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**ACCULTURATION PREFERENCES AMONG BANGLADESHI
IMMIGRANTS IN LONDON AND MALMOE**

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to examine the acculturation preferences among first and second generation Bangladeshi immigrants in Malmoe and London. The sample comprised 22 immigrants (11 from London and 11 from Malmoe). Data were obtained through interviews and analyzed by use of Berry's (1997) four fold acculturation model and on the basis of a new classification developed by Lathi, Liebkind, Horenczyk and Schmitz (2002). This was a qualitative study and the results can not be generalized. In any case the results showed that integration was the most preferred strategy when using Barry's original model both in Malmoe and London. However, when Lathi et al's typology was used the tendency towards integration became pronounced in Malmoe. This tendency became more pronounced when one examined integration across five socio-cultural domains in a cross-generational perspective. Acculturation preference and integration strategies were more homogeneous in Malmoe than London, also when the generation dimension was taken into account.

Key Words: Acculturation, immigrants, integration, Bangladesh, London, Malmoe

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1.0 Introduction

Migration is a fact of modern life. Nowadays people move from one country to another with increasing frequency. This widespread movement of people inevitably brings different groups, such as, immigrants and host society members into contact with one another. This widespread phenomenon of immigration poses serious challenge to the migrating individuals to adapt to a multicultural reality. In many settings immigrant groups co-exist comparatively harmoniously with the host society and they are concerned about the expectation of the host society and what changes are desirable. On the other hand, immigrants are quite concerned about their own circumstances and preferences. Their choices of acculturation are informed by these, sometime conflicting, internal and external demands.

Immigration in London and Malmoe has been fairly well studied. ‘London’ the capital of UK and ‘Malmoe’ the most southern city of Sweden have a large percentage of immigrants .The size of the ethnic minority population in London and Malmoe is increasing rapidly (Office of national statistics report 2007; Malmoe migrationverket report 2005). Most of the ethnic minorities have their own distinctive language and culture, which is not similar to European culture or more specifically British or Swedish culture. In most of the cases, first generation immigrants hold their own culture and language and they do not consider themselves British or Swedish, but the second generation contrast with the first generation (Robinson 2005). If a country or a city consists of many immigrants the question of ethnicity, acculturation, and identity crisis come into place (Nassimbeni 2007). The reason of examining London and Malmoe is that they have significant immigrant populations and that their numbers are on the increase.

1.1 Purpose and research question

During the past decades, acculturation has developed as an important research area in social-psychology. This is due to its relation with the psychological well-being among ethnic minority groups (Rogler et al 1991; Suinn et al 1987). Therefore, many models, including unidirectional and bidirectional models, have been developed to measure the acculturation strategy. However, these models’ validity is still debated: the question of whether these models captures acculturation processes appropriately or not (Olmedo 1979; Phinney 1990). Hence, it is crucial to

investigate the acculturation preference between cities, countries, generations and various socio-cultural dimensions by use of two or more of these models.

Therefore the aim of this thesis is to explore the acculturation strategies among first and second generation Bangladeshi immigrants in London and Malmoe city. Based on this aim, the following research questions will be addressed:

What are the acculturation preferences among Bangladeshi immigrants in London and Malmoe city?

Is there any preference difference between London and Malmoe across generations?

How do these acculturation preferences play out in different socio-cultural domains?

This is a qualitative study, and the data cannot be used for generalizations'. Still, with these limitations in mind, the data will be used to test and discuss current acculturation theory. The results of the study will hopefully contribute to insights into current acculturation process in Europe and it might help government policy makers to focus on specific aspects. For example, it can clarify exactly which domains first or second generations do not want to be integrated with or which domains they do want to integrate with. If answers can be found to these preferences, then it could be investigated what they want or do not want and what initiatives should be taken to make first and second generation immigrants more integrated with the host society.

2. Outline of thesis

Next part of my thesis is divided into six sections. First section will provide background of understanding acculturation and ethnic identity, current research on acculturation. Second section will provide a brief discussion on my theoretical key concepts. Third section presents methodology. Fourth section will discuss about information of immigrants in Malmo and London. Fifth section will provide the acculturation preferences among the Bangladeshi immigrants in London and Malmo. Finally I will end up my thesis with conclusion.

3.0 Current Research

This section will discuss current research on ethnic identity, acculturation process, identity formation among immigrants in Europe and America.

3.1 Understanding acculturation and ethnic identity

Ethnic identity has been defined in many ways in various researches. It is difficult to find a widely agreed upon definition of ethnic identity, so there is still confusion about this topic. In a number of articles, ethnic identity is defined as the ethnic component of social identity. Tajfel (1981: 225) has defined it as, “the part of an individual’s self concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group to which the value and emotional significance attached to the membership”. Some writers focus on self identification, while others focus on belonging and commitment (Singh 1977; Ting-Toomey 1981). Moreover, some emphasize attitude toward one’s group (Parham & Helms 1981; Teske & Nelson 1973). Also, other definitions focus on cultural aspects of ethnic identity, like values or language, etc. (Rogler et al 1980). Further, the concept of acculturation is sometimes considered as a framework for studying ethnic identity.

The concept of acculturation has been adopted in many disciplines, including anthropology, sociology and psychology. Social scientists have conceptualized the various phenomena arising from cultural contacts under the topic of acculturation. Acculturation currently represents one of the major areas of investigation in cross-cultural psychology (Berry et al 1992). Anthropologist Redfield identified acculturation as, “those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups” (Redfield et al 1936: 149). Presently, acculturation is widely recognized as a phenomenon at the individual level and is labeled as psychological acculturation (Graves 1967). According to Berry and his colleagues, acculturation is defined as the mutual adaptation of behavior and habits among people with ethnic background (Berry 1990 & 1997; Segall et al 1999). While Neto and his colleagues state that acculturation is usually exemplified by immigrants or indigenous minorities adjusting to the dominant culture by adopting values and behaviors. Further, according to Neto acculturation refers to changes in an individual whose cultural group is collectively experiencing acculturation (Neto 2002: 18).

The term ethnic identity has sometimes been used synonymously with acculturation, but these two terms should be distinguished. “Acculturation deals broadly with changes in cultural attitudes, values and behaviors that result from contact between two distinct cultures” (Berry et al 1986). The level of concern is generally the group rather than the individual, and the main focus is on how minority groups related to the dominant group. On the other hand, ethnic identity may be thought of as an aspect of acculturation and concern on the individual level and how they related to their own group (Phinney 1990). In this thesis, the focus will be on the acculturation strategy. Two models are used to see which strategy the minority groups would like to follow.

