Bachelor thesis
Peace and Development Studies.

The sanctioned students.
-An empirical study of sanctions effects on Iranian students studying abroad.

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Abstract.

This qualitative study has been investigating effects on Iranian students who are studying, or recently studied, abroad out from the fact that their home country Iran in current time is being targeted with extensive international sanctions. With these Iranian students as a target group in which their perception of these circumstances has been analyzed and later on concluded in order to see to what the possible effects for citizens outside of a sanctioned state as Iran. As mentioned the research has looked into the personal perceptions of the students and by that taken into consideration private matters and circumstances that in some cases has lead to larger effects than in others. Out of the analyze this research can show a great deal of economic issues and problems for when trying to receive funding in order to cover essential expenses for when being abroad such as; tuition fee, rent, food and clothes and in one case this lead to the termination of studies for one of the students in this group. The conclusion made by the students is that the sanctions are affecting them in an unfair manner, rather than what are the official aims of the sanctions.

Key words: Students, Effects, Sanctions, Iran, Studies abroad.
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List of Abbreviations

UNSC – United Nations Security Council
UNSCR – United Nations Security Council Resolution
IAEA – International Atomic Energy Agency
GMAT - Graduate Management Admission Test
SEK – Swedish Krona
ICCPR - International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR - International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
SVT- Swedish Television
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1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction and problem formulation
Sanctions are today implemented as political means in various international situations, either as preventive, alternative or in addition to military actions. There are also different types of sanctions to implement, which aim to target different types of areas in a state, as well as it aims for different types of outcome (Brooks, 2002:2). Here there has been a development from traditional comprehensive trade embargoes to what has now been redesigned to more sophisticated, ‘targeted’ sanctions (Portela, 2010:1).

Regardless the backgrounds for the sanctions, the existing literature on the matter of humanitarian impacts speak a clear language. Even though economical sanctions might be seen as more attractive in the choice between that and a full-scale military war, yet short- and longer-term structural damage is possible to be as harmful. This is supported by the reasons that health, other social services and basic infrastructure are causing greater difficulties (Weiss, 1999:506). Sanctions of economic nature, either if they reach its political aim or not, have also been regarded as violating on physical integrity rights of ordinary citizens and are concluded to suffer disproportional stress (Peksen, 2009:59).

Sanctions with political aims needs to be of economic measures according to scholars who discuss the concepts of economic sanctions (Portela, 2010:1), this can be applicable to the current economical sanctions against Iran who are of political aims. In accordance to authors within this field the economic sanctions this political aims can be defined as the try to lower the economic welfare of the targeted state. Hence reduction of international trade will in the next lead push the targeted government to change its political behavior. Furthermore, this can be concluded with that in the case of economic sanctions, the targeted government will have to decide if the political objectives that are being at stake are worth the economic costs the sanctions will bring about if they do not comply (Ibid, 2010:2). This is applicable to what is happening to the Iranian government and what they will have to consider in times of the sanctions.

What should also be considered in the discussion of international sanctions are the areas that are perhaps not being put focus on while developing sanctions. In spite of what the aims are, when trying to change a state by its roots like in this case, there will always be areas within the society who will influence the outcomes and effects of the sanctions. There are different
views on international sanctions in our current time and they can be seen as a necessary procedure in order to in the longer run have positive effect on both national and international stability concerning human rights and security. On the opposite hand sanctions are considered to create unintended outcomes and could be seen as implementations that only make the low humanitarian status within a country even more severe (Drezner, 2011:98).

In this case the Iranian government is not considered one of them, but there are areas within the state such as for example the academics of a society, who are by many non democratic authorities also considered to be a threat of its ruling. Tensions on the international political arena can reflect itself into the national level and hence be the cause of intensifying the brutality directed against the population. In these situations governments tend to use the situation for strengthening themselves against groups and individual within their own society by creating branding on individuals, using accusations of ‘unpatriotic’ or ‘foreign agents’ in order to gain more power (Wallensteen, 2002:253). In this particular case it could mean that the Iranian government would become even more brutal against its population and disregard the reports coming from the international society (UNSG, 2012).

What can be concluded is the importance for the targeting states to look at any unintended outcomes out from sanctions and acknowledge the impact of these. Not only for their own direct interests but also for the innocent groups that would get affected. This do however leads us into the path of who is innocent and who is not, and it should be mentioned that in a country like Iran, with its population of 75 million people, the academic elite of the country are origin mainly from the higher classes of society. What then can be added to this point is that the political elite is also deriving form the same social classes and even though students are sometimes classified as the critics within society, it can be dangerous to separate these two in any larger extent. It should not be mistaken as accusations, nor prejudice, it should rather be reflected upon as a general viewpoint that in some cases can turn out to be correct.
Media reports have been made on that Iranian citizens studying outside of their home country are suffering from the international sanctions that are targeting Iran (Guardian, 2012:08). It is being documented that these students are being affected through not having access to their own bank accounts on the basis of their nationality (GP, 2012) and that they on that note, are being discriminated within the society (Sydsvenskan, 2012). Since there is little knowledge about the topic on how students abroad are being affected of sanctions against their home country, this study will continue the research by looking into more specific details of what these effects are and how the students perceive them.

After several years of official demands, the UN Security Council (UNSC) in the year of 2012, as well as The US (US, 2012) and the European Union (EU, 2012:01) decided to implement even further sanctions on Iran in new attempts to push the Iranian government to agree on the requests of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Even though the Iranian government have denied that their nuclear program is of hostile nature, in which nuclear arms would be developed to threat any members of the United Nations (Zarif, 2006), IAEA have in recent years reported their concern on the Iranian non-compliance for international inspections within the country (EC, 2012a).

As a consequence sanctions have now become extensive (NYT, 2012) and sanctions are now to be targeting the Iranian government, its nuclear industry, import/ export on goods and services, military and also, the economic sectors. The international parties against Iran have however claimed that they are not to aim for the civil population of Iran (EC, 2012b). Different types of sanctions have been implemented depending on the sender party. The US Treasury Department’s Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) is administrating the economical sanctions towards Iran. These economic sanctions are regulations concerning transactions towards Iranian banks, goods and services, import and export, as well as lists on individuals, organizations and corporations who are associated to the targeted government (US, 2012). While the UNSC has blocked Iranian arms export, bans of supply of heavy weaponry and nuclear-related technology to Iran, and an asset freeze on what they consider to be key individuals and companies working inside of Iran in direct relation to the nuclear
program, (BBC, 2012) EU has expressed concern for not only this but also for the human right’s situation inside the country. Since the year 2004 EU has adopted a resolution of expressed concern for this matter and at this moment there is a list of about 60 individuals who are directly responsible for violations of this kind accordingly (EC, 2012b). Even though efforts are made to let Iran know that EU is open for human rights dialogues there is nothing coming out from Iran to met these proposals (EC, 2012a), in the contrary, human rights are reported to continue to be violated by the state, affecting all type of opposition within the country (Landguiden, 2013).

