual stigma and violence (Bögner, Brewin, & Herlihy, 2010; Gorman-Murray et al., 2014). Mårten, for example, fled his country in the Middle East

after being persecuted for years due to his sexuality. On the way, he was afraid of disclosing his sexual desires due to the possible consequences.

> Mårten (48): *"Of course, I was afraid of saying that I am gay, especially when I crossed Serbia and Hungary because people say that they are racist people, they are dangerous people. They said that they treat refugees very badly. Like that, I was afraid to appear gay".*

However, upon arrival in the new society, queer refugees discover that it is also based on values that cause them stress. There are sometimes expectations in the new society that refugees should be out and proud. These expectations fail to comprehend that it is common for queer refugees to hide their sexual desires and to perform gender according to cis-gendered expectations. A telling example of this is an LGBT certification of an asylum accommodation where the management put queer refugees in one section of the asylum accommodation and other refugees in the rest. Sabir, who had made several friends in a previous asylum accommodation, was moved to this new place after he told the SMA that he was gay.

> Sabir (26): *"In [the previous asylum accommodation], I didn´t tell them that I was gay, and no one else told them either. Here [in the asylum accommodation], everyone, all the people here know that we are gay because the manager told them that we are gay".*

The failure among the staff to understand that Sabir had not disclosed his identity to his ethnic network put him in immediate danger, both in the asylum accommodation and in his wider circle of friends. The practice of placing queer refugees in their own section does, however, seem humane in comparison with the main placement practice of the SMA: forcing queer refugees to share rooms with other refugees. This practice was the most common reason in the interview material for queer refugees to be victims of homo- and transphobia. Wael´s story is perhaps the most telling in this regard as he was moved between seven asylum accommodations in less than a year. In the fifth asylum accommodation, for example, he lived with only one other man. This man was nice in the beginning, but then he also started to harass Wael, culminating in yet another incident.

> Wael (22): *"One night, I was trying to sleep and I put on some music. The [country] man comes to me and tells me that I´m gay, I´m being fucked by men. I don't answer him. He goes back to his bed and starts to talk to himself: 'I will fuck you, I will fuck you'. And I sleep for like half an hour, and I just wake up like this [shows strangling gestures], and he is attacking me. He is saying, 'Why do you stare at me?' I wasn't staring at him. He was crazy".*

Although the SMA practice of placing queer refugees in shared accommodations has immediate consequences for the refugees, some might argue that the period of time is only short term and that society will embrace them in the long term. However, their persecution can also continue after asylum is gained. Nabil, for example, was one of the interviewees who explained how this continued in his schooling environment.

> Nabil (21): *"I stayed there [in town] for six months, but I only went to SFI [Swedish classes] for two months because of sexual harassment. I told my case officer, so he arranged home teaching for me. So, I didn´t make any friends".*

Although schools and the SMA act on harassment, they remove the victim rather than the perpetrators of the harassment. This either puts the victim in a limbo of ever-

changing schools and accommodations or isolates them from society. However, it is not only authorities who make queer refugees feel unwelcome in society. Several interviewees also told stories of Swedes treating them in a way that they only thought would happen in their country of origin. Nabil, for example, related the following:

> Nabil (21): *"One night I went to the grocery store, and there were three, four Swedish guys and they did the same [referring to grabbing his ass]. I ran, but they tore my t-shirt. They also wanted sex with me. So I ran home".*

In this section, I have illustrated the ways in which the receiving societies meet queer refugees and enable them to create a new home. On the one hand, it seems that authorities are under the impression that queer refugees should be out and proud. Previous research has noted that queer refugees are expected to be out and proud to be authenticated as queer people (Akin, 2017). However, fleeing together with other refugees with expected (and actual) heteronormative views leads many queer refugees to hide their sexuality and desires to survive (see also Bögner et al., 2010). These interviewees further highlighted the ways in which the authorities put them in situations where they were in continuous danger or became isolated in the new society. The excerpts show that authorities and society in general are neglecting to prevent homophobia and transphobia in their care. This phenomenon illustrates not only the heteronormative expectations in asylum accommodations but also the failure of the SMA and schools to recognise the heteronormativity that permeates their own institutions. As a result, both the authorities and individuals prevent queer refugees from creating belonging.