As regards identity formation, Stuart Hall (1996) building on Foucault, notes that “identity must be conceptualized as the relationship between subjects and broader discursive practices. For adolescents, media and popular culture offer social discourses that play a key role in identity construction” (Durham 2004: 141). Another study states that “personal identity of first and second generation Indians and Pakistanis by nothing that the first generation felt primarily Indian or Pakistani as the case might be, rather than British, Whereas 43% young people identified themselves as British. This may be attributed to the cultural customs which they valued” (Stopes-Roe & Cochrane 1990: 198). South Asian Diasporas are comprised of stories about culture, identity and nation (Shukla 2001: 552). Lowe (1996) have said that “it is difficult to describe difference- inside or outside a broadly constituted entity such as nation, transnational- without reifying the boundaries of that difference through color, caste, religion, or even more ambiguously, ‘culture’”(Shukla 2001: 553). So, Diasporas have become ideal sites to know the cultural effects of globalization

We will now turn to examine gender discrimination, if we go to USA and UK then we can see that the second generation girls are having parental restriction over the physical mobility that translated in their minds to control of their bodies. This is exemplified in an interview from Durham’s article where Lekha a second generation girl noted,

“It really pisses me off.... Because they have no reason to do it, they just do it to Like.....I feel like they do to keep me from doing what I want to do and having fun ... They don’t trust me. They think I am like the worst person in the world when it comes to sex” (Durham 2004: 149).

From the interviews that Dhurham conducted, all of the girls noted that their parents had either strict limits or actual prohibition on dating and interactions with boys. So it is one aspect of the difference between first generation and second generation (Dhurham 2004).

According to acculturation studies the: “Majority of young Asian people prefers integration and rejects assimilation, marginalization, and separation strategies. Thus the majority of young Asians are bi-lingual, and bi-cultural. They have maintained some aspects of their own culture and at the same time adopted some of the majority cultural norms, they defined personal identity in a ‘hyphenated way’, for example, ‘Indo-English’” (Ghuman 1999: 69). Although, “this has not changed the fact that they continue to suffer racial abuse both in and out of school and have mixed feelings weather they belong in Britain” (Ghuman 2003: 130). Annie and Richard have shown that most of the groups in a society tend toward integration and like individualism (Montreuil et al 2004: 507). Integration was the most preferred option among the immigrants in Germany (Lathi et al 2003: 90). So most of the international research have shown that integration is the most adaptive way of acculturation and conducive to the immigrants well being, while marginalization is the worst adaptive way of acculturation. (Berry 1997; Hovard 1998; La Fromboise et al 1993).

If one takes into account age dimensions, then several studies show that there have been general tensions and anxieties belonging to first and second generations in the UK. The first generation use “separation” as their choice when they work and live in Britain, because they have their own different language, values, and lifestyles. Anwar and Durry have said that,

“When young people start to take an interest in adolescence of the opposite sex, Asian parents generally disapprove of dating – particularly when their daughters are involved. Most of the marriages in rural India and Pakistan are arranged by the family and this custom is still considered very important by first generation South Asians” (Robinson, 2005: 187).

However, the second generation does not want to maintain these values. Unlike adults the two central issues of acculturation, cultural maintenance, contact and participation may be theirs alone to decide. Children and adolescents have to weight their decisions against parental and peer expectations. Children and adolescents are still undergoing major socialization and development changes that may affect how they respond to acculturation as a whole. Ester Leung has shown in

her research that “most of the second generation Chinese Americans were happy with their school life and living in the United States and that their parents loved” (Leung 1997: 3).

The comparative neglect in the area of discrimination by British economist in the past may have been partly due to an impression that racial discrimination was less of a problem in the British labor market, In his research Stewart (1982) mentions that, “The recent national training survey provides a timely opportunity to examine racial differentials and their interaction with various factors particularly education, labour market experience and training” (Stewart 1982: 521). Stewart found that the average differential was 9% and 12% and it was because of lower education and flat experience profile. He also found that the differential of earnings was between 75% - 100% and it was caused by differences in occupational entry rather than within an occupation (Stewart 1982: 34). According to Adams (1987), Tower Hamlet contains the largest Bangladeshi concentration in the UK and the community has been successful in establishing political, cultural and religious institutions since the 1970s. The migration process began with the arrival of seaman (lascars) being recruited during the 19th and the first half of the 20th century from Sylhet in the north-eastern corner of Bangladesh. A number of them jumped ship after arriving at London’s docks and established a base, mainly around Shitalfields, in the western side of the borough. The first generation migrants worked in small cafes and restaurants and were soon followed by their male kin who found employment in the local garment industry or factories in London or in northern England. From the mid 1960s, the growing demand for labour and the first restrictions on immigration led to the reinforcement of the chain migration which linked specific areas of Sylhet with the UK. As an increasing number of second generation and third generation Bangladeshis have entered higher education, the prospects of employment that for a long time was restricted to the restaurant and textile industry have changed. Yet, despite having access to local white color jobs, mainly in public organizations, many young Bangladeshis still experience long periods of unemployment or occupy low skilled or unskilled jobs at the margin of the service economy, but still they want to integrate with the host society (Eade & Garbin, 2002: 138-139). Employment prospects are related to English language ability. According to Cheswick and Hurst, “Language fluency is a much more important determinant of immigrant outcomes in Britain than the United Sates” (Shields & Price 2001: 744). In comparison to the first generation, the second generation immigrants are more fluent in English.

If one considers language as a tool, then one can see that most of the second generation Indians are bilingual or multilingual. Several studies have shown that the British born generation is highly proficient in English, “English tends to be used in communication with press and younger persons, while the indigenous South Asian language tend to be used when speaking with elders” (Robinson 2005: 188). The majority of the second generation is now making friends with the white British, whereas, first generation prefers to be friends within their own ethnic group. In her research Esther (1997) has shown that, between 70% and 90% second generation Chinese Americans wished that their parents could speak English well, and that they would understand their feeling, whereas the parents said that they do not understand the education system in America (Leung 1997: 3).

Acculturation strategy some times varies, because of immigration policy.” British policies towards immigrants and ethnic minorities tend to be exclusive rather than inclusive. The attitudes impact on the acculturation strategies and ethnic identity of ethnic minorities in the country” (Robinson 2005: 188). For example, most of the second generation consider themselves culturally ‘British’, but they felt strongly that they are still not accepted by the white British. “The state of race relations in the wider society and the political climate (with its impacts on discrimination, exclusion rate of unemployment) affect young people’s perceptions and attitudes and consequently how far they are willing to adapt” (Ghuman 2003: 158). According to Jones and Modood, “labour and employment reports provide evidence that there exist discrimination against Asians in all facets of everyday life, the arenas of education, employment, the healthcare system are all culpable” (Robinson 2005: 191). Whereas Sweden is a country which supports multiculturalism and integration, but normally belongs to a middle group for the immigrants In Sweden, because the government is well aware of integration issues all immigrants who apply for permanent residence has to learn Swedish (Waldrauch & Hofinger 1997). “In Sweden, the immigration policy is about equality that is the welfare system” (Vedder & Erkki 2005: 321). Further, in Sweden home language is initiated by the government, since they could learn their own language to the school. (Veddar & Erkki 2005: 321). Finally, in spite of the immigration policies or being ethnic minority most of the research showing that integration is the most preferred option for the immigrants.