The political turmoil inside the state has also made the currency rial drop dramatically. This is explained to be because of the sanctions according to western economists (NYT, 2012) while the Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has explained it to be rather affects from government mismanage and policy changes (HuffPost, 2012), (Al Jazeera, 2012). However, when EU took decision on placing a ban on Iranian oil import it made the rial drop 10 per cent (Al Arabiya, 2012).

**Table 1.1 List of sanctions**

List of recent years sanctions against Iran, in summary, including resolutions and restrictions from the main targeting parties: the UN, EU and US.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>UN Resolution</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>UNSCR 1696</td>
<td>Prohibition on transfer of material contributing to Iran’s nuclear and ballistic missile programs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UNSCR 1737</td>
<td>Ban on supply of nuclear-related technology, freezing assets of related key individuals and companies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>UNSCR 1747</td>
<td>Arms embargo and expanded frozen Iranian assets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>UNSCR 1803</td>
<td>Extension of latest freeze on Iranian assets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UNSCR 1835</td>
<td>Reaffirmed the four previous resolutions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>UNSCR 1929</td>
<td>Ban from participating in any activities related to ballistic missiles, increased arms embargos, travel bans for individuals related with the program, frozen funds and assets for the Iranian Revolutionary Guard and Islamic Republic of Iran Shipping Lines. Recommended state inspections of Iranian cargo, prohibition of service of Iranian vessels involved as well as dealing carefully with Iranian banks and individuals and prevent opening of Iranian financial institutions operating within other member state’s territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EU- 1. imposed first limited sanctions of ban on most of Iran Air’s jets to Europe. Ban on cargo as well as passenger planes where both based on the aspect of safety risk. 2. Later on new restrictions against Iranian foreign trade, financial service, energy and transportation sectors. Ban on items that possibly could be used in its nuclear program, as well as sanctions for its oil and gas industry, prohibiting new investments, technical assistance and transfers of technologies to Iran. 3. Tightened sanctions on restrictions of Iranian trade, financial service and energy sectors, including banning of insurance and reinsurance by EU insurers of the Iranian entities (Torbat, 2012).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>UNSCR 1984</td>
<td>Extended mandate for panel of experts supporting the Iran Sanctions Committee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EU- Boycott on Iranian oil (Torbat, 2012).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From another point on the spectrum of governance, the International Campaign for Human Rights in Iran (Stars 2010), Human Rights Watch (HRW, 2012:3) and the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon (UNSG, 2010), have all published reports on the violations of human rights within the boarders of Iran. These are based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in particularly the concerns over educational rights are in violation against article 26.1. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) is also referred to which is something that Iran ratified already in 1975 (Stars, 2010:9). These reports are continuously being published and in the meanwhile Human Rights Watch (2012) is documenting a tougher social life for the Iranians within their own borders and the threats of accessibility to higher education, equal rights and freedom of speech. In accordance to this, the Council of the European Union once again published a concern over the human rights within Iran in a report in April 2012 (EC, 2012b), in which they declared their concern for the lack of will from the Iranian government to have a dialogue with EU on the matter. This was also when the Council of the European Union decided to extend the already implemented sanctions against the state for another twelve-month period (EC, 2012b).

With the above-mentioned in mind this study will take its form into a qualitative study with an abductive approach when shaping the theoretical and methodological part that will be explained further in following chapters through its reasonings.

1.2. Purpose of study and research questions

The aim of this study is to investigate the impact of sanctions on Iranian students living in Scandinavia. It will look to how the Iranian students feel affected of the sanctions from an individual perspective in their every day life, when being away from their home country. This will seek to present an advocatory view of the target group as it will bring up concerns for how the student’s lives are affected either it can be economically or psychologically or
not at all. By using concepts concerning identity and citizenship, as will be explained further in the chapter of ‘Literature Review’, this study also links the students perspectives to the society around them in the context of the sanctions. This is done in order to understand if there are processes that origins from the sanctions that can lead to impacts on the Iranian population not only inside of Iran and hence give room for a not given group of possibly affected Iranians, namely the students abroad.

**Following research questions are this study set out to answer:**

- How do the Iranian students perceive the sanctions, against Iran, to have affected them personally?
- What is the students’ perception of how the sanctions are designed?

This study seeks to cover the obstacles perceived by the students who origin from targeted states as in this case Iran. This in order to gain a larger knowledge of how these individuals are being affected, rather than if this group is being affected, in which studies prior to this one already have claimed but through in somewhat a generalization. That is why the first research question above is shaped in a way that gives the students space for expressing their own personal opinions on how it has affected them individually. In accordance to this first question the study has given room for their opinions also in a longer perspective whereas their future plans are coming into the spectra. An opportunity for discussing this was given since for some of these students a return to Iran is just around the corner and it would thereby be important to review this since it gives a larger picture and understanding of the students lives and the effects that might be brought up. The last research question is of a rather wider perspective on the situation of the sanctions but it is still focusing on the perception of the students. Some holds larger knowledge concerning facts about the sanctions and that in some cases might make a difference for some when trying to discuss this. But what this last question is really about is to look for the individuals, again, perception of the occurring political turbulence. After all, ones perceptions of a situation can be just as interesting and informational as a database of statistics. The large number of Iranian students in Europe (MIS) is also a reason for the study to take place since it makes the target group a considerable presence in the European society and therefore should be
taken into account and perhaps even when taking decisions in foreign policy making, such as implementing sanctions against Iran.

2. Theoretical framework

In this chapter a literature overview has been made on the topic of international sanctions. Within this topic it includes parts of general existing discussions of whether they should be considered to be more ethical or successful in relation to for example military war but it also consists of more focused areas in which society and groups of it can be seen as unintended targets and how this can come about. Either sanctions in broad are good or bad, this study has gone from the larger picture down to a more narrow view and below you will be presented with these aspects that later will be the main focus of this research. In the end of this chapter there will also be a description of the analytical framework of this study as well as the points of limitations and delimitations will be discussed.