Queer platforms as help and hindrance

In migration research, it has been known for quite some time that the queer community can be of great importance for queer individuals´ stability and safety. Lewis (2014), for example, argues that the queer community offers ways to attach to places and create new belonging. The queer community is clearly an imagined community, but it can be thought of in relation to where queer people meet, including physical places such as bars, cafés, cruising areas, and LGBT organisations (Gorman-Murray et al., 2014), or online spaces, such as online dating spaces. Previous research on online spaces shows that these spaces can offer information and support and can be of great help in the coming out process (Szulc & Dhoest, 2013). Recently, social media has also been recognised as a potential instrument for empowerment among newly arrived migrants (Dhoest, Szulc, & Eeckhout, 2017). This was also discussed by the interviewees. Maro, for example, used dating applications on his way through Europe to make friends and find travel companions. He travelled the same path as many others via Turkey and Greece. In Greece, he made a friend who accompanied him on his journey:

> Maro (30): *"I saw his picture on Hornet [dating app]. So I knew that, okay, there are some gay people here. He was very, very close, you know. Like 20 metres or something. Okay, there is someone gay here in the camp, so I have to meet him. Yeah, and we met and talked. After that, we became friends. Yeah. We came here together".*

Although there are examples of individuals from queer platforms offering aid in difficult situations, most often, something is expected in return. Experiences of rewarding other men with sex were plentiful in the material, and there were some stories of selling sex for money. Mårten´s story, for example, shows how he was initially helped when he arrived in Sweden based on an expectation of sexual rewards.

> Mårten (48): *"I have a great friend; he is from [EU country], and he helped me a lot. It was around October, and he has been my friend since then. He helped me a lot. I had no clothes, not anything, and I didn't know anything about this place. He took me around, gave me some of his clothes, gave me some of his things, and he treated me like real person, not only for sex or for gay friendship. He treated me like his younger brother. He helped me many times. Okay, we had sex, we went to hotels together".*

From the material, it was clear that for those who do not adhere to this practice of giving sexual favours in return for help, friendship, and network benefits, queer platforms might have little to offer. Furthermore, for those who have little previous experience of the queer community and do not know that the community has several sides, it can seem strange and simpleminded.

> Jamal (20): *"Here, in Sweden, you are different. Like, you all want to have sex. I think that is boring. Okay, sex can be good, it can feel nice, but it is not only about sex. […] Can you ask me what I want instead of sex? Perhaps I don´t want to have sex, perhaps I want to have a relationship. Can I get that? No, I can´t. What should I do then? Where should I go? Do you understand me?"*

The recent blurring of the lines between friendship and sexual partners through the use of dating applications has been highlighted by Dhoest et al., (2017) as a possible way of attaining short-term help with the promise of sex. However, the promise of sex can also be something that enables longer-term stability. Karim, for example, found a married man who cared for him financially for a longer period of time.

> Karim (25): *"I found this man in [city]. I love him. He helped me find a flat. I didn't move in with him [because he was married]. He is working as a [profession]. He is also from [country], but he arrived 20 years ago".*

Tapping into the network of the queer community through dating platforms is, however, not a straightforward endeavour. Like other parts of society, it is laden with values and standards with regard to how to act and be. Being a queer refugee in Sweden can render one different and, to many Swedes, a stranger to be feared. Several of the interviewees spoke of the fear that others on the dating platforms experienced. Hamza´s experience shows this:

> Hamza (45): *"I´ve met someone. He is Swedish and 22 years old. But he is scared! You know? I don´t know why, so I asked him, why are you scared? He said, because of the camp and the people in the camp. They are strangers… That boy, he makes me want to be straight".*

As this quote illustrates, queer refugees' connections with others on dating platforms can be infused with fear of the stranger, or the Other, as Edward Said (1979) put it. Refugees can consider themselves equals to natives on dating platforms, but experiences such as this render them Others. This difference was highlighted when expected ways to live as a queer individual were discussed among the interviewees. For example,

Khalil, like many others, was interested in forming a relationship but was struck by the way that others on the dating applications viewed relationships.