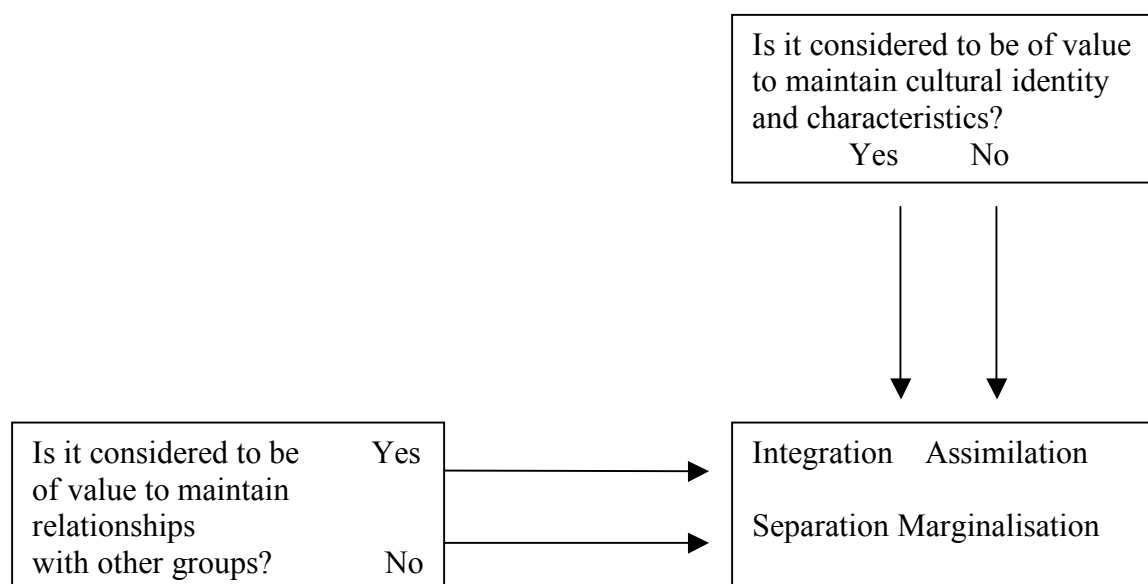
4.0 Theoretical Key concept

Acculturation models to be used when analyzing the data is presented in the following.

4.1 Acculturation model by Barry (1997) and Lathi et al (2002)

Berry has suggested that acculturation strategies of ethnicity can be described in terms of two independent dimensions: one is the retention of one's cultural tradition and the other is the establishment and maintenance of relationships with the larger society. One can conceptualize a framework when these criteria are considered simultaneously and it posits four acculturation strategies: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization (Berry 1997). The figure below is showing the types of acculturation strategies

Types of Acculturation Strategies



These strategies carry different names, depending on which group (dominant or non-dominant) is being considered (Berry 2005). From the point of view of non-dominant groups, when individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures, the assimilation strategy is defined. Here individuals prefer to shed their heritage culture and become absorbed into the dominant society. In contrast, when individuals place value on

holding onto their original culture and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others, then the separation alternative is defined. Here the individuals turn their back on involvement with other cultural groups and turn inward toward their own heritage culture. When there is an interest in both maintaining one's heritage culture in daily interactions and with other groups, integration is an option. In this case, there is some degree of cultural integrity maintained while at the same time seeking, as a member of an ethno cultural group, to participate as an integral part of the larger social network. Finally, when there is little possibility or interest in heritage cultural maintenance (often reasons for enforced cultural loss), and little interest in having relations with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination) marginalization is defined (Berry 2005). However, this formulation is from the perspective of a non-dominant group (immigrants). It is accepted that this group has the freedom to choose how they want to acculturate. When the dominant group enforces a certain strategy then other terms need to be defined. This study will not be considered with strategies imposed on immigrants by host societies.

Integration is not a homogeneous process. (Lathi et al 2002). Therefore they made this category (Integration, separation, assimilation and marginalization) into six parts if the first preference is integration then what should be the second preference: according Lathi et al (2002) the further category should be:

- (1) integration-assimilation
- (2) integration-separation
- (3) integration-marginalization
- (4) assimilation
- (5) separation
- (6) marginalization

This grouping resulted in six categories reflecting, not only the respondents first, but also their second preference and assessed the acculturation preferences in each of five socio-cultural domains: marriage, cultural traditions, language, social activities and friends. (Lathi et al 2002). Here integration-assimilation referees those who preferred integration or assimilation as there first choice, but if they have any option to chose second preference then they either preferred integration or assimilation. Integration- separation referred those who preferred marginalization as there second choice, when there first choice was integration. Integration- marginalization

means if they preferred marginalization as their second choice beside their first choice, integration.

5.0 Methodology

In order to investigate the above-mentioned questions, a qualitative method has been utilized to get in-depth knowledge about the subject. A case study method has been used because it, as Yin has indicated, “Allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real life events-such as individual life cycles” (Yin 2003: 2). Hence, the case study method will facilitate for examination of the acculturation strategies in Malmoe and London.

For this study two cases have been used. The two case studies, of London and Malmoe, are selected for the thesis because they include huge number of immigrants in the area and immigration in these cities has been fairly well studied.

Further, the two case study areas will be compared. For example, the degrees of intention towards acculturation strategies between the two case study areas. Therefore, comparative ranking systems will be used.

5.1 Ranking of variables

In this study the variables used will be ranked a Low (1), Moderate (2), and High (3) scale (Lathi et al, 2002). A description of the ranking system for each variable will be presented. For example, “integration” will be ranked as a dependent variable using five socio-cultural domains: marriage, social activities, cultural tradition, friends and language. These domains will indicate tendencies towards acculturation strategy. (Lathi et al, 2002)

5.2 Socio-cultural domains

Following Lathi et al (2002) when categorizing types of answers by the respondents as listed below.

Integration

Integration which is prevalent in this case study includes maintaining both culture. Ranking for this pre-condition are as follows:

Low = No intention towards integration.

Moderate = Minimal intention towards integration.

High = High intention towards integration.

Marriage (M)

Low intention = If someone says he/she does not like to get married outside of their community.

Moderate intention = If someone says he/she does not mind to get married outside of their community, but still prefer to be married inside of their community.

High intention = If someone says he/she does not like to get married inside of their community.

Social activities(S)

Low intention = If someone says he/she is organized or join in (their) community based social activities.

Moderate intention = If someone says he/she join in community based activities, but if they get a chance then they would like to do some main stream social activities.

High intention = If someone says he/she does not like to organize or join (their) community based social activities

Cultural tradition(C)

Low intention = If some says he/she would like to practice their own cultural tradition both in and out of their home.

Moderate intention = If someone says he/she would like to practice their own culture only at home.

High intention = If someone says he/she does not like to practice their own cultural tradition either inside or outside of their home.

Friends (F)

Low intention = If someone says he/she does not have any native friends and do not think it is necessary.

Moderate intention = If some one says he/she has both native and own community friends.

High intention = If some one says he/she has native friends and would like to have a native boy/girl friend.

Language (L)

Low intention = If someone says he/she does not know the host country's language well.

Moderate intention = If someone says he/she knows the host language and their own language and wants to practice both.

High intention = If someone says he/she wants to practice only the host county's language.

These categories are the basis for the analysis of the data.