2.1. Literature overview

Since sanctions towards Iran are not new, even though there are new aspects and parties involved, there are articles and studies published on the matter that cover the general discussion on sanctions, what they are, what they do and what type of effectiveness they might possess. There are also a great deal of articles written sanctioned states elsewhere and particularly Iran’s neighboring country Iraq, where the 1990’s with its political and military impacts turned out to be humanitarian devastating (Peksen, 2009:61). Still these articles have failed to complete the insights on the individuals as citizens on a qualitative basis and the larger number of these authors uses an overall viewpoint and the main points are also closer to looking into political effectiveness for the targeting state (or organization).

One who takes on the task of not only listing different types of EU sanctions, but also looks closer to the effects of these, is Clara Portela in *European Union Sanctions and Foreign Policy: When and Why do they Work?* (2010). To provide evidence she also gathers political statements in her reach to investigate the differences within efficiencies between political and economic sanctions and she focuses her research on when and why sanctions work, as
the title of her publication brings about. It is interesting reading, however, Portela scrape
mainly on the top levels of international politic and do not intend to investigate further on a
micro level of humanitarian impact of the sanctions. Her research is still relevant in this
study for linking the political aspects on human rights, the rule of law and fundamental
freedom in the processes of policy making within the EU. It should though perhaps be said
for the record that the author is somewhat objective, in a rather tolerant, if not sympathetic,
towards the topic of European implementation of sanctions and the book is in fact also
available on the official webpage of the European Union, where ever that fact leads us to.

Hans Koechler (1994), current president and also original founder of the non-
governmental think tank International Progress Organization (IPO) have authored a
qualitative analyze in which the UN sanction policy is being regarded in relation to
humanitarian law. His standpoint, together with other authors such as Dursun Peksen
(2011), who in his quantitative approach against US based sanctions, are some amongst
others in which legal aspects and different types of sanctions are being evaluated both from
the target state’s point of view as well as they take into consideration of who is the targeting
state. In both of these studies one can find negative attitude towards the targeting parties and
what their humanitarian impacts could possibly become about. Peksen do evaluate the
impact on population health as negative even if the sanctions are of economic nature
humanitarian effects in relation to possible wrong type of sanction. Brooks does however
additionally elaborate with the possibilities of that right type of sanction needs to be
acknowledged within the right type of situation for a positive effect to occur.

For returning to Peksen, he has in an earlier publication Better or Worse? The Effects of
Economic Sanctions on Human Rights (2009) developed a theoretical framework where he
more specifically addresses the effect of economic sanctions. He claims that these types of
sanctions are violating on physical integrity rights of citizens in which he concludes that
ordinary citizens will suffer disproportional stress while the targeted regimes are allowed to
avoid the cost of coercion (2009:59). Peksen outlines four paragraphs for how sanctions
ultimately contributes to further oppressive power of the targeted elite and, most important
in relation to this particular study, how it hence provide more reasons to violate human
rights within the society of the targeted state (2009:62). He continues his presentation of
results and states that comprehensive sanctions can be of more harm to citizens than partial or selective ones, and that economic coercion can be counterproductive even when having the goal of promoting human rights (2009:60). He later concludes it with those sanctions to not only fail frequently in completing intended policy goals but also lead to the unintended negative human rights effects (2009:74).

For this study it is also highly relevant to look into the reports published by the International campaign for Human Rights in Iran. This non-partisan, and -profit, independent human rights organization, have published one in particularly interesting report named “Punishing Stars: Systematical Denial of higher education in Iran” (Stars, 2010), where it is explained how Iranian students are exposed to systematic discrimination and exclusion within the higher educational system of Iran, based on their political beliefs, the exercise of their freedom of expression, and their religious beliefs (in cases of Baha’i students) are monitored, reported and punished according to procedure (Stars, 2010:5).

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) was by Iran ratified in 1975, in the same year as the ratification of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), (Stars 2010:9). By restricting education for students in this manner the Iranian government is breaching the ICCPR (Stars, 2010:10). This breach has been addressed by the current UNSG in his report on the situation of human rights in Iran (UNSG, 2012). However, since the current president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad entered his presidency in August 2005, and the procedure of starring became a part of the discourse on higher education within the country (Stars, 2010:5), the trend of registered and starred students have gone (Stars, 2010:7).

Students as part of the academic elite of Iran would be, according to the literature, a targeted group within their own society if we want to listen to what Daniel W. Drezner (2011) and Peter Wallensteen (2002) has to say on the matter which were being mentioned in the previous chapter. Another group, amongst others, that is also an exposed group of society in this strictly theocratic state is the women (Drezner, 2011:99) Why it is relevant for this study is because statistics of gender parity index in tertiary level enrolment in Iran shows that the ratio on girls to boys has been around 1.00 : 1.00 since after the millennium (UN
data). Hence they are also largely representative within the group of students who also go abroad and it should be taken into consideration for when analyzing this study later on.

The initially mentioned publications concerning sanctions in general are used as background material in the sense of structuring a legitimate and general understanding of what is, and what could become, the short- and long term effects for the Iranian people in large, from a macro perspective. Furthermore also to apply the data of what is the reality for the students in Europe who are being used in the target group and this in order to be able to explain the linkage between sanctions and humanitarian issues in this matter. Here is where the conceptual frameworks of individual labels are taken into account while they also will be confronted with one another as the existing literature brings up the importance of context in this matter.

What some of the authors above, and in particularly Peksen, concludes with their empirical data is of importance to this study in the sense that it connects sanctions together with negative human rights effects. With Peksen’s research as a point of departure, this study will therefore draw parallels between current sanctions against Iran and the possible effects they have on Iranian students.