> Khalil (28): *"I only met one guy, for about ten minutes. I met him at the [train] station, eh, through Grindr, no, Romeo, I think. We just talked, but he wants to live another life, you know, we didn´t match. Especially in our way of thinking. He wants to live, and he is of course right, he wants to live an open life in public. You know, everything in public. And I don't. So he told me that I have a closed mind".*

From Khalil´s story, it would seem that he and his date represent part of a 'homonormative' (Duggan, 2002) way of thinking, in which some parts of queer ways of living are embraced, primarily identities targeted for consumption, and others are not. In this story, it becomes clear that being in a relationship is not enough; it must also be proclaimed in public. This is not to say that all queer refugees are foreign to this way of thinking. As Georgis (2013) argues in relation to Arab sexualities, many have experience with negotiating their sexualities between globalised Western ways and traditional ways in their home countries. However, among the queer refugees interviewed, the majority preferred a less proclaimed way of life.

The queer community is certainly more than online platforms, and several of the interviewees had experience turning to other areas. LGBT organisations in Sweden were known among many of the interviewees to work to improve the situation of queer refugees through social gatherings, legal advice and activism. Several of the interviewees also used these platforms, especially in their first two years after arrival. However, these organisations are not geographically equally dispersed, and many towns and cities do not have any representation. Many times, non-representation tended to coincide with towns and cities where the SMA had asylum accommodations. As a result, queer refugees who are placed in these asylum accommodations must resort to calling or visiting the webpages of the organisations. There were several examples of organisations placing demands that were unrealisable for the queer refugees:

> Kamal (28): *"I called them [the LGBT organisation] by phone. I told her that many bad things are happening here, I told her we are gay and that we live in [town], we don't go out, nobody visits us, and we don't have any friends. She told me we must come to the meeting and maybe we can solve some of the problems. I asked her, 'Where is the meeting?' She told me in Stockholm. I told her that I can´t come to Stockholm, and it's better if she can send me information or someone here. She told me, no, you must come to the meeting. I told her I can't because the monthly benefit [from the SMA] is only SEK 700, and if I spend that on a trip to Stockholm, it will cost me SEK 450 just to attend the meeting. Then I will only have SEK 250 [ca. $28] to live on".*

Research addressing the queer community tends to emphasise LGBT organisations and social media as platforms for queer individuals to find information and aid and to build social networks. Although this is also the case for queer refugees who are able to use these resources in their homemaking, their stories show that queer platforms can function in two ways. On the one hand, social media and LGBT organisations do serve as mediums of aid, as has been shown previously. On the other hand, these are laden with values, norms and expectations tied to state institutions (Andrucki & Elder, 2007) to which queer refugees cannot always adhere. While some navigate well in the sexual world of giving and taking, not all agree that it is acceptable to use sexual acts as

payment for help. Previous research on sexual acts in migration has tended to focus on migrants selling sex (e.g. see Agustín, 2006; Mai, 2009) and not on homemaking. The stories of these interviewees illustrate that sex can be used as a mediator of (liminal) homemaking to gain advantage without money being exchanged. These stories also reveal that the advantages offered are not only short term but can also be of a longer duration. Thus, the body can be used as a mediator of liminal homemaking, but it does not necessarily remove a person from the process of liminality. Instead, sexual acts offer temporary advantages that make the process bearable in the short or long run. Furthermore, the excerpts show that there are expectations on how to live as queer, such as through living out and proud lives. Homonormative visions of sexuality in migration law (e.g. see Mühleisen et al., 2012; Wimark & Hedlund, 2017) have been discussed in research, but less emphasis has been placed on the expectations of the queer community. Akin (2017) showed that queer refugees adapt their stories and ways of acting in the new country to conform to the expectations of lawmakers, but those who do not are left alone on their path to inclusion. Some turn to other parts of the queer community through LGBT organisations, but these also have expectations about how members should act. Queer refugees are thus left to adapt and act according to the expectations of the queer community in order to be included.

Conclusion

The times and spaces that refugees cross as they move from their country of origin to the country of refuge are frequently depicted in popular culture. In this paper, I have taken this movement as the point of departure for my analysis and highlighted that this movement entails a process of liminality – a process that occurs between what was left and what is to come. Transnational migration studies have shown that liminality occurs in many spaces, such as refugee camps, crossings, waiting rooms, asylum homes, and psychosocial spaces, and it is characterised by many temporalities, ranging from short to long periods (e.g. see Mountz, 2011; Ramadan, 2013). Combining ideas from transnational migration studies on liminality with geographies of home, I have suggested that the process of liminality can also be conceptualised as an experience of liminal homemaking (cf. Brun & Fábos, 2015). Moving away from an understanding of migration as movement towards a notion of migration as homemaking, as advocated by Blunt (2007), I have shown that the spatiality of liminality should be expanded beyond state-controlled spaces. This shifts the analysis away from the simple notion of queer migration as being governed solely by homonational and homonormative narratives in the state. Borrowing ideas from research on queer displacement and homemaking (Knopp, 2004; Tunåker, 2015), I also suggested that the process of liminal homemaking designates queer movements, spaces and temporalities created in opposition to prevailing heterosexual, familial and normative structures. Thinking of liminality as queer homemaking indicates that homes can be created outside of the existing norms of society. This means that some queer refugees are continuously left to create home in liminality, which suggests perpetual liminality.