5.3 Discussion of chosen research methodology: Ordinal narrative approach

King et al has defined descriptive inference as “the process of understanding an unobserved phenomenon on the basis of a set of observations”, where description is defined as the collection of facts or summary of historical details (King et al 1994). With the use of descriptive inference and an ordinal narrative approach, the hope is that this thesis may lead to compare two cases. An ordinal measure is one that describes a variable whose attributes can be ranked, usually from low to high, while narrative refers to a level of description that accompanies that measurement. Prior to an evaluation of the ranking for the independent variables and outcomes, each case study employs an ordinal-narrative approach to describe details and facts necessary for depth analysis. As Mahoney have stated,

“The approach of combining ordinal and narrative analysis has been adopted less frequently by scholars, which is unfortunate given that it offers a powerful means of assessing causality. Ordinal comparison is an important tool for evaluating partial causation, and this strategy blends well with narrative analysis: narrative becomes the means through which the analyst identifies the specific scores on variables that combine to produce the outcome of interest” (Mahoney 1999).

5.4 Methods and number of respondents

To get the information about which strategies individuals prefer, interviews were conducted in both Malmoe and London using snowball sampling. Snowball sampling allowed identification of the sources within a community and to select those people best suited for data collection (Patton 1990). The interviews were intensive and informal, although questions in a framework had been

prepared. It is believed that informal interviews gave reliable data to conduct the research. As the snowballing method was utilized, the samples are not representative of Bangladeshi immigrants in London and Malmoe and can not be used for generalizations about immigrants in Europe. Still, it is expected that this study will give some insight into acculturation processes in these cities.

5.5 Access and selection of respondents

The primary data of the thesis is based on qualitative fieldwork. Using Malmoe as a case was easier than London, as the author live in Lund and work in Malmoe. Usually, there were not a preset number of interviews planned for. Due to residing and working in the vicinity of Malmoe, friends and colleagues were initially contacted and through them other interviewees were contacted. The interviews spanned from September to December 2007. Eventually, eleven interviews with eleven respondents were carried out. , Five out of thirteen from an Indian restaurant in Malmoe. Two respondents out of the five are the owners of the restaurant. They have been living in Malmoe for more than 20 years. One is the Cook of the restaurant, who has been living in Malmoe for more than 20 years. Two work in the restaurant as waiters.

The additional respondents are from different parts of Malmoe; one is a friend. This male individual is studying Medicine at Lund University and his parents live in Stockholm. He is by birth Swedish. An additional three respondents are also the owners of three restaurants. The final three respondents are students and their fathers each have a restaurant.

So, interviews have been conducted with seven first generation and four second generation Swedish immigrants. The age group of the first generation is ranging from 36 to 62 and their mean age is 49. They all speak good Swedish. On the other hand, the age group of the second generation is 17 to 21. Their mean age is around 19.

Being a citizen of Bangladesh it was hard to reach London to collect data. However, the thesis tutor helped in getting the visa by writing a recommendation letter. After receiving the visa, some friends and relatives living in London were contacted as they have good connections with London immigrants. The original plan was to stay in London for 7 days, but it extended to 9 days. The interview period was between November 16th and 25th November 2007. Before arrival in

London, friends and relatives scheduled appointments from the respondent on behalf of the author. Meanwhile the intentions about the field work were forwarded to them. However, the entire interview was taken directly. The total number of individuals interviewed was 11. The question was memorized by heart and the respondents were not shown any question, while keeping the questions in mind the interviews were carried out in the form of loose-ended discussions.

In London, 9 interviews with 11 Bangladeshi immigrants were conducted. The questions were open-ended and the interviews were informal in format. The focus of the interviews was on marriage, cultural traditions, language, social activities and friends. Seven of the eleven respondents were first generation immigrants, who have been living in London for more than fifteen years. The remaining four were second generation immigrants. The age group of the first generation group was 32 to 62 and their mean age is around 47. Most of them have a low level of education. They would be considered literate according to a scale of their country of origin. Their English is not very good, but most of them can comprehend it and speak it a bit. The second generation respondents' age group was 21 to 35, and their mean age is around 27. All of them are educated, some of them are studying and some of them are working.

5.6 Biases, validity, ethical consideration and limitations

Regarding biasness and validity, the selected interviewees affected the outcome of the interviews. Most of the first generation respondents were either restaurant owners or working in a restaurant. Further, the access to respondents was more accessible in Malmoe than in London. So these biases may have affected the validity of the study. As the interview selection was through snowball sampling, the choice of the initial contact was important. The first contacts were acquaintances and these respondents have different background, so this bias may also have affected the validity and can not be generalized, but one can get an overall scenario from the data. However, having access to respondents living space, cultural rituals in which they participated and groups in which they socialized allowed me to verify my interpretations (Bhattacharya 2007), but sometimes a researcher can influence respondents to get his or her answer in his or her favor by being an insider (Wray et al 2007). An insider/outsider position complicates the ethics of consent and representation, because they are both shifting concepts. Therefore ethical guidelines

within the scope of regulation should be responsive to the complexities of qualitative research and its need to remain flexible, creative and contingent in its methods and representation (Bhattacharya 2007).

The ethics of information representation that transgressed the boundaries of the researcher and enters that of brotherhood and friendship was questioned and there was concern about the collaborative participation. To check for biased answers the respondents were asked how they would feel if their mother or grandmother would read the interview. The intent was not only to conduct member checks, but also identify nuggets of representation. What story did they want to tell without affecting their dignity? Perhaps their relatives will never read the thesis, but the obligation to their dignity kept me hounding mercilessly for stories that can/can not be represented.(Bhattacharya 2007) On one hand, academic rigor implored verification of the information, on the other hand, it had to be asked what secrets could be reveal about them and their experience. To secure the anonymity of the respondent their names have been left out of the thesis. So hopefully the ethical aspects have accordingly been covered.

The samples of this study are small and selected in such a way, i.e. snowballing that they do not allow for generalizations. Time constrains and the sensitivity of studying integration issues in this population was the reasons for this limitation. Still, for the sake of testing theories I will proceed in the analysis as if they were larger and randomly selected samples. However, in the subsequent discussion of the results these limitations of the study will be taken into consideration.

6.0 Immigrants History in UK and Sweden

This section will discuss on immigrants in UK and Sweden.

6.1 Immigrants in Sweden, Malmoe

At the beginning of the century and up to World War II, very few immigrants lived in Sweden. Since then, many waves of immigrants have reached the country. While the proportion of foreign-born population was 1.8 percent in 1950, ten years after later it had increased to 4.0 percent and in 1970 it had gone up to 6.7 percent. It was 7.5 percent in 1980 and 9.2 percent in 1990. The proportion of the foreign born population reached 11.3 percent in 2000 and for the first

time the foreign born population reached the 1 million people mark. In 2005, the number of the foreign population was 12.4 percent. As a consequence, the foreign born population of Sweden is considerably younger than the native born. Although, foreigners live in all parts of Sweden, most of them live in the big cities (Gustafsson & Zheng 2006: 82).