2.2. Analytical framework

This study is based on a constructivist epistemology (Gray 2009:201), which means that the initial idea is that sanctions against Iran is at some level hurting the population even if the sanctions are of various types. Considering the research questions above this study can therefore classify as an abductive reasoning, in which also a interpretive view have been used. Interpretivism looks for ‘culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world’ (Gray, 2009:21) and will be a tool for analyzing the social affects for the students. Since the nature of this qualitative study is to present the reality of life for the target group, this has been the foundation when analyzing the data in which it wishes to bring out the opinions and interpretations of the participants. This is also connected to that it is aiming to elaborate on the human processes and outcomes of the sanctions on a micro level.
2.3. Delimitations and limitations

The gathered group of Iranian students has primarily been searched for through my own networks within the academic world as well as through Facebook. This have created the delimitation of that those students who do not have access to platforms such as Facebook, or who do not have connections to my own networks outside of this forum and therefore not have had information about this study, perhaps have been excluded from the initial possibility of becoming included into the research group. On the other hand my personal network is rather large when it comes to international students in general and through all these kinds of Scandinavian students, the information was spread out to reach as many Iranian students as possible besides online social media. It is though obvious that the information has not reach every single Iranian student, but for the purpose and within the frames of this qualitative study, such a large number of interviews would not have been of interest. However, if it was not for my own network and social media, this study would most likely not been made at all since the geographical and economic reasons.

The group has not either been selected through me as the researcher in which I have looked to find certain features (background, gender, birthplace etc.), but rather accepted all the students who have contacted me after been given the information of the study. This has for example lead to that the division between men and women in this study group is not equal and therefore any conclusion have not been made out of this perspective.

Furthermore, it should be taken into consideration that neither the targeted group nor me as an interviewer have the English language as our mother tongue and misunderstandings, misinterpretations could in practice have occur from both sides even tough this is something I as the researcher have been well aware of. But because of this fact I have been alert on it when interacting with the individuals as in later work of analyzes of their data.

The last point on delimitations should be that the possibilities of reaching Iranian students who recently have returned to Iran from studies in Europe, have been limited. This is because of the geographical aspect as well as due to restricted access to Internet and as my initial information of this study might not have reached them. Because of this I will have to claim that this is to be seen as a major delimitation since it exclude a group that possible could have been.
3. Methodological framework

3.1. Methodology

This is a qualitative empirical study with primary data gathered from individual interviews. The interviews have been carried out in order to collect data about the aimed target group that in other methods would not be able to collect since the research is aiming to detect for example psychological affects and- or personal opinions and experiences related to the matter. This field study has however been limited to executing the interviews mainly through the online software Skype due to geographic and economic reasons that limits the possibilities, this has led to that only three of the twelve interviewees were met in person while the other interviews were conducted online. All the participants were students of Scandinavian universities except for one who had recently returned to Iran, her interview was then held from Iran and through Skype. This study is set out to look into a target group of students studying in Scandinavia however I found it relevant to not exclude this one person who could give just as much important insight information of being an Iranian student abroad as the others in the group and perhaps also give a picture of reality by letting her tell her story of why she returned. Furthermore, the interviews were recorded from the consent of the participants in order to recall each word and through that make the data collection more accurate before analyzing it. These recordings will after fulfilling its purpose of the research, be erased.

There is always a limit of objectiveness from two directions, from the person asking and the person answering, when asking for an opinion from individuals on certain matters and it should be considered with care. Even though, through the presented methodological framework described earlier, this is what the study is set out to come as close as possible to achieve.

The interviews as a type of method has provided primary resources that through me, as the researcher, have been processed in a way in which there have been no “yes” or “no” in the frame of the answers but rather illustrate experiences and opinions, from each case, on the context. Publications in shape of official reports, books and articles from various organizations and authors have been used as secondary sources. References of this kind have been considered out from the types of sources, or author, in order to detect bias.
opinion, and if used in the research, brought up to light so that it would not have been let passed unnoticed.

Continued reading of this research will show that the chapter of findings and analysis has been put together. This has been done from a practical aspect in order to make it easier to analyze the findings as a joined unit of data, but it has also been made in the aspect of how to present the findings in an easier way for the reader to understand the analysis at the same time.

3.2. Ethics

Furthermore, any ethical obstacles in making this research have not been of concern in any major aspects, even though it should be stated that some of the questions within the interviews might have asked for personal details about once lives. However, in initially stages of interviewing I made sure it was clear for the student what aims and objectives this study enclose, in order for them to take an active choice on whether to participate or not. I looked into the consideration of that I, a woman from Sweden, would hold some kind of meaning for the students that would be included in the research, as Iranians, men or women, origin from a country, which was targeted of sanctions from the European Union (in which my home country Sweden is a member). But while proceeding with the interviews this did not seem to be of any significance to them, nor as for me. On a more practical note, the names of the targeted group have not been known between each other in other ways than if they individually took the opportunity to make contact with me within various social media online. The choice to contact me in private was available from the start of searching for students and it has been up to them to decide how visible they have wanted to be.
4. Findings and analysis

Below findings from the conducted interviews of this study, which has served as primary data, will be presented and analyzed. This result is divided into different parts where the first part is mainly presenting and analyzing the answers that can relate to the first research question. This part also includes an sublevel in which will cover the findings of the students view on their own near by future. In the later part, the second research question will be put into focus and here the students opinions on how the sanctions are designed will be brought up for analyze. Sometimes the text is describing effects not easy to place in one part or the other but will however be presented where it will be most suitable as fulfilling the aim of replicate the student’s opinions and answers as thoroughly as possible. This structure intends to give a clearer understanding of the findings and to present the overall picture of the main topics that the students have came across while answering the questions of the interviews and also reconnect to the research questions that are to be found in chapter 1.

Prior to the described parts that will include findings and analysis there will be a description of the participating students of this study in which there will be information on name, gender, when, where and how, the interviews were made. This part is not too detailed, since it tries to respect the requests of anonymity from some of the students, but do however give a better view of with whom, when and where the interviews were made.

4.1. Overview of performed interviews

The interviews were held with in total twelve Iranian students in which eleven of them were still studying in Scandinavia for the time of the interview and where one of them recently quit her studies and returned home to Iran. Out of these twelve, there were three women and nine men in the group. There were also two types of interview held when collecting the data for this study where nine of the students were interviewed through Skype (online video call) and the three other interviews was made face to face in real life. Two of the students asked for having an interview with both of them at the same time and this means there was also one group interview made. Each student was studying at various universities around Scandinavia while these interviews were made except for in one of the cases as just mentioned. To respect the requests of anonymity from some of these students, this study have in these cases chosen not to mention in what Scandinavian country or at what
university they are (were) studying. In accordance to this, their names have also been changed into randomly chosen, single capital, letters.