Using interviews with queer refugees as my case study, I have demonstrated how norms shape and constitute the process of liminality. In the excerpts from the interviews with the queer refugees, I illustrated four themes that developed from the analysis of

their narratives. In the first theme, the family as an institution of support, stability, and belonging was illuminated. Queer refugees access or are denied access to family (homes) governed by a strong sense of ideals associated with cis-gendered performativity and heterosexuality. While adherence to the rules means that they can (re)enter stability, such as marrying a woman, non-adherence is punished, and taking flight is often imminent. Thus, hiding sexual desires and gender performances becomes a frequently used strategy to conform to heteronormative expectations. In the second theme, this concept was further expanded by demonstrating how similar ideals govern access to ethnic networks. Not adhering to the heteronormative expectations of ethnic networks forced many of these refugees to leave or hide to protect themselves from ostracism, sexual invitations and violence. Abiding by heteronormativity was shown to offer advantages and belonging as long as differing desires were kept hidden. In the third theme, experiences in the new society were discussed. On the one hand, it seems that authorities expect that queer refugees should perform 'Western' LGBT identities in public. LGBT identities offer a way of belonging as well as advantages. For example, these identities offer the new possibility of gaining asylum and moving to special 'LGBT-friendly' asylum homes, but these outcomes are scripted and predefined, and they eliminate other ways of being that many queer refugees are accustomed to, such as hiding sexualities. On the other hand, it seems that the authorities act in ways that punish queer refugees additionally when they are targets of homo- and transphobia, removing them from possible belonging. In the final theme, it was revealed that the queer community can provide both assistance and hindrance during liminality. Queer platforms enable sexual acts to mediate the situations and use the body as – sometimes the last – capital. This can produce advantages in both the short and long term. Queer platforms are also laden with expectations, and adhering to ideas of LGBT identities, such as partnering with another man and publicly displaying sexuality, offers an escape from liminality.

Combining these four points draws attention to the liminality of many queer refugees. They never had a home – no place to be safe, comfortable and have a sense of belonging – and they do not have a homeland that recognises their group identities and ways of being. They also do not fit into the new land in which they arrive, a country that bases the queer home on LGBT identities. Thus, some refugees can never find true belonging, a place where their ways of being are fully embraced. Instead, they are left to create belongings in-between – in liminality – if they do not adjust to expected ways of being. Although queer refugees might be unusual in that they do not have a home that fully embraced them in the first place, this does not make them unique. This phenomenon relates to recent work on liminality that has stressed the enduring temporality of fleeing (Hynes, 2011; Mountz, 2011; Mountz et al., 2013; Ramadan, 2013). Ager and Strang (2008), for example, suggest that safety, stability and social connections in the new country are key to removing migrants from liminality. A broader understanding of asylum seekers' experiences as liminal homemaking draws attention to the power structures in place that govern the lives of refugees. This understanding highlights that liminality can endure – whether due to norms based on heterosexuality, LGBT identities or race. Forcing refugees to adopt new ways of being and acting will only move the liminality closer to their bodies, but liminality will remain.

Notes

1. An exception should be mentioned: Ramadan (2013) discusses the possibility of the camp as the only known home.
2. I make a distinction between asylum seekers and refugees in this text. The former only applies during the period in which the refugee applies for asylum in a country. I also make a distinction between migrants and refugees in that I consider those who have applied for asylum to be refugees; see United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees UNHCR (2017) and the methods section.
3. Each participant could choose their own name, and in cases in which the participant did not wish to do so, a name was chosen from the most popular names in the regions of origin.
4. It should be noted that the interviewees referred to the housing provided by the SMA as camps and not as asylum accommodation. However, asylum accommodation is the more proper term since the housing provided by the SMA is typically not isolated from the general society.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

ORCID

Thomas Wimark 🆔 http://orcid.org/0000-0001-7272-1729

References

Ager, A., & Strang, A. (2008). Understanding integration: A conceptual framework. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *21*(2), 166–191.