Table 1

Foreign born population in Sweden

1950	1.8 %
1960	4.0%
1970	6.7%
1980	7.5%
1990	9.2%
2000	11.3%
2005	Passing the 1 million mark

Immigration to Sweden from third world is new phenomenon. As Gustafsson and Zheng stated:

“Immigration to Sweden from countries in the third world is a relatively new phenomenon. While the overwhelming majority of third World immigrants have been asylum seekers or relatives to asylum seekers, not all persons who have entered Sweden for such reasons have origins outside Europe” (Gustafsson & Zheng 2006: 82).

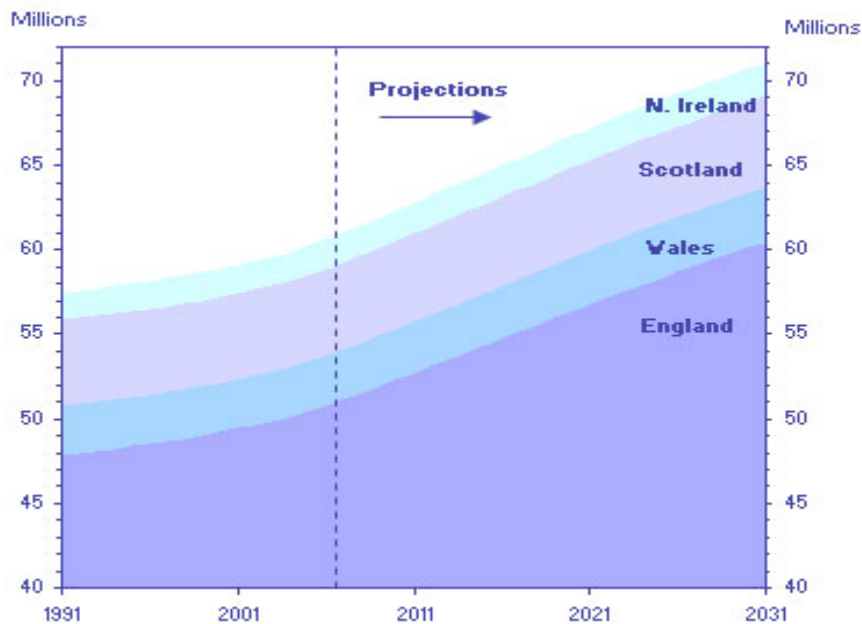
Migration history underlines that South Asians are a heterogeneous group. There are indeed, differences in the mainstream Scandinavian perceptions of Indians, Sri Lankan versus Pakistanian and Bangladeshi, and regarding their religious identity (Malik 2005: 216). According to the 2005 Swedish Statistical Year Book, the number of the Bangladesh population was 3421, among them 2240 were citizen. The Bangladeshi immigrant sources in Malmoe report that most of the Bangladeshis currently living in Malmoe entered as asylum seekers.

6.2 Immigrants in UK, London

After a generation immigrants will add the equal level of a city the size of London to the population. In ten years time, there will be 65 million people in the UK. An increase of five million and by 2031, the population will be over 70 million (ONS report 2007). Another report

from ONS states that in the next 20 years 70 percent of the rise in population will be attributable directly to migration.

Diversity in the capital city of England has great historical social, economic and cultural strengths. London is already a highly diverse city, one of the most multi-racial in the world. Nearly one third of Londoners are from black and minority ethnic communities and a significant growth rate is projected over the next 15 years. International in- and out-migration has been high and is projected to remain so (Mol 2004: 26).



Actual and projected UK population (Graphic courtesy of ONS)

Source: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2007/10/23/npopulation423.xml>

Recently, the home office admitted that the impact of high immigration was “unsettling” the country and bringing new pressures on schools, hospitals and trains. Guy Goodwin, director of demography at ONS, have said that whole country have been facing high migration (ONS report 2007).

London is often described as an “international city”, in relation to its imperial role, but after the

1980s it is serving as a “global city” in the world. Hence, the population has become dramatically more diverse with large numbers of new migrants from many places (Sassen 1991). The reason for people to migrate from overseas to London is for work, stimulus profit, personal development and pleasure (Gordon et al 2007). London’s trading is also a major stimulus for migration and migrants have contributed greatly to it from the very beginning. The city developed as a centre of overseas trade from the period of Roman occupation onwards. The fact that its main city was a wholly Roman creation, with no native past, distinguished Britain from virtually from all other provinces of Rome: “London began as a city of foreigners, and long continued as a government town, whose resident authority overawed native British customs” (Morris 1982: 280-281). By the 15th century there were 1850 foreigners in London, rising to 3000 in 1501 (Selwood et al 1996; Thrupp 1969). By the middle of the 17th century, London’s expansion was fuelled entirely by migration (Portes 1994). Onwards, immigration to London continued through the 1960s, with a new influx of South Asians. The size of the ethnic minority population in the UK was 4.6 million in 2001 or 7.9% of the total population of the country. Indians were the largest minority group, followed by Pakistanis, those of mixed ethnic backgrounds, Black Caribbeans, Black Africans and Bangladeshis. The remaining ethnic minority groups each amounted to less than 0.5%, but together accounted for a further 1.4% of the UK population. In Great Britain, the ethnic minority population grew by 53% between 1991 and 2001, from 3.0 million in 1991 to 4.6 million in 2001. Half of the total ethnic minority population was South Asians of Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi background. Indians were the largest minority group (1.8%), followed by Pakistanis (1.3%) and Bangladeshis accounted for 0.5% of the UK population (National statistics 2003). So, in other words, huge numbers of South Asian immigrants are living in the UK.

However, considering immigration situation, number of immigration is increasing both London and Malmoe. As seen above, the number of immigration is increasing both in Sweden and UK. Now, the question is how they acculturate with the host society and which strategies they prefer.

7.0 Presentation of acculturation strategy, among the Bangladeshi immigrants in London and Malmoe

Acculturation strategies among Bangladeshi immigrants in Malmoe and London will be presented in this section. For the sake of simplification ‘London’ and ‘Malmoe’ will be used as

shorthand terms for the samples of respondents in these cities. This does not imply that the samples are representatives of the larger population of Bangladeshi immigrants in these cities.

7.1 Acculturation preferences

Firstly, the overall acculturation in Malmoe and London will be examined by using Berry's (1992) typology, which consists of four categories: integration, separation, assimilation and marginalization.

Table 2

Acculturation preferences of the Bangladeshi immigrants in Malmoe and London

Acculturation preference	Malmoe sample immigrants n= 11	London sample immigrants n= 11	Total sample 22
Integration	7 (63.63%)	6 (54.54%)	13(59.08%)
Assimilation	3 (27.27%)	1 (9.09%)	4 (18.18%)
Separation	0	3 (27.27%)	3 (13.63%)
Marginalization	1(9.09%)	1 (9.09%)	2 (9.09%)

Using Barry's (1992) typology, results consistently indicated that most of the respondents, 17 (77.27%) of 22, preferred integration or assimilation as opposed to separation or marginalization as their choice of acculturation. Nearly all Malmoe respondents, 10 of 11, preferred integration or assimilation. In London, 7 of 11 preferred the same, while a significant minority, 4 of 11 preferred separation or marginalization. What is important here is that the preference of integration is almost the same between Malmoe 7 of 11 (63.63%) and London 6 of 11 (54.54%). There is a significant difference in choosing separation as mode of acculturation between Malmoe 0 of 11 and London 3 of 11 (27.27%).