The majority of these students are from the capital Tehran, only a few are from smaller cities and one of the students is from, what he himself describes as, the country side in the very south west of the country. The small group of students, who were not from Tehran, was however all from different areas, spread out in the country.

4.2. Students personal perceptions on the effects of the sanctions

The students where first asked to answer what types of issues they have come across in connection to the sanctions that are implemented against their home country. To begin with it should be said that eight out of these twelve interviewees answered that they were living on money from their parents even though there was one who, in addition to this funding, also had a part time job in the country he is now studying in. Three of the other students had been living of their own personal savings that they brought with them when going abroad, and one student was from the start employed by his receiving university for making research, hence answered that he was paying his expenses out of those money in addition to some savings he had from before.

Why this is being mentioned is mainly in order to give an overall perspective of these individuals in the matter of from where they get their money (or got). This is relevant because of the damage that the currency drop has been described as by the majority of those students who had their source of incomes coming from Iran and it is therefore important for when analyzing and understand the damaging effects. Half of the students describes the uncertainty of the currency to be stressful for them as well as they know they are asking a lot from their parents as they have to send more money for cover the expenses of the student or in the other scenario leave the student with less money to go around by here. This leads us to that what is making a difference here is how the student’s family can face the currency changes, if they have good incomes, savings or other related beneficial factors for keeping their child provided during his or her studies. Not being able to stay abroad should though not be mistaken for a sign of that the parents are in any way poor. Instead, the answers from the students can be analyzed in the way that they and their families have had start making priorities in their day-to-day life. Since this study seeks to take the departure of the students’
own perception in this contexts, their opinions are relevant in any way they choose. In other words, if the student has to make changes in his or hers routines it can only be concluded out from how they see it, in relation to what has been discussed in earlier chapters and what this study shows when looking at the number of students in this small group is that they do in fact perceive the sanctions to have large effects on their lives. This means that weather these students are, or are not, of any ‘higher economic’ background, is not clearly known to this study since it has not been a part of the interviews. It should however be acknowledged that students who enter the academic world and goes abroad for studies in these degrees are in somewhat from backgrounds where they have the economic means to invest in these. It should be safe to say that the majority of students who goes abroad are not origin from the lowest classes of society, in any country around the world, hence also applicable here.

According to the students themselves the currency has changed over the years of their studies to become worth less than three- to five times lower than when they started. The exact numbers are not to be found because of unreliable sources from both the Central Bank of Iran as well as other official exchange rate sites.

When putting the currency drop in relation to what the students have said, it has in the case of three students meant a more difficult situation for them since they have expressed that the currency drop has affected the economy of their parents and therefore also them. The first two of these students are Amir Mosavi and Aida Amirfallah and the third one, so called E, is the one who here could be explained as having been affected the most out of this. The all three of them has felt psychological stress because of their worries, for some this has been affecting their student results and through that created a down spiral as explained by the student. In the case of E, her story perhaps shows the most obvious affects.

E explained the effects of the unstable currency to be the core reason for why she had to leave her studies unfinished and returned home to Iran. She did however stay at her university for over four years and hence did not have to pay for the tuition fee at her Swedish university, since the new rules were not implemented at the time. For this she consider herself to be lucky since because of this she and her family had less outcomes to consider. This means that the affects would have been even larger on E if she would have had the tuition fee to pay as well and this might have lead to an even earlier return home.
Furthermore, in addition to the constant worry and source of stress that the factor of the currency drop meant, E also had to find alternative ways for getting the money from her parents, since transactions between banks in Iran and her bank here was blocked because of the sanctions. She, as well as all of the students who were being provided for by their parents, with one exception, had to create new indirect ways of transferring and receiving the money they needed. It was well known for all of the students that if you want to transfer money out from Iran to your Scandinavian bank you will have to find other ways than through your traditional bank account these days. They were also all aware of that it has to do with the sanctions that prohibit their bank to make these types of transactions. This did however not make them understand the issues of not letting students access their money and some of the arguments where that them as students should not be considered to be connected to the government of Iran and therefore not being punished.

For E, as well as Mohammad Mosavi, this has led to that they have had to make deals with relatives here in Scandinavia, who in their turn has close family back in Iran themselves. From there the student’s family gives Iranian rial to the contact’s family in Iran, equivalent to what the contact here in Sweden later on then gives to the student in Swedish currency (SEK). In this way money never has to cross any country boarders and the issue of transaction can be gone around. However, the majority of the interviewed students and their families do not have relatives or friends around Europe to make these types of deals with and the ban put on the banks are therefore a central issue. Another issue related to exchanging hands in this way is the question of the currency rate since there are no liable official numbers of the rial. Students are mentioning that there is one official number provided by the central bank of Iran and there are other unofficial numbers on the market. They conclude that there is an unregulated market growing for these kind of arrangement in which makes it possible for people to either gain profit or on the opposite hand or lose money. Since there is a large insecurity through these arrangements it can easily affect vulnerable groups who are relying on these types of deals such in the case for these students being abroad.

In the other cases for when the students have needed to get money sent to them from Iran they have been in contact with Iranian strangers willing to help. It is through these types of
situations impossible to give any guarantees for that the money would arrive to the student since these are people with no familiar connection to either student or its family. But important to mention is though this uncertainty for the student and his or her family, out of plenty of occasions like this, it seems like it has only gone wrong once, where in an incident the money disappear for that particular student. This is what happened to Ashkan Ghodrati once his family tried to send him some money from Iran. Worth mentioning is that this occurred before Ashkan started at the university in Sweden but he was however already a student being abroad, it was though in a non-European country. It was still during the time of implemented sanctions against Iran and so it could be taken into consideration when looking to his story. What this study can analyzed out from this is that for some of the students, including Ashkan, the measures they have to take in order to get the money in their hands are creating a great uncertainty for them since not only is the money valued less and less in relation to the currency of the country of studies, but also the money their parents sent has been put in danger of disappearing only since there are other parties who think that they can take advantage of the situation that the sanctions bring about for these families who wants to send money abroad. Through these facts one can make a conclusion of that the sanctions are not affecting the students in direct ways but also through these indirect aspects and because of obvious reasons these affects are not possible to fully bring into light since there is probably a large number of hidden activity going on as people tend to keep this more or less secret and hidden from those they do not think it concern. What can be taken as an example of this is throughout these interviews a lot of students hesitated to explain the procedure of how they were transferring their money. Some said it was because of that they did not feel secure about letting people know how they got their money since it has been occasions of when in exposure being blocked and not accessed. R is one of those students who have been experienced this type of blocking and she says it has been because of that people have been talking too much. Through this the involved parties have felt scared for consequences of taking money out from Iran into European countries and because of this she have had to find new ways more than once.