Agustín, L. (2006). The disappearing of a migration category: Migrants who sell sex. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *32*(1), 29–47.

Akin, D. (2017). Queer asylum seekers: Translating sexuality in Norway. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *43*(3), 458–474.

Andrucki, M. J., & Elder, G. S. (2007). Locating the state in queer space: GLBT non-profit organizations in Vermont, USA. *Social & Cultural Geography*, *8*(1), 89–104.

Beaman, L. A. (2011). Social networks and the dynamics of labour market outcomes: Evidence from refugees resettled in the US. *The Review of Economic Studies*, *79*(1), 128–161.

Blunt, A. (2007). Cultural geographies of migration: Mobility, transnationality and diaspora. *Progress in Human Geography*, *31*(5), 684–694.

Blunt, A., & Dowling, R. (2006). *Home*. New York: Routledge.

Blunt, A., & Varley, A. (2004). *Geographies of home*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Sage CA.

Bögner, D., Brewin, C., & Herlihy, J. (2010). Refugees' experiences of home office interviews: A qualitative study on the disclosure of sensitive personal information. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(3), 519–535.

Brickell, K. (2012). 'Mapping'and 'doing'critical geographies of home. *Progress in Human Geography*, 36(2), 225–244.

Brun, C., & Fábos, A. (2015). Making homes in limbo? A conceptual framework. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, 31, 1.

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. London: Sage.

Darling, J. (2009). Becoming bare life: Asylum, hospitality, and the politics of encampment. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 27(4), 649–665.

Dhoest, A., Szulc, L., & Eeckhout, B. (Eds.). (2017). *LGBTQs, media and culture in Europe*. New York: Routledge.

Duggan, L. (2002). The new homonormativity: The sexual politics of neoliberalism. In R. Castronovo & D. D. Nelson (Eds.), *Materializing democracy: Toward a revitalized cultural politics* (pp. 175–194). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Georgis, D. (2013). Thinking past pride: Queer arab shame in Bareed Mista3jil. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 45(2), 233–251.

Giametta, C. (2017). *The sexual politics of asylum*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Gorman-Murray, A. (2007). Rethinking queer migration through the body. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 8(1), 105–121.

Gorman-Murray, A. (2008a). Queering the family home: Narratives from gay, lesbian and bisexual youth coming out in supportive family homes in Australia. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 15(1), 31–44.

Gorman-Murray, A. (2008b). Reconciling self: Gay men and lesbians using domestic materiality for identity management. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 9(3), 283–301.

Gorman-Murray, A. (2009). Intimate mobilities: Emotional embodiment and queer migration. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 10(4), 441–460.

Gorman-Murray, A., McKinnon, S., & Dominey-Howes, D. (2014). Queer domicide: LGBT displacement and home loss in natural disaster impact, response, and recovery. *Home Cultures*, 11(2), 237–261.

Halberstam, J. (2005). *In a queer time and place: Transgender bodies, subcultural lives*. New York: New York University Press.

Hynes, P. (2011). *The dispersal and social exclusion of asylum seekers: Between liminality and belonging*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Knopp, L. (2004). Ontologies of place, placelessness, and movement: Queer quests for identity and their impacts on contemporary geographic thought. *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 11(1), 121–134.

Kunz, E. F. (1973). The refugee in flight: Kinetic models and forms of displacement. *The International Migration Review*, 7(2), 125–146.

Larsen, B. R. (2011). Becoming part of welfare Scandinavia: Integration through the spatial dispersal of newly arrived refugees in Denmark. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37(2), 333–350.

Lewis, N. M. (2014). Moving "out," moving on: Gay men's migrations through the life course. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 104(2), 225–233.

Luibhéid, E. (2008). Queer/migration: An unruly body of scholarship. *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 14(2), 169–190.

Mai, N. (2009). Between minor and errant mobility: The relation between psychological dynamics and migration patterns of young men selling sex in the EU. *Mobilities*, 4(3), 349–366.

Manalansan IV, M. F. (2003). *Global divas: Filipino gay men in the diaspora*. Durham: Duke University Press.