Now it will be examined whether the analytical model of Lathi et al (2003) can contribute to a further understanding of these acculturation preferences. This model divides integration into three categories: integration-assimilation, integration-separation, and integration-marginalization might give us further information. The distribution of the respondents' integration is presented in table 3. In accordance with Barry's (1990) original typology, the samples indicated here is only of the respondent who preferred "integration" or "assimilation".

Table 3

Acculturation preference of the Bangladeshi immigrants in Malmoe and London

Acculturation preference	Malmoe sample immigrants n= 10	London sample immigrants n= 7	Total sample= 17
Integration- assimilation	8 (80%)	2 (28.87%)	10 (58.82%)
Integration- separation	0	1 (14.28%)	1 (5.88%)
Integration- marginalization	2 (20%)	4 (57.14%)	6 (35.29%)

Integration-assimilation is the most preferred choice in Malmoe 8 of 10 (80%), whereas integration-marginalization is the most preferred in London 4 of 7 (57.14%), which is the second choice 2 of 10 (20%) in Malmoe. Integration-separation was not preferred by any respondent in Malmoe 0 of 7, whereas 1 of 7 (16.66%) preferred it in London.

The tendencies shown by use of Barry's typology (table2) becomes more pronounced when one use Lathi's model. Using both models will provide a more in-depth analysis of acculturation preferences by facilitating examination of how integration strategies are played out across socio-cultural domains. Here degrees of intention towards integration in five key socio-cultural domains will be examined. The five domains are: marriage (M), friends (F), language (L), cultural tradition (C), and social activities (S). Three degrees of intention towards integration have been utilized and they are: low, moderate, and high intention (Lathi et al et al 2006).

Table 4

Integration Strategy

	Low intention		Moderate intention		High intention	
	Malmoe N=11	London N=11	Malmoe N=11	London N=11	Malmoe N=11	London N=11
M	8 (72.72%)	9 (81.8%)	3 (27.27%)	2 (18.18%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
F	3 (27.27%)	6 (54.54%)	3 (27.27%)	3 (27.27%)	5 (45.45%)	2 (18.18%)
L	0 (0%)	5 (45.45%)	10 (90.90%)	5 (45.45%)	1 (9.09%)	1 (9.09%)
C	7 (63.63%)	8 (72.72%)	4 (36.36%)	3 (27.27%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
S	2 (18.18%)	4 (36.36%)	6 (54.54%)	6 (54.54%)	3 (27.27%)	1 (9.09%)
Total	20 (36.36%)	32 (58.18%)	26(47.27%)	19 (34.54%)	9 (16.36%)	4 (7.27%)

In Malmoe 36.36% preferred low intention and in London 58.18% preferred low intention. In Malmoe 47.27% preferred moderate intention, whereas in London 34.54% did so. Hence, using this table, London tends towards a low and Malmoe towards a moderate intention. The intentions in the domains of marriage was low in Malmoe 8 of 11 (72.72%) and in London 9 of 11 (81.8%). The intent in the domains of social activities was moderate 6 of 11 (54.54%) in both cities. Both Malmoe and London show low intention to integration in the domains of marriage and cultural tradition and moderate intention in the domains of social activities. The pattern of integration in Malmoe and London is similar, that is, low or moderate in three out of five key domains. In London the intention is low to moderate 5 of 11 (45.45%) in the domain of language, while it is overwhelmingly moderate in Malmoe 10 of 11 (90.90%). In London, more than half of the respondents, 6 of 11 (54.54%), show low intention in the domain of friends, on the other hand, in Malmoe almost half of the respondent 5 of 11 (45.45%) show high intention in the domain of

friends. The overall pattern is similar in both cities, but Malmoe shows a stronger inclination towards integration in the domain of language, this analysis to a certain extent confirms the tendency demonstrated by the earlier analyses shown in tables 2 and 3. A common observation is that the generation dimension is significant for acculturation preferences. Here Barry's model has been used and table 5 shows how acculturation preferences vary across the first and the second generation.

Table 5

Acculturation preference of two generations of immigrants in Malmoe and London

Acculturation preference	Malmoe		London		Total Sample= 22
	First generation Sample n= 7	Second generation Sample n= 4	First generation Sample n= 7	Second generation Sample n= 4	
	Integration	6 (85.71%)	1 (25%)	4 (57.14%)	
Separation	0	0	3 (42.86%)	0	3 (13.63%)
Assimilation	0	3 (75%)	0	1 (25%)	4 (13.63%)
Marginalization	1 (14.28%)	0	0	1 (25%)	2 (9.09%)

In Malmoe, 3 of 4 (75%) second generation prefer assimilation, whereas it was 1 of 4 (25%) in London. In Malmoe, 6 of 7 (85.71%) first generation prefer integration, whereas in London 3 of 7 (42.68%) first generation goes for separation, something of which no one showed interest in Malmoe. Hence, the tendency towards integration seems stronger in Malmoe, because the second generation goes for assimilation in Malmoe. The tendency is more differentiated in London, where half of the second generation 2 of 4 (50%) opted for the same preference as their elders 4 of 7 (57. 15%), and the other half either go for assimilation or marginalization. Next, it will explore weather the generational dimension is significant for choices of integration strategies. This model has been used in table 4.

Table 6

Integration strategy of first and second generation

	Low intention				Moderate intention				High intention			
	Malmoe		London		Malmoe		London		Malmoe		London	
	F/G N=7	S/G N=4	F/G N=7	S/G N=4	F/G N=7	S/G N=4	F/G N=7	S/G N=4	F/G N=7	S/G N=4	F/G N=7	S/G N=4
M	6, (85.7 1%)	2, (50 %)	7, (100 %)	2, (50 %)	1, (14.2 8%)	2, (50 %)	0, (0%)	2, (50 %)	0, (0%)	0, (0%)	0, (0%)	0, (0%)
F	3, (42.8 5%)	0, (0%)	6, (85.7 1%)	0, (0%)	3, (42.8 5%)	0, (0%)	1, (14.2 8%)	2, (50 %)	1, (14.2 8%)	4, (100 %)	0, (0%)	2, (50 %)
L	0, (0%)	0, (0%)	5, (71.42 %)	0, (0%)	7, (100 %)	3, (75 %)	2, (28.5 7%)	3, (75 %)	0, (0%)	1, (25%)	0, (0%)	1, (25%)
C	7, (100 %)	0, (0%)	7, (100 %)	1, (25 %)	0, (0%)	4, (100 %)	0, (0%)	3, (75 %)	0, (0%)	0, (0%)	0, (0%)	0, (0%)
S	2, (28.5 7%)	0, (0%)	4, (57.14 14%)	0, (0%)	5, (71.42 %)	1, (25 %)	3, (42.8 85%)	3, (75 %)	0, (0%)	3, (75 %)	0, (0%)	1, (25%)
Total	18, (51.4 2%)	2, (10%)	29, (82.85 %)	3, (15 %)	16, (45.7 1%)	10, (50 %)	6, (17.15)	13, (65 %)	1, (2.85 %)	8, (40%)	0, (0%)	4, (20%)