Each student that is included in this study tells about online social media as a forum for finding help as well as helping other Iranians when it comes to economically related issues. Mainly Facebook is the one that is mentioned as a platform, but sometimes also other places
on Internet. It has been mentioned that these platforms are used for everything from, lending money for rent until next month, or even, until the person finds a job here, to just in some cases make arrangements of putting large number of money into one students account, from one or several sources. The reason for this certain request last mentioned is in order for being able to show national authorities that they have capital for staying in the country in relation to obtain their study visa. This is not necessarily because the students in this context do not have money on their own, but simply because the money is locked inside of Iran with no way to be transferred here. One of the students, who explained how he was making research for his university and also got his income from them, is D. This means that he have not needed money from Iran for economic support and therefore he could say that he has not had any direct issues in connection to the sanctions. However, related to the online contacts discussed above, D described how he on one occasion helped two newly accepted Iranian students at his university to pay their tuition fee. The fee was supposed to be paid before the semester in Scandinavia started and since they were not able to transfer the money themselves and had not yet arrived to Europe they contacted D who then offered to help. Even though D were not familiar with the new students from the beginning he was glad to be of help but he also says his opinion on how European countries are handling this. He thinks they should concern more about their international students and identify and understand the possible difficulties they might have.

Another point has been brought up by for example Swedish regional news (SVT Sydnytt) as the Iranian students in Lund, Sweden, were refused to place money on their personal bank accounts. Sajjad Sahbaei was interviewed by the news, as he was one of the students who had been stopped in his bank Nordea. They were being told that because of their Iranian citizenship they would not have access to put any money into the accounts since the bank referred to the current international sanctions and the bans that they have to follow. This meant they had to make sure no Iranian money enters through their bank and their solution to this was to not accept money from any Iranian citizens at all. He has been living from his own savings since he came to Sweden two years ago for starting a bachelor at Lund University and he mentions that he also have been late with paying his rent on time on several occasions. For Sajjad this means he has to carry around a lot of cash from time to time and it has made his life more difficult. It is also a difficult task for him to at the same
time show the Swedish government that he has enough capital on his account for being issued a student visa while being denied access to put money into his account. Sajjad feels discriminated for being Iranian and says he does not understand how they are supposed to get this kind of amounts if not from their home country.

Together, all these issues above means that the students are having troubles because of the sanctions that cannot be solved because of additional problems deriving from the sanctions, as in a circle. The picture shows a group of people, who because of sanctions against their home country, are not able to transfer money from Iran to a bank here to provide for information in accordance to what is needed in the student visa process, neither do they have access to, if by any chance getting the money to here from unofficial ways, go with this money to the bank in order for them to receive it in cash. What solution this leaves is for the students to have connections already in Europe that can provide them with means enough for in the first place obtaining their visa. The bank, in this case Nordea, replied that they are only following the restrictions from the international bans and that they are not to blame for it. Either way, the students are the ones who are being put in this dilemma and are the ones who themselves has to take themselves out of it as well, with no help or according to the students, understanding from other parties.

4.3.1. Students’ thoughts on future aspects
Not that many of the students in this study was looking bright on the future of Iran when being asked if they thought anything would to change from the sanctions. International politics, but also media, focus is lying on the sanctions that are aiming to push the Iranian government to stop their nuclear program and has also been asked to consider in the interviews. However, the sanctions against Iranian government for violating the international human rights, that has been presented in a previous chapter, has also been included and even though the students have not seen as much focus on this from earlier mentioned parties like on the political arena or in media, some of them do have good knowledge about it.

This question of how their thoughts were on their own future, in relation to what they have seen affects them because of the sanctions, was aiming to see what kinds of plans they have made and how they think they can proceed or fulfill these. The plans can be either it is
continued studies or a future career, inside or outside of Iran. Sina strongly argues for that Iran soon is going to change through its social society and that the government will no longer be. Through student movements, journalists, political opposition and other parties Sina sees positive to that there will be put pressure on the Iranian government to go, in likeness to what has been shown in northern Africa through the Arabic Spring. Sina’s parents lives half of their year in Iran but during the other half in South Africa and with this opportunity Sina will not return to his Iran after his studies but instead he will go to South Africa. Even though he has positive memories from Iran and is one of the few who sees a better future for the people of Iran, he does however choose not to go back. Out of this it is hard not to think about what has divided these opinions from what the rest of the student group thinks about the future of Iran. With only small variations in their answers, there are a lot of students who do not think it will change for becoming a country with greater opportunities for themselves when talking of freedom of speech, religious freedom or a less corrupted society, nor concerning the type of ruling of the state or their back down of the nuclear program. It is though about half of the students who say that they are planning on going home to Iran after finishing their studies and here, together with the students who plans the opposite (to stay elsewhere in the world) the opinions are strong concerning the social and political climate in the country. This means that even though some of the students are planning on returning, they do have a clear view of what they think about the social and political climate in their home country, which is rather restrictive and negative in comparison to Sina’s, and their view is the same as for those who has decided to stay outside of the country.

Even though the students who are returning to Iran with these opinions of their country, it has been said by about half of the students who are actually returning that they mainly care about the job prospects and that the social and political aspects do not make a bid difference for their plans. If this study is to analyze this it could be argued that these students feel confident with their decision because they have a security for them upon arrival in terms of job, family and economic stability in the since that these factors are being considered more worth for these students when revising the general prospects for the Iranian populations in terms of aspects that can be connected to a more free Iran. It can be reviewed as a difference between short-term effects and long-term effects in which the shorter are more prosperous
for the individual student and where the long-term can be revised as beneficial for the general population in a rather longer perspective.

When this topic was discussed with so called O, he gave a troubled picture of his country from his experience. His story begins with taking part of the ‘Green Movement’, which was a series of event and demonstrations that occurred to oppose the national elections in the year of 2009 when current president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad took office his second time, through a very criticized and doubtful victory (FP, 2010). While studying mathematics in a bachelor program at his university O was at the same time having lectures in another field of studies. He had at the same time established a name for himself through the work he had and through that he also had the opportunity to hold classes at the same university as he was studying. After three years of studies and only one more year to go, he did however start to come across issues concerning his political ideas and because of what he was discussing in the classrooms and this is how he described it.