McPhail, R., McNulty, Y., & Hutchings, K. (2016). Lesbian and gay expatriation: Opportunities, barriers and challenges for global mobility. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 27(3), 382–406.

Mountz, A. (2011). Where asylum-seekers wait: Feminist counter-topographies of sites between states. *Gender, Place & Culture*, *18*(3), 381–399.

Mountz, A., Coddington, K., Catania, R. T., & Loyd, J. M. (2013). Conceptualizing detention: Mobility, containment, bordering, and exclusion. *Progress in Human Geography*, *37*(4), 522–541.

Mühleisen, W., Røthing, Å., & Svendsen, S. H. B. (2012). Norwegian sexualities: Assimilation and exclusion in Norwegian immigration policy. *Sexualities*, *15*(2), 139–155.

Murray, D. A. (2014a). Real queer:" Authentic" LGBT refugee claimants and homonationalism in the Canadian refugee system. *Anthropologica*, *56*(1), 21–32.

Murray, D. A. (2014b). The (not so) straight story: Queering migration narratives of sexual orientation and gendered identity refugee claimants. *Sexualities*, *17*(4), 451–471.

Najmabadi, A. (2008). Transing and transpassing across sex-gender walls in Iran. *Women's Studies Quarterly*, *36*(3/4), 23–42.

Oksal, A. (2008). Turkish family members' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. *Sex Roles*, *58*(7–8), 514–525.

Pilkey, B., Scicluna, R. M., & Gorman-Murray, A. (2015). Alternative domesticities.*Home Cultures, 12*(2), 127–138.

Pred, A. (2000). *Even in Sweden: Racisms, racialized spaces, and the popular geographical imagination* (Vol. 8). Berkeley, CA: Univ of California Press.

Puar, J. K. (2007). *Terrorist assemblages: Homonationalism in queer times*. London: Duke University Press.

Ramadan, A. (2013). Spatialising the refugee camp. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *38*(1), 65–77.

Richardson, R., & Kramer, E. H. (2006). Abduction as the type of inference that characterizes the development of a grounded theory. *Qualitative Research*, *6*(4), 497–513.

Said, E. W. (1979). *Orientalism (1st Vintage books ed.)*. New York, NY: Vintage.

Seitz, D. K. (2017). Limbo life in Canada's waiting room: Asylum-seeker as queer subject. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, *35*(3), 438–456.

Shakhsari, S. (2014). The queer time of death: Temporality, geopolitics, and refugee rights. *Sexualities*, *17*(8), 998–1015.

Shuman, A., & Bohmer, C. (2014). Gender and cultural silences in the political asylum process. *Sexualities*, *17*(8), 939–957.

Sinfield, A. (2000). Diaspora and hybridity. Queer identities and the ethnicity model. In N. Mirzoeff (Ed.), *Diaspora and visual culture: Representing Africans and Jews* (pp. 95–114). London: Routledge.

Szulc, Ł., & Dhoest, A. (2013). The internet and sexual identity formation: Comparing internet use before and after coming out communications. *The European Journal of Communication Research*, *38*(4), 347–365.

Tunåker, C. (2015). "No place like home?" Locating homeless LGBT youth. *Home Cultures*, *12*(2), 241–259.

Turner, V. (1967). *Betwixt and between: The liminal period in rites of passage*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees UNHCR. (2017). UNHCR viewpoint: 'Refugee' or 'migrant' – Which is right? Retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/7/55df0e556/unhcr-viewpoint-refugee-migrant-right.html

Van Gennep, A. (1960). *The rites of passage*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Waitt, G., & Gorman-Murray, A. (2011a). "It's about time you came out": Sexualities, mobility and home. *Antipode*, *43*(4), 1380–1403.

Waitt, G., & Gorman-Murray, A. (2011b). Journeys and returns: Home, life narratives and remapping sexuality in a regional city. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *35*(6), 1239–1255.

Warrington, M. (2001). 'I must get out': The geographies of domestic violence. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *26*(3), 365–382.

Wimark, T. (2016). The impact of family ties on the mobility decisions of gay men and lesbians. *Gender, Place & Culture*, *23*(5), 659–676.

Wimark, T., & Hedlund, D. (2017). Samlevnad som ideologi i migrationslagstiftningen. *Sociologisk Forskning*, *54*(1), 69–90.