In Malmoe, 6 of 7 (85.7%) first generation respondent have low intention towards integration, whereas it was 2 of 4 (50%) among second generation in the domains of marriage. In London, all first generation respondent fall into low intention, on the other hand, it was 2 (50%) for the

second generation. There are respondents who show high intention both in Malmoe and London. Using friends as a domain, there are no respondent that fall into the degrees of low intention either in London or Malmoe for second generation individuals. In Malmoe, 4 out of 4 second generation interviewees goes for high intention, while it was 2 (50%) in London. In London, 6 (85.7%) first generation fall into the low intention domain, whereas there were no second generation respondents who fall into low intention in London and it was 3 (42.8%) in Malmoe. Using language as a tool, 5 of 7 (71.42%) first generation interviewees have low intention in London, whereas there is no incidence (0%) in Malmoe. No second generation respondents have low intention either in Malmoe and London. All the first (100%) and most second (75%) generation interviewees have moderate intention in Malmoe, whereas it was the same only for the second generation (75%) in London. Using cultural tradition as a tool, all the first generation respondents both in Malmoe and in London have low intention towards integration; on the other hand, no one chose high intention. In Malmoe, 4 of 4 (100%) and in London 3 (75%) of second generation respondents fall into the category of moderate intention towards integration. When it comes to social activities, none of the second generation has low intention neither in Malmoe nor London, whereas it was same for the high intention for first generation respondents both in Malmoe and London. In Malmö, 3 of 4 (75%) second generation respondents have high intention towards integration.

Therefore, the tendency towards integration is more pronounced in Malmoe than in London when one examines strategies of integration in terms of the generational dimension. Almost half of those showing a high intention towards having native friends are second generation respondents in Malmoe. They also showed high intention in the domain of social activities.

Overall, integration (59.08%) was the most preferred option from table 2, when Barry's (1992) typology was used, followed by assimilation (18.18 %). Here the preference of integration is almost the same, both in Malmoe and in London 63.63% and 54.54% respectively. When Lathi's model was used (table 3), then more than half of the respondent showed interest for the 'integration-assimilation' option in both cities, but the difference of choice between the cities becomes pronounced. In Malmoe, 8 of 10 (80%) showed 'integration-assimilation' options. On the other hand, 2 of 7 (28.87%) showed interest for the same option in London. In London, 4 of 7

(57.14%) showed interest for ‘integration-marginalization’ options, whereas in Malmoe 2 of 10 (20%) showed interest for the same option. When socio-cultural domains were utilized, to see the degree of intention in table 4, London shows low intention (58.18%) and Malmoe shows a moderate tendency (47.27%). This table confirms the tendency shown in table 2 and 3. From this table it was also detected that both in Malmoe and London low intention was shown for the domains of marriage and cultural tradition, whilst moderate intention was shown for the domains of language and social activities. In Malmoe, almost half of the respondents show high intention for the domain of ‘friends’. This table shows some differences of choices between both cities. In London, 6 of 11 (54.54%) showed low intention about ‘language’, on the other hand 5 (45.45%) showed high intention in Malmoe. In London, 5 of 11 (45.45%) showed low intention about ‘language’, whereas 10 (90.90%) showed moderate interest in Malmoe. So this table also shows some difference among the socio-cultural domains. When viewing generational aspects (using Barry’s 1992 model in table 5), most of the first generation respondents 6 of 7 (85.71%) opt for integration and most of the second generation 3 of 4 (75%) chose assimilation in Malmoe. On the other hand, in London 4 of 7 (57.14%) of the first generation respondents prefer integration and half of the second generation go for the same option. From this table, Malmoe respondents’ tendency towards integration is more significant than London’s, because most of the second generation gravitate towards assimilation. When the generational aspect from socio-cultural dimensions by using table 6 is analyzed, 4 out of 4 second generation respondent showed high intention towards integration in Malmoe, whereas it was 50% in London for “friends” as a tool. With regards to social activities, 3 of 4 (75%) second generation interviewees in Malmoe and 1 of 4 (25%) in London showed high intention. All most all the first generation respondents from both cities showed low intention for the marriage and cultural activities domains, whereas half of the second generation in both cities showed low intention for marriage and almost all second generation showed moderate intention for the domain of cultural activities. So, when one saw socio-cultural domains without using generational aspect most of the respondent elect low intention for the domains of marriage and cultural activities, whereas when we take generational aspect into account, then most of the second generation showed moderate intention for the domain of cultural activities. On the other hand, half of the second generation showed moderate intention for the domains of marriage in both cities. With ‘friends’ as a tools, one detects that almost half of the respondent showed high intention in Malmoe without using generational

aspects. Whilst with generational aspects, almost half of the first generation showed low intention, whereas all second generation showed high intention for this domain.

7.2 Respondent's View

In Malmoe, most of the second generation interviewees chose moderate intention for the domains of 'cultural tradition' and low to moderate intention for the domains of 'marriage'. On the other hand, in regards to the domains of 'friends', 'language' and 'social activities' they preferred high to moderate intention, whereas first generation respondents prefers low to moderate intention. In response to the interview question most of the second generation said that they do not have any preference for marriage, but they know what their parents like. Most of them said that they are happy and satisfied with their life in Sweden. Most of them also said that their parents do not like to converse with them in Swedish as they lack fluency. In Malmoe, one of the respondents who is a second generation immigrants and is studying Medicine at Lund University related that he always feel that he is Swedish and would like to consider himself as a Swedish-Bangladeshi. He said he speaks Bangla at home with his parents. When asked about his friends and other domains he said,

"I know my parents do not like having girl friend, but I do not mind having this, but feel all right practicing cultural tradition which I have learned from my parents at home and if needed then sometimes out of home but I do not think that I have to maintain that always. I have many native friends. Do not have any preference of marriage, but I know my parents like same community marriage and I do not want to hurt my parents, I always participate our community based social activities and also main stream social activities". (Malmoe, October 10th, 2007)

When asked whether he feels uncomfortable interacting with native friends or not, he answered that, "I never felt uncomfortable and I think they also do not feel uncomfortable". A second generation immigrant who describes herself more Swedish than Bangladeshi commented that, "if it was not my parents' language or cultural tradition, I do not think I would have followed Bangla tradition". She further mentioned that "my parents should consider that what I like and what I want to do" (Malmoe, September 5th 2007)

Marriage and cultural tradition seems like the two domains where most of the first generation feels low intention towards integration. In response to questions regarding marriage, most of the first generation interviewees, both in Malmoe and London, said that they preferred same community marriage. They strongly expect their children to get married within the same

community. One of my respondents from London said that, “I want to see that my daughter will marry a Bangladeshi boy. If I do not find any one from here in London, then I would like to go back to my country to get a bridegroom for my daughter”(London, November 18th 2007) . When asked about what his daughter thinks about her marriage? He said, “My daughter knows this and she never protest against that” (London, November 18th , 2007)