The problem started when I started to explain myself and my ideas concretely in the classes that I have been teaching and seminars or anywhere else. I also had some problems both in politics and disciplinary areas with the university since the university that I was studying in is one of the most political ones in Iran and so many important political accidents, incidents happened in it. Then these problems caused some of the teachers of the university I was studying in, starting to make problems for me like failing me in courses that I did the exam well.

O felt explains that he felt powerless over their decision of changing his pass to fail and did because of that tries in changing back his grade through methods he admits was illegal. After have been a case to the university’s Disciplinary Court it later on ended up in a lawsuit between this and the department of his field as well as not only one failed course but also several ones who had earlier been registered as pass.

They failed me in not only the courses that I had changed the grades but also in so many courses that I already passed by myself without changing the grades. I could officially sue them, but as I mentioned earlier it is a little bit dangerous to sue somebody more powerful than you in Iran.
This is originally a part from a private email O sent after making the interview in order to describe more in detail about his reasons for coming to Europe. It had been mentioned in the interview that he because of his university in Iran had to go abroad if he wanted to get a bachelor’s degree in this field. He did not discuss it in detail until the second approach, but this was only after I first asked for a more detailed explanation of this. It was also not until this second time has also asked for being referred to as anonymous because of the sensitive information he gave, and this is also why it in this study has been decided not to reveal the name of his university or where O now has continued with his studies.

He does not think his home country is safe for individuals like himself as long as the freedom of speech is not accepted. What can be analyzed out of this specific story is firstly that there is a great sensitivity for political activities in this university. O attended one of Iran’s public universities, which means it is lying direct under the governmental Ministry of Science, Research and Technology. What is obvious is that the freedom of speech is not being respected and as he describes the low probability of being able to stand against someone more powerful than you, in this case the university, it shows that the legal system in Iran is not secure for its population.

The knowledge about the situation in Iran is not news in itself, but with consideration taken for the students and in this case for O, it shows a vulnerability for groups in the Iranian society even if they can be of privileged groups like the one of being a student. It also raises the topic of corruption, something that

4.4. Students opinions on sanction design

Each student has been asked the question about their perception of the sanctions against Iran. How they are implemented, how they think that they are designed and if they think they fulfill their purpose or aim. In this it was given space for any types of opinions about the sanctions in general and there were different answers coming out during the interviews. Independent of what the students thought about the backgrounds of the different sanctions, they were all indeed skeptical to its real affects. First of all each student argued that the sanctions are not hurting the government in any proportion close to other area of the society. If it does, which has been elaborated upon in some of the interviews, the government is
good at hiding it and it could of course be part of a political game they are playing to no
show their weakness. However, here the students are talking mainly about the economic
situation for the Iranians and it is described as that the people have to suffer limitations
within for example health care and infrastructure due to the bans on import and export, and
that the government is ignoring this. What this means is that if the government is occupied
with being concerned about keeping up their own standards of living, the situation for the
ordinary citizens are going to continue not to be a priority and this could become a
devastating situation for the people. Some of the students are considering this to a potential
devastating situation for an uprising amongst the population against their government but on the other
hand, with a focus closer in time, the struggle for basic needs such as food, health and
security will come first rather than a political revolution.

Oil is a clear source of income for the government and the majority of students are assured
that even though Iran can no longer ship to Europe or other involved parties, they still have
other powerful international friends that are willing to buy. This means that what the
government has to do is to reorganize and refocus their markets and will in the long run
perhaps strengthen its power in its region further, since it is the traditional states around it
that is becoming closer and closer allies.

Concerning the sanctions aiming to push the government to stop its human rights violation,
it shows in the interviews with the students that they do not have much faith in them. The all
understand, and think it is positive, that the international community are concerned but they
do not think any fundamental changes will happen in a near future from the government’s
side of this. The students wish there was another way solve this but they says that as long as
this government is in office, nothing will change. This comes from the perception of that
their government is selfish and have other priorities on their agenda. A few of the students
even call them unintelligent in the sense that they think it would be more strategic for them
if they had tried to acknowledge at least some of these international charges against them,
which they do not.

When it comes to the topic of the nuclear program in the country the students hare
divided. There are students who do not even think that Iran has the capacity of this kind of
technology, D bases this on his own knowledge in the area of physics of which he is doing
research on through his PhD at the moment. He claims there is a small chance Iran would succeed in creating a nuclear weapon and he think that the international sanctions, for this particular reason are for no reason. He, together with the majority of students do though agree on that it is better with sanctions than a military war and they all hope that it do not lead to that. One of the students who do however have an opposite view on this is Mohammad Mustafavi. He believes that the nuclear program it is in the sovereignty of Iran to decide for themselves and that states like the US or western countries in Europe do not have the authority to undermine that right. He does not think the Iranian government intends to threat other states with it. He thinks that the sanctions aimed at Iran are more hurtful than if Iran could continue with its nuclear plans and these arguments combined concludes that western countries should stay out of this according to him.

In general the opinions of the sanctions are that the students think they are to weak to make a difference and they think they are working in a more symbolic way. However, the government is not very concerned about that these western parties are thinking about them and their pressure will not have any affect on them as it would if Iran was a part of the western democratic community it self. This goes hand in hand of what the general presumption of how sanctions works where democratic states tend to listen more to sanctions than non-democratic states. The students argues for that it is obvious that the population is suffering the hardest and that the sanctions are only weakening the people and pushing any possible revolutions further away in the future, which was being described earlier in this text.
5. Conclusion

In this study many individual opinions and thoughts have been shared and it is of importance to keep focus on the analysis of what the students have said in order to reach a conclusion. The findings show a clear answer that tells us that the majority of students have been hit by the sanctions through various effects. What this research was set out to study was however what type of effects and that is now what will be concluded in this chapter. Firstly, by looking at the research question that was asking for how the students were affected by the sanctions, the most visible effect is how they are being shut out from the banking system and how they have been denied access to money that are rightfully theirs. Today our society is developed into an open space for money- and information flow. Through Internet and through banks we are given the convenience of making it easier for our selves in our lives and it can easily be forgotten how it can become a problem for a person who is denied access and meet limitation of these services. What this limitation in accessing your own money has done to these Iranian students is that is has created difficulties in their day-to-day lives that we otherwise take for granted.