One of the second generation respondents in London who is studying, said,

“I speak both Bangla and English; I practice my parent’s cultural tradition at home and also some time out side of my home. I know that my parents don’t like having boy friend and they like marriage within same community. Some time I feels I should say them I have my own choice and they can not force me” (London, November 21st , 2007)

She also expressed that, “it is ok to practice cultural tradition at home, but not outside the home, but sometimes I have to maintain it outside of my home”. (London, November 21st , 2007)

Language, friends and social activities are the domains which most of the respondent, especially second generation immigrants in Malmoe and to some extent in London, preferred high to moderate intention. Most of them wish that their parents would speak good Swedish or English and that their parents would accept them to have a girl or boyfriends instead of forcing them to abstain. One of the second generation respondents said that, “My parents do not want to send me outside of my home if it is not necessary. They feel scared I might lose my Bangladeshi values and cultural roots, which I have not lost yet” (London, 24th November, 2007)

Regarding social activities:

“I never seen that my parents participated any mainstream social activities, Maybe they do not feel that or may be they did not get chance to involve. I want to see that they are participating mainstream social activities and they have friends from both sides.”(London, 24th November, 2007)

7.3 Discussions

This thesis aims to give more insight to preferred acculturation strategies among the respondents of two cities, across first and second generation and how these play out across different socio-cultural domains. Although the samples were small and can not be generalized, still the results are supported by some other studies. As it has been shown by other studies (Neto 1976, 2002;

Schmitz 1996), the results suggest that integration was the most preferred mode of acculturation. The secondly preferred option was marginalization in London and assimilation in Malmoe, something Sam has showed in his research on Vietnamese immigrants in Norway (Sam 1998). Very few respondents preferred separation as their mode of acculturation. Individuals often adapt to some degree to each (4 categories) of these attitudes, indicating that the process of cross-cultural adjustment involves selective permeability of their new experience (De Vos 1980). Most of the first generation respondents, both in Malmoe and London, showed interest in integration as their mode of acculturation. According to Barry (1974), newcomers desire to maintain their original culture at the same times as they desire to have relationships and contacts with members of the host society. Second generation immigrants normally wants integrate with the host society and do not think that they need to practice all of their parent's customs (Sekhon 2005). This concurs with the findings in Malmoe. Flix has shown that there was no age difference between integration and separation strategy, for example, number of mean age and the people who chose integration and separation (Neto et al 2005) In Malmoe, the preference of integration was less diverse for the first and second generation respondents. Immigrants want to keep their cultural tradition (Poria et al 2004) and most of the first generation in Malmoe and London wants to follow the cultural tradition of getting married within the same community and they will speak their own language at home (Leung 1997). However, the second generation prefers their parents to speak in the host society's (Leung 1997) language. The first generation immigrants in both Malmoe and London want to speak the host language, but only outside of their home. Most of the second generation wish that their parents would understand their feelings and what they want (Leung 1997). From the interviews in Malmoe, it was learned that the tendency towards integration is somewhat stronger than in London, because the second generation goes for assimilation. Sweden is a country that supports multiculturalism and integration, but belongs to a middle group when it comes to the extent of immigration. This country is characterized by Waldrauch and Hofinger (1997) as belonging to the most welcoming to immigrants. This is characterized by high rates of naturalization and opportunity for immigrants to participate in local elections before acquiring citizenship (Pettigrew 1998). In Sweden broad attention for the immigrant's cultural background, including their ethnic language was traditionally accompanied by intensive efforts to facilitate the acquisition of the Swedish language (Vedder & Erkki 2005). From this research, most of the first generation knows Swedish and want that their children know

Swedish as well and that they practice it outside of their home. They also want their children to practice their cultural traditions. The research showed that in Malmoe most of the second generation practice it inside the home, but do not want to practice it outside. Identity models propose that a strong ethnic identity is important for immigrants' healthy integration and well being in the new society (Alkan, 1998). Lessons in student's first language and cultural heritage are seen as important for preventing and overcoming problems. The assumption is that language maintenance and a good knowledge of one's own culture should contribute to adolescents' ethnic identity, and a strong ethnic identity should function as a support for healthy psychological adaptation (Alakan 1998; Viberg 1994). In London, most of the first generation identifies themselves as being British-Bangladeshi, rather than English or British (Roe & Cochrane 1991). The second generation's preference towards integration was diverse in London, some of them had the same preferences as the first generation, but on the other hand, some preferred different options for their acculturation. Parental acculturation has also been related to childrens' adjustment (Brankin et al 1989; Pouliukeld 1996), and British cultures are diverse in many ways (Poria et al 2004). The British culture is individualistic, whereas the Indian culture is more collectivistic (Ghuman 1999), in addition, Hinduism (the principle religion in India) is very different from Christianity (Ghuman 2003; Jackson & Nesbill 1993). British born children of Indian origin are diverse in their choice of acculturation (Ghuman 1997). They are often exposed to two differing types of socialization processes: one at home and one at school. Schools in Britain mainly reflect Western societal values and norms, which includes the development of autonomy, encouragement of self expression and gender equality. In contrast, traditional Indian values emphasize group solidarity, family loyalty, obedience and sex role differentiation. These differences may lead to conflicts for Indian children (Ghuman 1997). Hence, the diverse preference among the second generation in London has been found from this research.

8. Conclusion

This investigation of acculturation preferences among the respondents in Malmoe and London revealed that, integration is the most preferred option for both cities using Barry's model. There is some preference difference when one uses Lathi et al (2002) typology and generational aspect. Overall acculturation preference and integration strategies are more homogeneous for the respondents in Malmoe, also when the generation dimension is taken into account. Irrespective of

generations' respondents in Malmoe preferred integration and the second generation more so than the first generation. Respondents in London, strategies and preferences are more diverse, especially in the second generation. Most of the first generation respondents showed low tendency towards integration for the domains 'Marriage' and 'Cultural activities' in both cities. On the other hand tendency towards integration was high to moderate for the domains 'Language' and 'Friends'. In Malmoe, almost all the second generation respondents preferred high tendency towards integration for the domains 'Friends' and 'Social activities'. The models which have been used to investigate acculturation strategies helped to see the preferences among the respondents of Bangladeshi immigrants in Malmoe and London. Hence, Barry's model was useful to see the overall acculturation preference, whereas Lathi et. al.'s model gives more insights into 'integration', making 'integration' into three sub categories. Although the samples were small and can not be generalized, still the results are supported by some other studies and serves to illustrate their findings. However the study opens mind to think about why do the respondent preferred diverse intentions towards integration to some specific socio-cultural domains?

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Appendix 1

Interview Guide

Name:

From:

- How old are you?
- What is your occupation?
- How long have you been living in London and Malmoe?
- Do you like to get married inside your community?
- Do you organized or join community based social activities?
- Do you like to practice your own cultural tradition both in side or out side your home?
- Do you have native friends?
- Do you like to practice English or Swedish both in and out of home?
- Do you have any expectation from your parents regarding your cultural tradition or activities?
- Do you have any expectation from your children regarding your cultural tradition or activities?
- Do you think it is needed to be valued to maintain relationship with other groups from your community?
- Do you think it is needed to be valued to maintain cultural identity and characteristics of your origin?