By not being able to receive money from Iran has in some of the cases meant that other ‘unofficial’ ways of getting money has contributed to stress for the students and their families since there is no security behind these transfers. This is being done even though the sanctions are suppose not to aim at the population of Iran, but still Iranians abroad are not being trusted with their families’ own money. These students have felt a great stress during periods of time when there have been troubles of sending this money, the money they need for monthly expenses such as rent and food. Almost every student who is depending on money coming from Iran, is saying he or she have had to make a lot of priorities due to the lack of capital and all these students are feeling a worry about how and if they will be lucky to get the money on time for their expenses. This worry is eventually also making it harder for a few of these students who focus on school and they feel it is unjust for the sanctions to claim not to be targeting the population of Iran while they are in fact having these impacts on them.

It can however not be ruled out that the student society of Iran is not included in intended targets from the international parties involved since that can be in line with the effects they
are trying to cause the elite in the country. This discussion then brings about questions on the sanctions and how they are designed, and in the way some of the students see it, the sanctions should not be affecting them as students since their goals are to get an education. Their arguments for this is that if the international arena wants to see a change in Iran they will have to let the population educate themselves and keep connections strong to civil society, otherwise the students will see no point in staying and struggle for a developed Iran.

What more can be said about the sanctions is that they are having effect on the unofficial market of the rial in which the Iranian people have to buy and sell their own currency to prices that are constantly changing. For the students this has lead to an even larger difference between the rial and the Scandinavian currency they need for their studies abroad. What this has led to is an early return for one of these students, before finishing her studies. To have money but not being able to use them can be one thing, but when living of money that you know is becoming worth less and less for each week it can create a whole new situation for the students, which has been shown examples of here. Even though this was not the case for every student it do however show how choices are being more limited and that these students eventually will have to return to a country that has no respect for international human rights.

It is easy to relate the issue of not being able to transferring money as a direct link to the targeting sanctions against Iran but when looking at their constantly changing national currency the conclusion should be made with consideration. Political changes, both international and national, can be a distress for a national currency and specially when taking into account that Iran has oil, which is always a sensitive market in relation to international changes. Nevertheless, it would be ignorant to claim that sanctions do not have an impact on the currency in a state, but it should be noted that it is not the same type of direct effect of sanctions, as in the case for the ban against Iranian banks. Here is where the debate of what intended and unintended outcomes of sanctions comes in, but this topic has not been investigated any further in this study and therefore it cannot label sanctions in that way. However, despite arguments of that it has gone down for a long period of time, already before the sanctions started, the currency should still be considered to be an effect about the political instability Iran is in.
The students are not pleased with these affects but in their answers there is an undertone of understanding of what the sanctions are trying to achieve. In the over all picture they can see the reasoning behind the sanctions even though they are being targeted themselves but do however not consider the sanctions to be successful in their aims.

From what the students have had to say about their government in Iran, it can be concluded that the large majority disapprove of their activities. Both when it comes to the nuclear development and also what they are doing to its own people in form of humanitarian violations. The students of course hope this will change in a near future, but they make a difference between what they are hoping for and what they believe. That is also how the future plans for the students in generally were formulated, as in what they want to do, and what they in reality can do, since they see no real solution to the political state in Iran and hence the economic issues of currency drop and accessing their own money might be continuing and infect their plans.

The question brought up earlier in this part weather the targeting parties are including the student in their strategy of affecting the elite of Iran could here not be looked into further because of the aim and objectives of this study. The students included in this research have however not been focusing heavily on any governmental dissent, but what would more be concluded as acceptance for how the political status looks like in their home country. Instead of putting hopes on that their government would change in any near by future, they were all trying to create their own lives through in some cases avoid returning back to Iran. Although, it should be said that each student did have opinions against their government but the main point that brought them together was that the sanctions were hurting the people, not the government and their opinions were instead aiming towards the targeting states in this case.

To end the conclusion there should be mentioned that not all students were in fact affected by the sanctions. But for those students who were in fact dependant on the arrangement set up together with their parents back home, these affects have been put pressure on the students in order to keep up these plans of studying abroad. What is important to see here is that, even though the smart sanctions are put into use with the believe from the international public that they are supposed to be, there are so many factors deriving from these that in the
end lands on the table of the population. In this case it was about students geographically very far away from the targeted state, but it did however show that they had to face some difficult effects from the sanctions either way.

5.1. Further research
What can be done in further research is perhaps to continue on the aspect of if these students are being at all being recognized by the decision makers in connection to policy making of this kind, something that in this study is beyond the chosen research questions. This would then pass the micro level of investigation into a larger scaled approach that could contribute to knowledge that in context to this study could give a wider understanding of the sanction and their implementation. What could also be of importance to look into is what this could mean to minority groups within the Iranian student society, taking for example religious minorities and women as examples. This would however call for larger target groups or perhaps even a quantitative approach.

In addition to the above mentioned, through out the individual interviews made in this study a question of what these circumstances makes with peoples ideas of individual identities derived. This was based on the fact that some of the students acknowledged that they felt treated unjust not only by the policy makers or by their own government but that there was also a sense of distrust aimed towards the Iranian students as a group out of the fact from what nationality they had. Unfortunately, even though it should be taken into the account of what the effects are for these students, this was something further away from the main points of this study and therefore instead could be a topic for further research.
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6.3. Interviews with Iranian students

6.3.1. Individual interviews, 10 students

1. **Amir Mosavi**, male student. 16th of December, online Skype interview.
2. **Aida Amirfallah**, female student. 17th of December, online Skype interview.
3. **B**, male student. 17th of December, online Skype interview.
4. **A**, male student. 18th of December, online Skype interview.
5. **H**, male student. 18th of December, personal interview.
6. **M**, male student. 18th of December, online Skype interview.
7. **R**, female student. 19th of December, online Skype interview.
8. **Sajjad Sahbaei**, male student. 4th of January, online Skype interview.
9. **Mohammad Mostafavi**, male student. 4th of January, online Skype interview.
10. **N**, female, former student. 8th of January, online Skype interview.

7.3.2. Group Interview, 2 students

11. **Mamuti Jalili**, male student. 4th of January, personal group interview.
12. **Sina Mortazavi**, male student. 4th of January, personal group interview.